

Dr. Martin Luther's

Complete Writings.

published by

Dr. Joh. Georg Walch.

Twenty-first volume.

First part.

Dr. Luther's letters.

(First section.)

New revised stereotype edition.

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1903

Dr. Martin Luther's Letters

together with

the most important letters addressed to him and some other strikingly
interesting writings.

Letters from the year 1507 to 1532 incl.

Published anew on behalf of the Ministry of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod
of Missouri, Ohio and other States.

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Foreword.

The volume in which Walch published the letters of Luther known to him was published in 1749, more than 150 years ago. Since then, this epistolary literature has experienced such an increase that it has not been possible to include the newly discovered letters in one volume in addition to the existing ones. There were now two ways open to us, in order to counteract this unfortunate state of affairs:

First. We were able to print in one volume the material offered by Walch, revised of course, and in a second, a supplementary volume, the writings that have become accessible so far; and no one could have complained about the division into two volumes, because, according to the original plan of our edition, it was not intended to increase Walch's, but only to revise it.

Secondly. We were able to insert the newly added material into the already existing material in a suitable place, and thus produce a few chronologically ordered letters collection, which, however, had to be distributed over two buildings because of its large volume.

The choice could not be difficult for us, and so we have divided the twenty-first volume into two sections, which, however, receive consecutive pagination and consecutive numbers.

The most important collections of Luther's letters, which appeared after Walch, namely those of D. Gottfried Schütze, "Martin Luthers bisher ungedruckte Briefe", 3 volumes, Leipzig 1780 and 1781, 8th, furthermore: Karl Faber, "D. Martin Luthers Briefe an Albrecht, Herzog von Preußen", from the originals in the secret archive at Königsberg. Königsberg 1811, 8th, and the *D. Martini Lutheri Epistolae, studio et opera b.* edited by Christoph Ranner. *G. Th. Strobels, Past. olim Woehrdensis, collecta. Norimberg. 1814, 8.*, marked as *Strobel-Ranner*, have already been used in the work, which has the title: "Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, vollständig aus den verschiedenen Ausgaben seiner Werke und Briefe, aus andern Büchern und noch unbenutzten Handschriften gesammelt, kritisch und historisch bearbeitet von Dr. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, Pro-

fessor of theology at Basel." 5 vols, Berlin 1825 to 1828, 8. To this has been added a sixth volume: "Die in den fünf Theilen [De Wette's] fehlenden Briefe und Bedenken Luthers nebst zwei Registern. Collected, edited, and published using de Wette's estate by Lic. theol. Johann Karl Seidemann, pastor at Eschdorf near Dresden." Berlin 1856, 8.

After De Wette's edition, a reprint of Luther's German letters from De Wette first appeared in the so-called Erlanger Ausgabe der Werke Luthers: "Deutsche Briefe. After the oldest editions critically and historically edited by D. J. K. Irmischer." Frankfurt a. M. and Erlangen, 4 volumes, 1853 and 1854. This collection is a mere reprint, without all self-activity, without all criticism, with retention of all De Wette's errors, for incorrect letters, incorrect readings, incorrect punctuation, incorrect time determinations, incorrect superscriptions, incorrect proofs are retained with the greatest fidelity, while De Wette's indications of content are omitted; hence it is of no value to us, with the exception of the second supplement to the 56th volume. The first volume of the book is the first volume of the book, but it has already been included by Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, and therefore does not provide us with any information.

Since then Seidemann published his Lutherbriefe in 1859, Burkhardt in 1866 "Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel" and Kolde in 1883 the *Analecta Luthe*

rana, which will be discussed below.

The latest edition of Luther's letters, which is still being published, is: "Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel. Edited and annotated by Dr. th. Ernst Ludwig Enders, pastor at Oberrad near Frankfurt am Main." Vol. 1 to 8, Frankfurt a. M. 1884-1898. This collection forms a part of the Erlangen edition of Luther's complete works. According to the original plan of this edition, to bring only Luther's writings, one would have had to limit oneself to Luther's letters written in Latin, without any further addition, but one has preferred instead, as already Burkhardt and Kolde did, an "exchange of letters". Now it cannot be denied that in many cases Luther's letters can only be understood through the letters addressed to him; therefore, we have also followed this example to some extent by including many foreign letters. The work of D. Enders is thorough, industrious, and worthy of thanks, and we have used it as a basis for the preparation of the greater part of our first section. Enders did not reprint the German letters in the Erlangen edition, but only referred to them and made the necessary improvements.

The letters of Luther, which Walch has assigned to the twenty-first part of Luther's complete writings, are divided by him into three classes. The first includes those that have already been published in

The second contains the letters which, originally written in Latin, were not yet part of any collection of Luther's writings, but were first published by Walch in German translation; the third contains Luther's letters which had never been printed before. Each of these sections is arranged chronologically. The many letters that have already been included in earlier volumes, namely in the catechetical writings, vol. X, and in the reformation writings, vol. XV to XX, Walch has not reprinted in this volume, but only referred to them. Foreign letters, which are found in large numbers in other volumes, have not been included by Walch in this volume, nor has a record of them been given.

Understandably, we could not follow Walch's arrangement, but, as all recent editions have done, we have included the letters in chronological order, including those that are not by Luther. In the selection of the latter, we have limited ourselves to the more important ones, the most important ones have been given unabridged, of others only a registry, unimportant and uninteresting ones have been omitted. We have referred to those already printed in other volumes.

First of all, we thought to give the dear reader only the largest part of the first section of these letters, as far as they are contained in the Erlangen correspondence, from

The reason for this is that, as already stated in the preface to the 17th volume of our edition, p. VII^b, we are completely dependent on the editions published in Germany for the reproduction of the letters, since we do not have the sources at our disposal here, and also the Erlangen correspondence, which has been in publication since 1884, has only now reached the year 1531 in its eighth volume. But the consideration that about as much time, namely again eighteen years, would pass until the completion of this German edition, and for us about two more years would be necessary to edit and publish this material, has led us to the decision to tackle the rest immediately, and, as well as we are able, to add it to our edition already now, whereby it achieves its completion. We have been encouraged in this by the fact that the edition of Luther's letters by De Wette is, to this day, the best and most complete and a treasure worth owning. Secondly, that many corrections, explanations and additions have been added by Seidemann in the sixth volume of De Wette's edition. From the Corpus Reformatorum we have many additions.

The first part of the book is a collection of letters. Burkhardt's "Dr. Martin Luther's Correspondence with Many Unknown Letters" has given us (besides his many corrections, more precise references

and explanations of De Wette) yielded a rich harvest. Similarly, Kolde, "*Analecta Lutherana*. Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte Luthers. At the same time a supplement to the previous collections of his correspondence". We were able to take a number of letters from Seidemann's "*Lutherbriefe*" and Krafft's "Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation" (Letters and Documents from the Time of the Reformation) 2c. We hope that the thus enriched De Wette'sche edition (which we take as a basis) will be welcome to the purchasers of our edition.

However, we have not only been concerned with enriching Walch's and De Wette's editions, but primarily with correcting both the chronology and the text itself, and we believe that we have succeeded in the former in a few cases, but in the latter in many, even in texts supplied by Burkhardt and Kolde.

In this volume, too, we have translated the originally Latin letters (with very few exceptions) into German. To show how highly necessary this was, we leave here some samples of Walch's translation, to which we could add many more. Walch, Vol. XXI, 521: *parce verbis* == give me credit for my words. Walch: "und schweiget". - Col. 644: *carnem mean quoque valere cupio* == I also wish my relatives good welfare. Walch: "I also want my flesh to be healthy." - Col.

646: *De autoritate Ecclesiast. super purgatorio nihil scio* -- I know nothing about a saying of the preacher Solomon about purgatory. Walch: "What the church is able to say about purgatory, I do not know." - Col. 658: *Jejunus est, sensum scripturae magis quam verba retinens* == He [the Sermon] is sober, and keeps more the sense than the words of Scripture. Walch: "He is a dry miserable man who" 2c. - Col. 672: *Ecce Tessaradeca tuam, imo nostram, mi Spalatine. Responsionem meam adversus Stolpensem, tolpensem et talpensem schedulam non mireris animosiozem etc.* - See, there you have your, 1) yes, our Tessaradecas, my dear Spalatin. Don't be surprised that my answer to the Stolpian, doltish and foolish note is somewhat vehement and proud. Walch: "Behold your, yes, my Four Tenths, dear Spalatin, namely the answer to the Stolpish, Doltish and Talpish d. i. blind mole note: do not be surprised" rc. Walch has thus identified Luther's delicious consolation for the Elector in fourteen chapters (*Tessaradecas consolatoria*) (St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1816) with "Luther's answer to the note, which went out under the official's seal at Stolpen" (St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 462). - Col. 674: *ut observatori meo naso vix illudant* == that they can hardly fool my observing nose. Walch: "that they can hardly fool my

1) This is what Luther calls this writing because Spalatin was supposed to translate it into German for the Elector.

thin noses may mock."-Col. 719: *ut locum tuum non dimittas* - that you do not leave your place. Walch: "that he [Satan] find no quiet place with you". - Col. 743: *ut etsi non audeant asserere, non tamen possint dissuaderi* == that although they dare not assert [my stay at Wartburg], yet they cannot be dissuaded. Walch: "that, though I may not affirm it, yet I may not dissemble or deny (*sic*) it: so" 2c. - Col. 745: *a papistis ferior* == I have peace before the papists. Walch: "and am beaten by the papists". - Col. 780: *Nam et Principis ut christiani fratris, etiam Principis nomine, interest* == For it is also to the prince as a Christian brother, also because he is a prince. Walch: "For it is also the prince and the brother Christian, because of the prince's interest." - Col. 921: *Miserere mei iam praedestinatus fieri* - [the 51st Psalm] "GOtt, sei mir gnädig" is already ordered to be made [into a German chant]. Walch: "Have mercy on me, that I am thus erwählet before." But this may be enough.

We have devoted the same effort and care to the German letters as to the Latin ones. Some of these offer no less a challenge to the editor.

St. Louis, circa Pentecost 1903.

The first part of the book is a book that presents more difficulties than the most difficult Latin ones, which we have set ourselves the task of overcoming.

Where we have departed from De Wette and the Erlangen correspondence in the determination of time, we have given a detailed account of it.

We have often taken notes and explanations from the Erlanger Briefwechsel, without giving credit to it each time. However, we have been very limited in the use of the notes compared to the Erlanger Briefwechsel, because there the notes sometimes take up more space than the text.

It should also be noted that from then on, following De Wette, we no longer use the designation of the Erlangen correspondence for Aurifaber's unprinted collection at the library in Wolfenbüttel: "Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108", but like De Wette: "Aurifaber, Bd. III"; likewise, although we know that the Anhalt archive has been moved from Dessau to Zerbst, with De Wetternd Burkhardt, when indicating where the originals are, the designation: "The original is in Dessau."

Now, may the merciful God give His blessing and prosperity also to the course of this volume. Praise, glory and thanks be to Him that He has helped us to this point.

A. F. Hoppe.

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First section of Luther's letters

together with the most important letters addressed to Luther.

No. 1.

Erfurt.

April 22, 1507.

To Johann Braun, Vicarius in Eisenach.

Luther invites Braun to come to his first mass (Primiz) and wishes that the Schalbe Collegium also participates.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 1; in Löschner's Reformation Acts, vol. I, p. 1; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 3 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 1. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 512.

To the holy and venerable priest of Christ and Mary,
Johann Braun, vicar at Eisenach, his most dear in
Christ. 1)

Hail in Christ our Lord! I would shy away, dear friend, from assailing your love with my impetuous letters and petitions, if I did not consider the sincere attitude of your kind and benevolent heart, which I have experienced enough from so many proofs and good deeds. Therefore, I have had no hesitation in addressing this little letter to you, trusting in the friendship that is based on mutual love, [and hope] that it will be heard by you and will find you supplicating.

Now that the glorious God, who is holy in all his works, has rested to make me miserable, I will not be able to do it.

to exalt so gloriously the and in every respect unworthy sinner and to call him to his exalted office out of pure and abundant mercy, I must, in order that I may be grateful for this abundance of so great a divine goodness (at least as much as is possible to a dust), perform the service imposed upon me in a bad way.

Therefore, according to the decision of my fathers, it has been determined to perform this for the first time on the fourth Sunday [after Easter], which we call Cantate 2), with the help of divine grace. For this day, because it is convenient for my father, has been appointed to consecrate our first Mass to God, to which I humbly, but perhaps boldly, invite your love, certainly not because I consider myself worthy because of my merits for you (of which there are none), to burden you with the burden of such a great journey, and to expect you to come to the so little poverty of our lowliness, but because I have recognized your goodwill towards me and your willingness when I was recently 3) with you, moreover, elsewhere even more abundantly.

2) This was only the Primiz, not the priestly ordination of Luther. Luther was ordained by the Erfurt auxiliary bishop Johann (Bonemilch) von Laspho, but we do not know the day of his ordination. Köstlin, Martin Luther (3.), Vol. I, p. 83, places it on this very Sunday Cantate (May 2), but it was not the custom that the newly ordained held his first mass on the same day. (Erl. Briefw.)

3) *nudius*. Walch correctly remarks: "perhaps *tertius* is to be added", and offers in the text: "the day before yesterday".

1) In the next line, the Erl. Briefw. as superscription: *Jhesu*, and notes: "missing from De Wette". But it is also not found in any of the editions mentioned here and by him.

You now, dearest father, lord, brother (for the first and somewhat doubtful whether it would be pleasant or name is due to you because of your age and your care, troublesome to you. Therefore, I have resolved to remain the second because of your merit, but the last because of silent, but I would like you, if the opportunity arises, to the order), want to be present here, if it is possible testify my gratitude toward them. Farewell.

because of your time, because of your church business, or also your domestic affairs, in order to help by your pleasant presence and your prayers that our sacrifice becomes pleasing before God. You can, however, take Conrad, 1) my relative, who was formerly sexton (*aedituum*) at St. Nicolai, and besides him, whomever else you wish, as a traveling companion, if he can also get away for domestic business and feels like it.

Finally, you must be admonished that you go straight to our monastery and enter it in order to stay with us for a while (since I do not fear that you will not want to live here), and do not seek another, strange lodging on the streets. For you will have to become a *cellarius*, that is, a cell dweller. Fare well in Christ our Lord. Given from our monastery at Erfurt, April 22, in the year of the Lord 1507.

Brother Martin Luther

from Mansfeld.

I do not dare to burden the Schalbe Collegium, 3) those worthy people who have certainly rendered me great service, in an inconvenient manner, because I am completely convinced that it is not befitting for their status and dignity that they should be called upon to perform such a lowly service, indeed, that they should be bothered with the wishes 4) of a monk who has now died to the world. Besides, I am uncertain

1) In 1500 Conrad Luther was still in service as sexton (*hierophylax*). The kind of relationship is not known. (Köstlin, M. Luther [3.] Vol. I, p. 777 ad p. 39.)

2) Here we have added a *non*.

3) The Collatoren - Collegium of the Minorite monastery under the Wartburg, to which the Schalbe family, respected in Eisenach, had made rich donations. (Erl. Briefw.) Mrs. Cotta came from this family. (Köstlin, M. Luther [3., Vol. 1, p. 38.)

4) It can hardly be doubted that *vota* should be translated here by "wishes" and not (with Walch) by "vows", because neither the *primicat* nor the invitation to the same has anything to do with the monastic vows.

No. 2.

Wittenberg.

March 17, 1509.

To Joh. Braun, priest in Eisenach.

Luther had gone to Wittenberg as a professor in the last weeks of 1508 and apologizes for having left Erfurt without first taking leave of Braun. He says that he would have preferred theology to philosophy.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 2b; in Löscher's Ref. Acta, vol. I, p. 797; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 5 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 4. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 524.

To the venerable man sanctified to Christ and Mary,
Mr. Johann Braun, priest at Eisenach, his beloved
Lord and Father.

Jesus.

Salvation and the Savior Jesus Christ himself wishes brother Martin Luther, Augustinian. Finally, I beg you, my Lord and loving, more than revered, Father, cease, I say, to wonder, after you have already wondered enough, how I left you secretly and silently, or at least could have left you, as if there had never been any intimate contact between us, or as if oblivion, the author of ingratitude, had wiped out all memory of your lovely person from my heart, yes, as if a cold and hopeful north wind had extinguished all warmth of love. It is not so, nor have I done this, nor thought to do this, although I would have done this (if I had done it differently and not rather suffered hut), from which one could think something bad about me without my fault.

I have indeed left, I confess, but I have not left, but have always remained behind after my bigger and better part and will always remain there. That this is so, I will not be able to obtain from you more easily or more effectively, than through

Your trust in me; as you have established this with me through your merits and good deeds by your kindness alone, you will not suffer it to go unfulfilled or even diminished without my fault, as you have never suffered it. And so I have departed from you further in body, but have come closer in mind, if only you will, as you certainly will, if my hope does not deceive me.

And, to come to the point: So that I would not be compelled to suspect any longer that your love doubts my fidelity (and yet God wanted this suspicion, as is its nature, to hit the wrong thing), behold, with all the power at my disposal I have stolen a little time from my so many and so varied affairs in which to write this letter to you, especially since messengers are rare for me, and if they were frequent, they would become rare through my ignorance and seclusion. And what do you think that I am seeking with this letter other than that you hold me in such command as you have received me, and that you presuppose of me what you would have me presuppose of you. Although I cannot or will not be equal to you in any good thing, my heartfelt love (*animus*) for you is great, since I have nothing else; of course, I do not give it to you now, but I say that I have already given it to you many times. And there is nothing that your generous spirit expects of me (that I know), but what is of the spirit, that is, that only one mind be in the Lord, and one heart and one soul, as one faith in the Lord.

But you should not be surprised that I left without telling you. For my departure was so sudden that it was almost hidden from my housemates. I wanted to write to you, but I could not because of lack of time and leisure. However, I have suffered, because I was able to do so, since I was forced to leave so suddenly without having greeted you. Therefore, I am now at Wittenberg by God's command or permission. If you now wish to know about my fate, I am well, thanks be to God, only that the study has been forced upon me (*violentum*).

I would have preferred to exchange it from the beginning with theology, with that theology, I say, which investigates the kernel of the nut and the marrow of the wheat and the marrow of the bones. But God is God; man is often, yes, always mistaken in his judgment. This is our God; He will rule us in kindness and for all eternity.

Receive this graciously, I beg you, what I have thrown down in haste and entirely without longer consideration, and if you can once conveniently have messengers to me, let me share your letters. I will endeavor to do the same. Fare well in the beginning and in the end, and think of me as the kind of person you wanted me to be. Farewell again. At Wittenberg, in the year of the Lord 1509, on the Saturday after Oculi [March 17].

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 3.

Wittenberg.

September 22, 1512.

To the Prior Andreas Lohr and the Convent of the Augustinians at Erfurt.

Luther announces the date of his doctorate in theology and asks his brothers in Erfurt to be present or at least to intercede for him.

Handwritten in *Cod. Gothan.* A. 399, fol. 117 d. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 4: by Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 801 (with the erroneous year 1513); by De Wette, vol. I, p. 9 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 7. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 520. De Wette's erroneous proof: "Walch XXI, 529" has been reprinted by Erlanger Briefwechsel.

To the venerable, venerable and venerable fathers, the prior, Magister Andreas Lohr, 2) and the elders of the convent of the order of the hermits of the holy bishop Augustinus at Erfurt, his fathers venerable in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail in the Lord, venerable, revered and beloved fathers! Behold, it draws near

1) At first Luther had to read about the dialectics and physics of Aristotle; whether at the university or only in the study institution of the monastery, cannot be said with certainty. (Kolde, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 72.)

2) The name is found only in *Cod. Gothan.* and in Erl. Briefw.

The day of St. Luke 1) is approaching, on which, out of obedience 2) to the fathers and the venerable father Vicarius, the chair 3) in theology will be solemnly given to me, which your fatherly love, as I believe, clearly sees from the letter of our prior at Wittenberg 4). I leave my self-accusation 5) pending and say nothing of my inadequacy, lest I also seem to seek pride or praise through my humility. God knows it, and my conscience, how worthy and how grateful I am against this splendor of glory and honor.

Therefore, for the sake of Christ's mercy, I ask, first of all, that you will command me in your common intercessions to God, as you know that you are my debtors in this matter according to the law of love, that his pleasing and blessed will be with me; then, if it is at all possible, that you will deign to be present and take part in this pomp (to confess the truth) for the adornment and honor of the Order and especially of our Vicariate. I would not dare to ask your paternal love for the arduousness of such a great journey and expense, but do it only because the reverend Father Vicarius has so ordered, and because I considered it unseemly, also indecent and annoying, if I, while you Erfurtians did not know about it and had not been invited, ascended to such a high dignity.

Now if the venerable Father Lector, Georg Leister, wants to or can come with you, that would also be very pleasant; but if not, 6)

so may the will of the Lord be done. In these things your fatherly love may now prove to be as we hope, and as it deserves to be hoped. We will keep your willingness in good memory and gratefully acknowledge it. Fare well in the Lord with all and every one of your brothers, and indeed with ours, to whom we entrust ourselves and ours in their prayers. Given at Wittenberg, on the day of St. Maurice [22 Sept.] 1512.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 4.

Leipzig.

October 9, 1512.

Luther's receipt.

Luther had to collect from Leipzig the money that the Elector had put up to cover the expenses of his doctorate. This is his receipt for it to the churfürstliche Rentmeister. See Mathesius, St. Louis Edition, p. 10.

The original is in *Cod. Seidelianus* in Dresden, p. 26, with the inscription by the same hand: "vicario Zu Wittb. Stawbicz I ffl. Zu eim Doctorat Michaelis 1512." Printed by Schütze, "Luthers ungedruckte Briefe," Leipzig 1780, vol. I, p. 385, from the Börnersche Sammlung at Leipzig; in Canzler und Meißner, *Quartalschrift für ältere Litteratur und neuere Lectüre*, dritter Jahrgang, zweites Heft, Leipzig 1785, p. 27, cf. p. 39; in De Wette, vol. I, p. II, and again, according to the original, in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 2; in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 53, p. 1 and, according to the original, in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 9. We give this oldest German writing of Luther according to the original. The first letter in the 6th volume of De Wette, supposedly from 1503, is, as Seidemann himself says, who adds it, spurious.

I Martinus brother eynsydelerß order. In Wittenberg. I confess with this handwriting that I have received on behalf of the prior of Wittenberg from the strictest and most dear Degenhart Pfeffinger and Johann Dolczec 7) my most gracious lord chamberlain fifty francs on Sunday after 8) francisci anno dñj 2c. xij

1) October 18.

2) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. V, 723, ?62: "I am first forced and driven into such office, since I had to become Doctor of Holy Scripture without my thanks." - *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, 665, Table Talks, Cap. 22, § 77 we read: "Many were astonished that I, when I was only twenty-eight years old, received the doctorate, forced by Staupitz."

3) *aula cathedralis*. Perhaps *sella* would like to be read instead of *aula*. What is meant is the doctorate.

4) Wenc. Link.

5) Thus in the editions: *mei ipsius accusationem*; in *Cod. Goth.* and in the Erl. Briefwechsel: *mei impiam accusationem*.

6) from only in *Cod. Goth.* and in the Erl. Correspondence. In the other editions it is written instead: *st*".

7) Thus Seidemann with the remark: "It can also be read: dolczec," Erl. Correspondence: "doltzer."

8) This "after" has been overlooked in the previous printings, except for the Erl. Briefw., was overlooked in the resolution and (even by Seidemann) the date "October 4" was set, the day of Franciscus. On this day Luther became Licentiate. (So Kolde, M. Luther, vol. I, p. 82, and Köstlin, M. Luther [3.], vol. I, p. 99.) The correct date, also in Burkhardt, p. 1. - This word: "after" is followed in the original: "Micha", but Luther crossed it out again. Nevertheless, it has passed into the editions of Schütze and De Wette.

No. 5.

Wittenberg.
1)

Beginning 1514.

**To Georg Spalatin's Church of Saxony
Court Preacher.**

Luther gives a favorable verdict on Reuchlin's expert opinion against Pfefferkorn's and the Cologne theologians' advice to ~~eradicate all books of the laws~~

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. A. 3* and 361. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 8; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 799; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 7; in *Böcking, Ulrichi Hutteni operum Supplementum 1869*, tom. I, V. I, p. 748 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 14. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 518, who, according to Tentzel's Historischer Bericht von der Reformation, vol. I, p. 165, also places this letter in the year 1510.

Jesus.

Peace be with you, venerable Lord Magister Georg! My brother Johann Lang has asked me in your name. 3) What I think of the cause of the innocent and highly learned Johann Reuchlin against his enemies in Cologne, whether he is in danger of the faith or of heresy. But you know, my dear Magister, that I also hold this man in very high esteem and love him, and that my judgment is perhaps suspect, because I am (as they say) not free and impartial; but, because you demand it, I say what is my opinion: that in his whole written opinion there is absolutely nothing that would be dangerous to me.

I am, however, very surprised about the people of Cologne, for whom they have to tie such an intricate, and (as it seems to them) in fact even more intricate knot than the Gordian one in a

4) since he very often uses such a solemn protestation, and does not present articles of faith, but the opinion of an expert opinion. These two things relieve him of so much suspicion with me in such a way that, even if he had gathered the mud of all heresies in his expert opinion, I would still believe that he had right and pure faith. For if such protestations and opinions are not free from danger, we will have to fear that these inquisitors might finally start swallowing cameos and swallowing mosquitoes, and declare the orthodox, even if they *protest* in everything, to be heretics.

But what shall I say about the fact that they are trying to cast out Beelzebub and not with the finger of God? This is what I often lament and regret, because we Christians have begun to be wise abroad and nonsensical at home. 6) A hundredfold worse are the blasphemies in all the streets of Jerusalem, and everything is full of spiritual idols. Although these should be dealt with most diligently, as inward enemies, yet we leave all these things that concern us most, and turn to outward and strange things, of course by the devil's counsel, so that we leave what is ours and do not mend what is strange.

Dear, can anything more foolish and incomprehensible be thought of than this zeal? Do the unfortunate people of Cologne have so few difficult and very confused things on which they would like to practice their science, their zeal and their love, that it would be necessary for them, since their mind is so far away from us, to first explore them?

But what do I do? My heart is full of these thoughts, more than the tongue can say. But I finally make this conclusion, since this is predicted by all prophets: that the Jews

1) There has been much dispute about the date of this letter. Löscher, De Wette, Seckendorf and Tentzel, even Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 598, place it in the year 1510, while the other authorities place it in the year 1514. We are Köstlin, Martin Luther (3.), vol. I, p. 784 p. 139; Kolde, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p. 373 ad p. 126 and Erlanger Briefwechsel, which are based on Knaake in Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie und Kirche, Jahrgang 1868, p. 345 in the review on Burkhardt's "Luthers Briefwechsel".

2) actually Georg Burkhardt from Spalt an der Rezat, 4-1/2 miles from Nuremberg. Kolde, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 41 writes: "Spelt". See No. 136.

3) Spalatin's letter to Johann Lang in Wittenberg (end of 1513), to which this reply refers, is found in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 11.

4) Compare *Plautus, Men. 2, 1, 22; Terentius, Andr. 5, 4, 39.* (Erl. Briefw.)

5) We think that *suspiciono* or *suppositione* should be read instead of superstitione; "superstition" does not seem to make sense to us.

6) About the saying: *Foris sapere et domi desipere*, see Luther's explanation, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. V, 830, § 76.

God and their King Christinn will revile and blaspheme. And I confess that he who has read this or does not understand it, has not yet seen the theology. And therefore I suppose that the Colognians cannot dissolve the Scripture, because it must be done and the Scripture must be fulfilled. And if they should undertake to cleanse the Jews from blasphemies, they will do so, that the Scripture and God appear to be lies.

But have a certain confidence that God will be true, even if a thousand times a thousand Cologne people do not want it and struggle against it in vain. For this will be the work of God alone, who works from within, not of men, who only play rather than work from without. If these things are taken from them, they will compose worse. For they are so given over to a hardened mind by God's wrath that they are, as Ecclesiastes [Cap. 1, 15.]²⁾ says, incorrigible, and every incorrigible becomes worse and never bettered by chastening. Fare well in the Lord and keep my words to me, 3) but pray for my sinful soul to the Lord. Given from our monastery this day.

Your brother Martin Luther.

No. 6.

Wittenberg.

June 16, 1514.

To Prior Andreas Lohr and the seniors of the Erfurt Augustinian Convent.

Luther defended himself against the accusation of some Erfurtians, especially M. Joh. Nathin, that he had been guilty of a breach of oath by accepting the theological doctorate in Wittenberg instead of in Erfurt, where he had received his doctorate in theology.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* A 399, fol. 118. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 6b; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 803; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 11 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 17. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 525.

1) Namely, the blasphemies of the Jews. Walch has the remark: "*istae* is not to be set off, on which it goes"; it refers to *blasphemiae* in the previous paragraph.

2) See Luther's interpretation of this passage, St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1399.

3) Walch translates: *parce verbis* by: "and is silent".

To the venerable and devout fathers and brothers, the prior Andreas Lohr and the elders of the monastery of the order of the hermits of St. Augustine at Erfurt, his brothers who are highly honored in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail in the Lord, venerable fathers! Although I have heard and read many evil things that have been said about us, 4) especially about me, by some of you, I have recently been so moved by the letters of Father John Nathin, who writes, as it were, in the name of all of you, by the lies, pointed words, and bitter and mocking challenges of him, that I was close to pouring out the full bowl of wrath and indignation on him and the entire Convention after the example of Magister Paltz 5).

Therefore I have also addressed two stupid letters⁶⁾ to you, - I do not know whether they have reached you, - and would have sent their secret interpretation immediately, if the mouth of him who speaks ungodly things had not been shut on the occasion of the convened meeting. Therefore I am forced to consider many of you, even most of you, already excused.

Therefore I ask you, if you or some among you are offended in these letters in something

4) Instead of *vobis* in the editions, we have used the *Codex* and the Erl. Briefw. *nobis* assumed.

5) Joh. Nathin had begun his theological course in Tübingen in 1484 and should also have received his doctorate there, but did so in Erfurt, which sheds a peculiar light on his behavior in Luther's promotion matter. He was in Erfurt since 1488 and is listed as professor of theology in 1493. He was next to Paltz in the monastery when Luther entered in 1505. During a visitation, he praised Luther to the nuns at Mühlhausen as a model of holiness, another Paul (Kolde, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 57). -Johann Paltz, actually Johann Zenser von Paltz in Swabia or in the archdiocese of Trier, Augustinian, famous preacher of indulgences under Raymund von Gurk, author of the "heavenly treasure trove" (St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 201), was professor of theology in Erfurt when Luther entered the monastery, since 1504 also provost in the monastery zum Neuen Werk near Halle. In 1507 he moved to Mühlheim (now Thal Ehrenbreitstein near Coblenz), probably because of the quarrel with the Erfurt convent, which Luther denounced here. He died on March 13, 1511 (Erl. Briefw.).

6) Walch offers: "a doubly fatuous letter".

Forgive me this, and lay what I have done only to the angry writings of Magister Nathin. For my exceedingly great agitation was a just one.

But now I hear even more annoying things, that this same person is everywhere calling me a perjurer and a shameful person; I do not know in which power he trusts. But I ask you, since you (as I fear) cannot stop his mouth, that you at least moderate yourselves and teach others to refrain from his words. For I am not perjured for the sake of it, because I received my doctorate elsewhere. For both universities, and all of you, know that I did not acquire the first degree, for the Bible,¹⁾ where it is customary to swear, at Erfurt, nor am I aware that I have taken any oath in my entire [academic] career. And the beginning 2) with the sentences 3) I have indeed made at Erfurt, but that I have sworn, I believe, no one will claim. But what Magister Nathin will hear from me by the power of the one who commands and demands obedience 4) he will perhaps see in his own time.

I am writing this, dearest fathers, so that the theologians of Erfurt do not take me for a despiser of their university, to which I ascribe everything that is mine as a thankful mother. I have not despised them [the theologians], nor will I ever despise them, although my incorporation [into the convent of the Augustinians at Wittenberg] and my doctorate have made me a stranger to them according to the place. But both these things the convent, if it had wanted, could have prevented with one word; but what it could and did not want then, behold, it cannot do now, even if it wanted to.

1) in *Biblia*, that is, *Baccalaureus biblicus*. Luther received this degree, with which he was permitted to lecture on the Bible, at Wittenberg on March 9, 1509.

2) Aurifaber: in *principio*. According to this wrong reading, Walch's translation is meaningless.

3) as a Sententiarius, who received permission to read over the first two books of the Sentences of Peter Lombardus.

4) namely of the vicar Staupitz, who had forced Luthern to the doctorate.

For in such a way it pleased GÖtze to nullify the ambiguities and the threats of those who hoped for revenge.

But all this may pass away, for I am quite calm and peaceable in my heart towards all of you, however much I have been offended. For God blesses me, the unworthy, in a very special way, so that I have only cause to rejoice, and to love and do good, likewise to those who have earned the opposite for me, just as I also have earned the opposite of what I receive from God from the Lord. Therefore, I ask that you also be content, and put away the bitterness that may be present, and may my release from your bond (*excorporatio*) not move you, because the Lord has willed it so, which must not be resisted. Be well in the Lord. From our monastery in Wittenberg, June sixteenth, 1514.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 7.

Wittenberg.

August 5, 1514.

To Georg Spalatin.

Luther testifies to his displeasure at the outrageous attacks of Ortwin (*Ortuinus Gratius* [de Graes]) against Reuchlin. He was one of Hoogstraten's comrades and wrote *Apologiam adversus Joh. Reuchlinum*; this appeared in February 1514.

The damaged original is in the Ministerialbibliothek 5) at Erfurt. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 278. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 5; by Löscher, *Ref.-Acta*. Vol. I, p. 802; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 13 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 20. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 522.

To the highly learned and by him in Christ highly admired priest, Georg Spalatin, his allertheuersten [friend].

Jesus.

Hail! Until now, highly learned Spalatin, I have taken this Cologne poetaster Ortwin for an ass. But you see that he has become a dog, yes, a ravening wolf in sheep's clothing, if not rather a crocodile, as you think even more astutely. I, at least, believe that he himself, since our Johann Reuchlin has indicated to him that he is a donkey, has become a dog.

5) So De Wette. The Erl. Briefw. says: at the university library.

(*asinitatem*, to speak Greek in the Latin language 1) finally even grasped it with his hands, but, since he was anxious to take it off and to put on the lion majesty, he remained in a wolf or crocodile by an unfortunate leap on this side, namely since he strove too much beyond his strength to effect the transformation.

Dear God, what shall I say? Let us learn here, I beg you, from this one, the judgment of all who have ever written or spoken, write or speak, write or speak about spitefulness: how quite true, reasonable and sensible it is; I say especially of spitefulness, which is probably the most nonsensical, which wants to harm most violently and yet is unable to do so. Although its licentiousness is without fear, yet 2) its incapacity is exceedingly full of extraordinary anguish and unrest.

It is true that this Ortwin foolishly brings together and forces ridiculous and self-contradictory things, but more correctly, things to be deplored and lamented, not only because he twists the words and the meaning of the quite innocent Capnio [Reuchlin] with all sacrilegiousness, but also because he increases the damage of blindness and obstinacy in his heart with all fury, as the Scripture says [Habak. 2, 6]: "He only loads much mud 3) upon himself."

I would discuss many things from those writings with you by letter, if one did not have to suffer more than laugh about them, with such great destruction of souls, which I fear even more for the future. May the Lord grant that it will soon come to an end. But it is a special joy to me that the matter has reached Rome and the apostolic see rather than that in other places 4) those hostile people are free to judge 5) . . . Since Rome has very learned people among the Cardinals, [so].

1) Luther says this jokingly because of the non-Latin word *asinitas* (donkey nature) which he formed.

2) We have adopted *tamen* instead of turn with Aurifaber.

3) Walch reads: *lumen* [light], instead of: *lutum* [koth].

4) *in partibus* == in other places besides Rome.

5) Here is in the original, already torn in Aurifaber's time, a smaller and immediately following a larger gap, which we have tried to fill in something.

at least more mercy [for Reuchlin can be expected from them than] will be granted by the unwilling Cologne people, [more] than these ABC grammarians have, who can neither distinguish what a writer tells, nor what he claims, yes, also cannot understand what he speaks, but more correctly I say, do not want to understand. Farewell and pray for me, and let us pray for our Capnio. From the monastery, on the day of the Blessed Virgin of the Snows [Aug. 5] 1514.

Brother Martin, Augustinian. 6)

No. 8.

December 21, 1514.

Wittenberg.

To the Dean and Doctors of the Theological Faculty at Erfurt.

About the same subject as No. 6.

The original of this letter was formerly in the Carthäuserkloster at Trier, now in the city library there. From the original published by Prof. Joh. Hugo Wyttenbach in the program of the Gymnasium zu Trier of 1829, p. 6. Afterwards in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 9 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 23.

To the excellent and exceedingly righteous men, fathers and lords, the dean and the other doctors of the theological faculty of the University of Erfurt, his patrons, with all devotion to service and much reverence in the Lord.

JEsus.

Reverence and service from our lowliness. I have heard a not good rumor about me, dear men, fathers and highly esteemed gentlemen, namely that I am accused of breach of oath by your dignities, because I have accepted the degree of a doctor elsewhere than at Erfurt; since I now realize that this is something that not only annoys your dignities, but also the least human being, I see that it is incumbent upon me to be humble enough and to seek to be reconciled again. But I ask urgently,

6) De Wette reads here: *Augustinus*, the name, which Luther received at his entrance into the monastery, but it is to be read with Aurifaber, Löschner and the Erlangen correspondence *Augustinianus*, because in the original on the last letters an abbreviation is to be recognized (Köstlin, M. Luther, vol. I, p. 778 ad p. 63).

that you hear me with your ears, that is, with kindness and perfect patience, for you will more easily forgive, as I hope, when you will have recognized that I have been without deceit or at least ignorant in this matter. Above all, it is certain that I did not become a baccalaureate (*biblicus*) at Erfurt, but at Wittenberg; therefore, I did not swear to obtain the baccalaureate (*pro biblia*), which, as I hear, is custom and order among you. But since I had already 1) disputed here to attain the degree of a Sententiarius, and, because I had been called to Erfurt, had postponed the completion (*principium*), I was admitted and accepted by your, rather our faculty with all difficulty, since, when the Dean, the excellent Mr. Storheim, began to present me with the regulations (*statuta*) .. 2) the Doctor was interrupted by the venerable father Magister Johann Nathin, who had variously noted on a large piece of paper what must actually be read and held for the Baccalaureates or for the Sententiaries, and prescribed to him that he should so read what served the present matter. For this I have quite certainly in my memory and am not aware of any oath. I confess that I doubt very much whether what concerns a Baccalaureus (in which, as I hear, this oath is contained) is also read for me, but much more whether I have also sworn. For that would have been a very pleasant shield for me, which I could have held up to the one who commanded me to 3) let myself be [promoted to doctor, since I not only did not seek this, but even resisted his violence to the point of annoyance. But since I was neither aware [of an oath] nor had a memory of it, and those to whom it was incumbent to speak looked through their fingers, I was forced to render obedience, but, what I did not know, with a

Offense with you. What do I care that some have not believed me or do not believe me? The awareness of the truth is enough for me, and my witness is God Himself. But this I do not write, dear fathers, that I want to be considered excused by these things or complain about injustice. I know that it can be rightly said against me: but nevertheless, you have not heard, you have not sworn: what about the condition of the right? yes, how? since you have heard our ordinances for almost six years afterwards? You are a member and you have sworn to keep our given and yet to be made orders. I admit it and acknowledge it, my mother, the University of Erfurt, to whom I owe not strife but honor. Therefore, I do not seek a fierce defense of the law, but rather, bound in Christ, I present a simple confession, for the general oath also oppresses me sufficiently, whatever in particular seems to excuse the ignorance here. Therefore, I humbly ask and beg, for the sake of the kindness of God our Savior, that your dignities forgive me first of all this offense and forgive me the guilt, be it because of a real matter, or be it for superfluous assurance and inner calming of my conscience, as we are commanded to forgive our debtors, because this was done without deceit and knowledge, which may have happened. Then I also ask this, that you will condescend to indulge (*dispensare*) in all things, to approve (*ratificare*) and, what is lacking, to supplement (*defectus supplere*), if not (which I may not assume in view of your kindness) any of these things should seem to have to be cut off for my punishment. Since I, as a poor man of Christ, cannot do enough in any other way, I will gladly suffer with shame that I am regarded by you as a clumsy and rejected man; I seek more that the guilt than the punishment be remitted to me, if neither can be conceded. This I would have done long ago, and presently, in words; for this I had resolved to do, but, I know not by what business I was distracted (for so it seems to me

1) namely at Wittenberg, where the disputation for the attainment of the dignity of a Sententiarius had already been held, when Luther was forced to go to Erfurt in a hurry.

2) Here some words are missing, perhaps: "and to read the same".

3) Staupitz. Cf. no. 3 at the beginning and no. 6 towards the end.

at least), I have postponed the matter 1) until now. In this, your dignitaries, most esteemed fathers, want to act according to your discretion, in kindness and friendliness, which I will repay with all services, for which God the Lord gives me the ability; I say, I will not repay, but Christ in me as in his very least, in whom your dignitaries may be at ease. From Wittenberg, on the twelfth day before the calends of January 1515 [Dec. 21, 1514]. 2)

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian,
unworthy Wittenberg theologian.

No. 9

Wittenberg. .

26 December 1515.

To Spalatin.

Luther reports that the dictations on the Psalter requested for printing are not yet ready and must be printed in his presence.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a, fol. 279*. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 9d; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 47 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 26. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 526.

To the highly learned man Georg Spalatin, priest of Christ, his [friend] highly honored in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! Only returned yesterday, 3) I found your letter late in the day, my dear Spalatin; I ask you that you answer for me that Martin Mercator 4) that he may not expect my dictations on the Psalter 5).

1) *distuli rem* is Plitt's conjecture instead of: *distulerim*.

2) Seidemann has placed the year 1515 above this letter.

3) from Erfurt. Lingke, Luthers Reisegeschichte (1769), p. 26.

4) Aurifaber, De Wette and Seidemann (De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 482) take *Mercator* as a proper name; on the other hand, the Erlangen correspondence wants *mercator* to be interpreted as an appellative, and the first name "Martin" to Martinus *Herbipolensis* (= Landenberg from Würzburg) in Leipzig, because neither a *Mercator* nor a "merchant" is found in the printer directories. We are not able to decide about this.

5) See in the 8th volume of the St. Louis edition the preface, p. V.

Although I wish extraordinarily that they are not published anywhere and never, I have nevertheless been forced to do so. I have not yet done enough to fulfill the commandment, but now that I have finished the public lecture on Paul 6), I want to devote myself to this one work constantly.

But even if they [the Dictates] were finished, they are not put together in such a way that they could be printed in my absence. Then it has pleased the masters of the liberal arts (*Artistis*) that they should be printed by the work of our printer 7). But this cannot even be started before Lent, 8) This very thing (if they have to be published at all) has also pleased me, so that they are first printed with rather bad 9) types, because they do not seem to me to be of such a kind that they should be produced with good type and by the service of skilled men, because they are insignificant things (*nugae*) and quite worthy of eradication. Farewell. In haste from the monastery, on Boxing Day at twelve o'clock 1516. 10)

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 10.

Wittenberg.

April 8, 1516.

To Georg Spenlein, Augustinian in Memmingen.

Oeconomic matters. Luther impressed upon him the doctrine of justification by faith.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 11; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 806; in De Wette, vol. I, 28 (with the wrong date of April 7) and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 28. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 528 with the wrong time determination: "Mittwoch", that is, April 9.

6) On the Epistle to the Romans. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 446.

7) Johann Grünenberg.

8) It was not printed at that time. It was not until 1876 that Seidemann published "Luther's First and Oldest Lectures on the Psalms from the Years 1513-1516."

9) *ignobilioribus* could also be translated: with very bad. Thus, even at that time, Grünenberg did not enjoy Luther's applause as a printer.

10) That is, Dec. 26, 1515, according to the custom of beginning the new year with Christmas Day. Walch and De Wette have the year 1516.

To the devout and sincere brother Georg Spenlein, 1) I am fighting against this error, but have not yet overcome Augustinian hermit, who is staying in the it. monastery at Memmingen, his [friend] to be loved in the Lord.

Jesus Christ.

Grace and peace be with you from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ! Dearest brother George, I want you to know that I have collected three and a half florins from your sold things, namely one florin for the Brussels vestment, half a florin for the larger work of the Eisenacher 2) and one florin for the habit and several other things. Now there are still some left, as Baptista's eclogues and your collections, in which you will have to suffer loss. For until now we have not been able to sell these things. We have now transferred the third and a half florins for you to the venerable father Vicarius. As for the last half florin which you owe him, you will endeavor either to pay or to obtain remission of the debt. For I am of the opinion that the reverend father, being well disposed towards you, will have no difficulty in remitting to you what is left.

By the way, I would like to know what your soul is doing: whether it does not finally, tired of its own righteousness, learn to breathe again in the righteousness of Christ and to trust in it. For in our time, the temptation of presumption is widespread among many, and especially among those who strive with all their might to be just and good; not knowing the righteousness of God, which is given to us in Christ most abundantly and freely, they seek to do such lukewarm good works through themselves until they have the confidence that they can stand before God, adorned as it were with their virtues and merits, which cannot possibly happen. You have been with us in this opinion, rather error; I have been too, but even now

Therefore, my dear brother, learn Christ, and that the crucified, learn to sing to him and to despair of yourself and to say to him: Thou, Lord Jesus, art my righteousness, but I am thy sin; thou hast taken upon thee that which is mine, and hast given me that which is thine; thou hast received that which thou wast not, and hast given me that which I was not. Beware lest thou strive even for so great a purity as not to appear to thyself, nay, not to be, a sinner. For Christ dwells only in sinners. For this is why he descended from heaven, where he dwelt in the righteous, that he might dwell in sinners also. Consider this love of his with thee continually, and thou shalt see his exceeding sweet consolation. For if we had to come to the rest of conscience through our efforts and tribulations, for what would he have died? Therefore, you will find peace only in him, through complete despair of yourself and your works. Moreover, you will learn from him that just as he himself accepted you, he also made your sins his own, and his righteousness yours.

If you believe this firmly, as you are guilty (for cursed is he who does not believe this), you also receive your unruly and still erring brethren, and bear with them patiently, and make their sins yours, and if you have anything good, let it be yours, as the apostle [Rom. 15:7] teaches, "Receive one another, even as Christ hath excepted you unto the praise of God"; and again [Phil. 2:5], "Be ye therefore minded, even as Jesus Christ was; who, though he was in the form of God, yet uttered himself." 2c. So also thou, if thou seemest to thyself to be better, think it not robbery, as though thou alone were so; but divest thyself, forgetting of what nature thou art, and be as one of them, that thou bearest it.

For unblessed is the righteousness of such a man who 3) treats others as if they were in disguise.

3) It seems to us that instead of *quae* should be read: *qui*. After that we have translated. In our copy of the Aurifaber, this correction is already made by an old hand.

1) Spenlein later became a parish priest in Arnstadt. See the letter of June 17, 1544, De Wette, Vol. V, p. 466.

2) Jodocus Trutfetter from Eisenach; he was formerly also a teacher of Luther.

This means that he buries the Lord's pound and does not give his fellow servants what is due to them. Therefore, if you are a lily and a rose of Christ, know that your walk will be among thorns; only see that you do not become a thorn through impatience and sacrilegious judgment or hidden hope. The dominion of Christ is in the midst of his enemies, as the Psalm [110:2] says.

What then dost thou devise, that thou shouldest be in the midst of friends? Therefore, seek all that thou lackest on thy knees, asking of the Lord Jesus. He will teach you everything; only consider what he has done for you and for all, so that you too may learn what you should do for others. If he had wanted to die only for the good and for friends, dear, for whom would he have died or for whom would he have lived? Act in this way, my brother, and pray for me, and the Lord be with you. Fare well in the Lord. From Wittenberg, Tuesday after Misericordias Domini [April 8] 1516.

Your brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 11.

Wittenberg.

April 15, 1516.

To Georg Leiffer, Augustinian at Erfurt.

Luther consoles his friend because of the temptations he suffers and advises him to entrust himself completely to his comforter, Father Bartholomew Usingen.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 13; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 808; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 18 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 31. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 532.

To the venerable father and devout Mr. Georg Leiffer,
Augustinian hermit in Erfurt, his father in the Lord.
JEsus.

Hail in the Lord and in his Comforter! Werther father and dear brother in the Lord, I hear that you, dear brother, are challenged by storms, plagued and troubled by many a flood. But praise be to God, the Father of mercy and the God of all comfort, who has provided you with the best comforter and advisor that one can have among men.

The Father Magister Bartholomew, 1) can take care of you. Let it only be your concern that you throw away your own feeling and mine from you, and give his words room in your heart. For I am sure, and instructed by your experience and mine, yea, also from the experience of all whom I have ever seen troubled, I know that the prudence of our sense alone is the cause and root of all our trouble. For our eye is a great mischief, and that I speak of myself, ei! in how great misery it has afflicted me, and afflicts me still in the utmost.

The cross of Christ is distributed over the whole world, each one always receives his part of it. Therefore, do not throw it away from you, but rather receive it as a highly holy relic, not in a golden or silver vessel, but in a golden heart, i.e., one that is dressed with mild love. For if the wood of the cross is so consecrated by the touch of Christ's flesh and blood that the remains of it are most honestly held, how much more are the insults, persecutions, sufferings and hatred of men, whether they be just or unjust, the most holy relics, which are not grasped, kissed and blessed by the touch of his flesh, but of his exceedingly loving 2) heart and divine will through love, and are highly consecrated above all things, because the curse is changed into blessing, and injustice into equity, and suffering into glory, and the cross into joy. Farewell, dear father and brother, and pray for me. From Wittenberg, on the 15th day of April, 1516.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 12.

Dresden.

May 1, 1516.

To Johann Beriten, Augustinian prior in Mainz.

Luther reclaims (as vicar) a monk who had escaped from Dresden and found refuge in Mainz.

1) Bartholomäus Arnoldi from Usingen, usually called Usingen, a former teacher of Luther at Erfurt. He died on Sept. 9, 1532 in Würzburg, where he had been since 1526. (Erl. Briefw.)

2) Instead of: *amorisissimi*, Aurifaber and De Wette read: *amorisissimi*, which does not exist.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 48 b. (Because Aurifaber, as he notes in the margin, received the letter too late from his friends, it is not placed in the correct place, but under the letters of the year 1518, but with the year 1516; therefore not wrong, as the Erl. Briefw. says); in Löscher, vol. I, p. 809; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 20 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 32. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 533 with the incorrect year 1517.

To the venerable and devout father, Brother Johann Bercken, Prior of the Augustinian Hermits at Mainz.

Jesus.

Hail in the Lord! Venerable and dear Father Prior, I have heard through a bad rumor that there is with you, Father (*apud Paternitatem tuam*), a certain Georg Baumgürtner, my brother from our convent in Dresden, who has come to you, Father, unfortunately, for shameful reasons and in a shameful way. But I thank you for your faithfulness and your kind service, that you took him in, so that the disgrace would come to an end. That lost sheep is mine, it belongs to me; it is mine to seek and to bring back from astray, if it pleases the Lord Jesu so.

I therefore ask you, Father, for the sake of our common faith in Christ and the religious vow to St. Augustine, to send him to me either to Dresden or to Wittenberg, if your servant love is in any way able to do so, or to persuade him to go, to cause him in a kind and gracious way to come voluntarily. I will receive him with open arms, he shall only come; he has therefore not to fear that he has given me offence.

I know, I know, that aversions must come; and it is no miracle that a man falls, but it is a miracle when a man rises and remains standing. Peter fell so that he would know that he was a man; the cedars of Lebanon, which touch the sky with their towering summit, also fall today; but also (what surpasses everything amazing) an angel in heaven fell and Adam in paradise. What is it to be wondered at, therefore, if a reed is tossed to and fro by the whirlwind, and a smoldering wick is extinguished? May the Lord Jesus

teach you, and do and accomplish the good work with you. Amen. Farewell. Alls Dresden, in our monastery, on the day of Saints Philip and James [May 1] 1516.

Brother Martin Luther, professor of sacred theology, and vicarius of the hermits of St. Augustine throughout Meissen and Thuringia. 1)

No. 13 .

Gotha.

May 29, 1516.

To Conrad Mutianus Rufus, Canonicus in Gotha.

Luther apologizes for not having visited or invited him during his stay in Gotha.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* A 399, fol. 121 d. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 15; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 810; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 21 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 34. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 535.

The highly learned and highly educated Conrad Mutianus, 2) Canonicus at Gotha, Doctor of Laws, that is, a very worthy man.

Jesus.

Hail in the Lord! The fact that I have not bribed your love, highly learned and highly educated Mutianus, nor invited you to me, is partly due to the haste of my journey and likewise also the diligence in carrying out the service assigned to me, but also due to the high opinion and true reverence which I have for you. For our mutual friendship 3) is too young for me to have dared to question your excellence, which is true in my eyes and in itself.

1) Ten convents were subordinated to Luther as vicarius: Wittenberg, Dresden, Herzberg, Gotha, Salza, Nordhausen, Sangershausen, Erfurt, Magdeburg and Neustadt. Eisleben was added later.

2) Mutianus (actually Mut) was the head of the humanist circle in Erfurt, therefore Luther uses here the expression: *Humanissimo*, and later in the letter the address: *Humanitas* do what we have given by: "your love".

3) This was initiated by Johann Lang's sending to Mutianus on May 2, 1515, the sermon Luther had delivered the day before at the meeting of the order in Gotha (Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 938) with great praise of Luther. (Köstlin, M. Luther [3.], Vol. I, p. 129.)

to humiliate her that she should see yours truly.

But now I go where I have orders and must go, but I did not want to do this without greeting you, although the shyness of my ignorance and (that I say so) impertinence (*illoquentiae*) murmured against it; 1) but my affection for you keeps the upper hand, and this peasant Corydon greets you highly learned, exceedingly refined man,²⁾ namely Martin, who is unlearned and always used to cackle among the geese. But I know, but I am certain, but I even measure myself, that Mutianus prefers the heart to the tongue and the pen. Therefore my heart is learned enough, because it is friendly enough towards you. Farewell, farewell, dear father in the Lord Jesus, and be mindful of me. From our monastery in Gotha, on the 29th day of May 1516.

Brother Martin Luther, vicarius over ten monasteries. 3)

This one thing I want to let you know: the father Baccalaureus Johann Lang, whom you know as a Greek and Latin, but what is greater than a man of sincere heart, has recently been appointed by me as prior of the monastery at Erfurt. You will recommend this man to the people in the best way and intercede for him diligently before God. Fare well. In haste, as you see.

No. 14.

Langensalza.

May 29, 1516.

To Joh. Lang, prior in Erfurt.

Luther, still on the visitation journey, gives him regulations for the better management of the household in the monastery.

1) Only the Codex, and after it the Erlangen correspondence, has the reading: *subministraret*, which seems to us to give no puffing sense; therefore we have assumed *submussitaret* with the other editions.

2) *Virg. Bucolica*, *Ecl.* II, v. 56.

3) *Decanus Vicarius*. Here *Decanus* must not be taken as "Decan of the theological faculty in Wittenberg", as De Wette did in his summary of this letter, because Carlstadt held this dignity at that time; it means "tenfold Vicarius", namely over the ten monasteries mentioned in the previous number. It seems that Luther wants to justify the lack of time for visits.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* X. 399, fol. 120. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 14 ; 4) in Löscher, vol. I, p. 811; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 22 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 37. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 536.

To the venerable and devout father Johann Lang, Baccalaureus of Theology, Prior of the Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt, his [beloved] always in the Lord.

JEsus.

Grace and peace 5) multiply upon you abundantly. It has occurred to me, dear father and my faithful co-worker in the work of the Lord, since I am now absent, what I did not think of when I was present, or if I had thought of it, I would not have considered or recognized it so great. But it is this, that the hospice (*domus hospitum* == the house of the guests) (which I have always considered something extremely dangerous in the monasteries, if it comes into abuse, although it is an extremely holy service of God, if it happens in the Lord) cannot be better judged and directed, than if it is observed with careful attention, what and how much is spent in it. Therefore, trusting in you, in which I have the confidence that you will do more than I desire, I do not command, but remind you in the Lord that you keep a special register, in which you record daily how much beer, how much wine, how much bread, how much meat, yes, how much of all things of every kind is consumed in the same [hospice]; I add: what has been spent for your dignity 6) or that of another.

4) The Erl. Briefwechsel also notes here, as he did with the previous letter: with Aurifaber "in the wrong place". This remark is also in Löscher, Vol. I, 810 at No. 13. Aurifaber's oversight is this: he has this letter in the first place, then the one in No. 13. Aurifaber was somewhat justified to keep such order, because both letters are dated: "May 29, 1516". He has overlooked, however, that Luther was on this day rather in Gotha than in Langensalza.

5) This apostolic greeting appears here for the first time in Luther's letters. Compare Luther's interpretation of this greeting in the detailed interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, St. Louis Edition, Vol. IX, 44, § 45 ff.

6) This will refer to Lang's promotion to prior, which had taken place only shortly before. See the postscript to No. 13.

You shall not record there, but only that which is related to the common guests.

The manner of this register, if you cannot invent something better, arrange so that you write in certain interspaces thus: on the day of this saint, or on such a weekday, after such a feast day, so much is consumed, namely in wine so much, in bread so much 2c., for such a N. or N. guests. Let not this be thought troublesome or superfluous; take heed well, I beseech thee, or I would command thee; peradventure thou knowest not my thoughts. For in such a way (if all common sense does not deceive me) you will see whether the convent is more a monastery than an inn or tavern. Yes, in this way you will not only be able to know how much has been consumed, but also to which people and on how many days you have been hospitable, finally also to which guests the works of reverence have been paid; but also the grumbling of the brothers can be countered, and accounts can be filed, or accused, and many other things that I do not say now.

I would also like you to make a special and separate record for those who come and go out and bring their guests with them, so that the restless and insatiable people may be held accountable for how much they wastefully consume, while they are hopeful for the greatness of their benefits and their work. Fare well and be a strong man, and the Lord will be with you; remember also that you are set up as a sign that will be contradicted, to some a good smell to life, but to others a smell to death, and pray for me. From Salza, on the eighth day after the Feast of Corpus Christi (May 29) in the year 1516. Brother Martin Luther.

I have not found any monasteries in this district that are in as good order as, by the grace of God, the one at Gotha and the one at Salza. We heard this one in one hour, that one in about two. Therefore, we have finished quickly, and will, by the grace of God

I hope that the Lord will work and rule in spiritual and temporal matters in these places without us, even though it is against the will of the devil. I have a kind of indisposition that will cause me fever if the Lord does not prevent it. You pray for me that his exceedingly beautiful and always blessed will be done for me, amen.

No. 15.

Wittenberg.

June 8, 1516.

To Spalatin.

Luther, having returned from his visitation trip, in response to a found letter from Spalatin, refuted the Elector's plan to make Staupitzen a bishop.

Handwritten in *Cod.* Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 16; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 812; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 24 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 39. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 539.

To the servant of God and servant of Christ, that is, to the extremely righteous priest, Magister Georg Spalatin, your highly learned man and his true friend.

Jesus.

Hail! As you asked, my best Spalatin, I have returned, thank God, at least unharmed in body, God knows whether also in mind. I therefore give thanks to your love. Your letter was also delivered to me immediately, because the brothers did not know where I was, so that they could have sent it to me. You also write that our most noble prince wishes that our reverend father should now become vicarius, I do not know what kind of high thing, and that he should also make use of you as a helper to bring this about; and you certainly do what a man who is a friend without hypocrisy is wont to do. But I wish that your persuasion of the venerable father will become sleepier and duller than a dry stubble, and I will advise in my letters what is contrary to you, or at least I will advise in such a way that he, when he is persuaded, should waver as to which way he should turn.

Are you surprised about this? It is certainly true that I do not despise your advice,

1) *terminarii*, monks sent out to beg or collect offerings and favors.

because with the best will in the world I cannot help but believe that they come from a very good heart, yes, because I see that you are carried away by true love and therefore recognize that you are deprived of the right judgment. For true love does not find the right judgment, as Chrysostom says. But this I say, that the prince's desire has moved you to talk to him. For I do not want the venerable father in any way to get involved in this matter, which your persuasion is striving for with all its effort, because it pleases your prince so. Many things are pleasing to your prince, and shine with great brightness in his eyes, which are displeasing to God and are not good. Not that I want to deny that he is the very smartest in worldly affairs, but that I recognize that he is almost sevenfold blind in the things that concern God and the salvation of souls, just like your Pfeffinger. 1)

And I do not say this in the corner, as a slanderer, nor do I want you to hide this in any way; I am ready, if somehow the opportunity gives it, to say it to both of your faces. But if it were certain that what is in your hands is from God, I wish that your persuasion would become fire and that one would become stubble. And don't let it come to you that what your prince and you are planning is so secret; I heard long before I saw your letter that the venerable father is being asked to be a bishop (if I remember correctly) "at Kimsehe" [Chiemsee] But this is what your letter and Pfeffinger's, and also that of his sister, the abbess,²⁾ whom I saw at Eisleben, is about, if I have not had the wrong scent.

But, my dear Spalatin, these are not times of such prosperity that it should be blissful, or rather extremely miserable, to be a bishop (*praesulari*), that is, to live in indulgence, sodomizing, and according to Roman ways, which you yourself sufficiently recognize when you compare the works and doings of the old bishops with the doings and works of the bishops of our time. At

1) Degenhart Pfeffinger, a Bavarian nobleman from Alberskirch, Doctor of Laws and Counselor to the Elector. Cf. no. 4.

2) Probably Magdalena, Staupitzen's sister.

Now those are the best, who with all their strength and all their intrigues pursue quarrels before the court and build up the property (*rem familiarem*), that is, the insatiable hell of avarice. And even though this man is very far from all these vices, will you be a guarantor that, if the occasion arises, yes, if (as is now happening and being said everywhere) necessity drives him, this man will not be drawn into the whirlwinds and raging storms of the episcopal courts?

But enough of that; I answer your request. If this matter is indeed such that it cannot suffer any delay, then I ask you to inform me immediately, because the venerable father is now in Antwerp and will hardly return before the autumn; but for his sake I will gladly send a messenger of my own as far as Cologne. For this is the place where he has instructed us to send letters to him. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me. From our monastery in Wittenberg, on the eighth of June in the year 1516.

Martin Luter, Augustinian.

No. 16.

Wittenberg.

June 22, 1516.

To Michael Dresse, Augustinian Prior in Neustadt.

First, about religious matters, then about true peace in the midst of temptations.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* B. n., fol. 177. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 18 b; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 815; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 26 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 42. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 543.

To the venerable and devout Father Michael Dressel (*Tornator*), Prior of the Augustinian Hermits at Neustadt, his [beloved] in the Lord always.
JEsus.

Salvation and peace, but not the revealed one according to the sense of men, but the one hidden under the cross and exalted above all reason in the Lord! I reply briefly to your letter and that of the Teutonic gentleman who desires to be admitted to our Order, dear and venerable Father. First of all, that it is not our place to

It is not to hinder a beneficial intention, but rather to promote and encourage it, if care is taken that it is done with the Lord and in the Lord. But it will be done in the Lord, if one does not keep every man's mine and holy intention, but the prescribed law and the order of the superiors and the decrees of the fathers, without which he hopes in vain for prosperity and salvation for himself, however good his intention may be.

Therefore, I do not give my consent, nor can I give my consent, to the admission of this gentleman, unless he brings properly sealed letters from his superior, and wants to do everything else, which, as is written in the 16th chapter of our orders, must be done by such people, lest he cause himself and us to repent afterwards. For no one may be removed from his superior merely on the testimony of one. It is someone else's property until he who has power over it gives his consent in a lawful manner. If he would now hardly agree to produce such letters, behold, it will already come to light whether the spirit is of God. For that which is of God endures, and suffers and endures all things, that it may endure.

Then about brother Henning, that you write that you gave him a vacation (*licentiam*) on Tuesday after Vitus [June 17]: I have not yet seen him, nor has he come to me. I have ordered the brother Peter Hilperhausen to Sangerhausen instead of Andreas Ilmen, whom I have had admitted to Erfurt because of his weakness. The fathers in Sangerhausen have my letter to him, because I assumed that he would travel to Mansfeld, as he had asked me.

You seek and desire peace, but in a wrong way, because you seek it as the world gives it, not as Christ gives it. Or do you not know, my dear father, that God is wonderful in his people because he has placed his peace in the midst of strife, that is, in the midst of all temptations? as he says [Ps. 110:2]: "Rule in the midst of your enemies." Therefore, it is not the peace that no one oppresses, but rather the peace that has

of the world; but he whom all people and all things trouble, and bears all this calmly with joy. You say to Israel, Peace, peace, and there is no peace. Rather, say to Christ: Cross, cross, and is no cross. For as soon as the cross ceases to be a cross, than thou canst cheerfully say: Blessed cross, among all woods there is none such.

See, therefore, how fatherly the Lord provokes you to true peace, since he surrounds you with such a great cross. For such is called the peace of God, which is higher than all reason, that is, which cannot be felt nor perceived, nor even thought. No thought can see and understand it. Only the one who gladly bears the cross in everything he feels, thinks, understands, such a afflicted one experiences this peace afterwards. For all our understanding, all our work, all our thoughts, he has ordered under this peace of his, and has fastened them to the cross (that is, subjected them to various and troubled disturbances); therefore peace is above reason, and different from that which we invent and desire, namely incomparably much better. Seek this and you will find it. But you cannot seek it better than by taking the troubles upon yourself with joy, as if they were holy relics, and not by seeking and choosing peace according to your opinion and sense. Fare well and pray for me, best father, and may the Lord guide you. From Wittenberg, in the year 1516 on the day of the ten thousand martyrs [June 22].

Martin Luder,
District¹⁾ -vicarius.

No. 17.

Wittenberg.

June 30, 1516.

To Johann Lang.

Luther asks him to send brothers of disorderly conduct to Sangerhausen for punishment. News.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth. A 399, fol. 113 b*. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 17b; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 814; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 28 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 44. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 541.

1) Löscher, Vol. I, p. 353, interprets *districtus* as "much bothered", which is also approved by the Erlangen correspondence. It seems to us that this is not permissible for this purely official letter, even if it would be permissible for a letter addressed to a friend.

Your venerable father Johann Lang, Baccalaureus of Theology, Prior of the Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt, his [friend] in the Lord.

JESus.

Hail in the Lord! I have written a letter to you from Sangerhausen, dearest father, that if you had a brother who was unbroken in spirit, you might send him there for his punishment. 1) Now I am writing another letter to you from Wittenberg, and I do not only order, but I also ask, that you leave either Georg Schleusinger or Wilhelm Tischer to them in Eisleben, if not handed over, at least for the time being, until the venerable father has returned. For now necessity forces it, and you may tell this brother and all that this is not done by me out of a violent mind, but we all, especially I, are obliged to uphold the honor of the vicariate, especially of the venerable father vicarius, as and where we can.

These very fathers have sent me a brother who was close to attaching a huge stain to this new plantation 2). The brother Caspar, who is senior there, has received the last ovation and is lying down, the Lector Antonius is also lying down, the father Baccalaureus 3) is in Leipzig, two others are on the journey 4) to collect for the building, as you know, and this one 5) is now here with me. Five priests are in total in the service of the convent: consider for yourself whether the need should not be helped.

But so that you or others do not get a suspicion: the plague does not prevail there. Be well and greet the fathers, the magisters and the lector 6) and the others, not

in my name, but in the name and power of God. From Wittenberg, on the day of the commemoration of St. Paul [June 30].

Brother Martin, Particular 7)-Vicar.

Two more Carmelite brothers 8) joined us. Brother Johann Königsberg has recovered completely. The prior of Herzberg has suffered severely from coughing and spitting up blood; I fear that he will not recover. Pray for him and command him to yours; he has not yet been able to hold the disputation for the baccalaureate. The storm and thunderstorm near Dresden destroyed most of the vineyards of our monastery in such a way that it is thought that the damage could hardly be repaired with two to three hundred florins; it also destroyed many others. This is the news.

No. 18.

August 24, 1516.

Wittenberg.

To Spalatin.

Luther asked Spalatin for the letters of St. Jerome or an excerpt of the life of the apostle Bartholomew from Jerome's *Cat. viror. illustrium*, since he wanted to preach a sermon on this subject.

The original is in the Abbey Library of Zurich. Printed by Hottinger, *Hist. eccl. tom.* VI, p. 756; in Tentzel, "Historischer Bericht vom Anfang und ersten Fortgang der Reformation" 2c., p. 163; in Strobel-Ranner, *Lutheri ep.,* p. 33; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 48 (without determination of the date) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 46.

His Georg Spalatin, the servant of God.

JESus.

Hail! I ask you for a service of both love and faith, my dearest Spalatin, that is, that you either help me at this hour to the letters of St. Jerome, or at least, as briefly 9) as possible, to the letters of St. Jerome.

1) In October, three such monks were sent from Erfurt to Sangerhausen. See No. 26.

2) In 1515, the Counts of Mansfeld founded an Augustinian monastery in Eisleben, whose prior at that time was Georg Nagel.

3) Caspar Güttel, who came there from Neustadt an der Orla in 1515, was in Leipzig to obtain the doctorate.

4) *sunt in terminis* == they terminiren, collect mild gifts.

5) Perhaps a monk delivering the present letter?

6) Georg Leister.

7) In contrast to the general vicar, Luther here calls himself vicar *particularis* == vicar of a piece.

8) Their names were: Johannes Hais from Naumburg and Sixtus Maul from Bamberg, *Album* p. 62. The prior of the Augustinians from Herzberg is Simon *Cesarmis*, *Album* p. 64. *Liber Decan.* p. 19. 21. - "Königsberg" seems to be Fogler, *Album* p. 33. (Seidemann at De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 530, Amn. 2.)

9) De Wette notes: "It can be doubted whether it is called *breviter*." - Perhaps *celeriter*, because Luther insists on the highest haste.

you can write out for me from the "Little Book of Famous Men" (which I want more) what the saint himself wrote about St. Bartholomew, the apostle, so that I have it before twelve o'clock; for I will preach a sermon about it before the people. 1) By those antics and lies of the Catalogus and the golden legend²⁾ I have been extraordinarily annoyed. Farewell, dear brother. From our little monastery.

Brother Martin Luder, Augustinian.

I do not want you to be surprised that I am a theologian and without Jerome. For I am expecting the edition of Erasmus, 3) and the [Jerome], which I used to use, Johann Lang has taken with him [and] 4) sold.

No. 19 .

Wittenberg.

August 30, 1516.

To Joh. Lang.

Luther sends him the speech he gave in the Gotha chapter and tells him to share it with other friends. Religious affairs.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* A 399, fol. 114. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 20; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 817; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 29 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 48. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 547.

To the venerable and sincerely God-fearing man
Johann Lang, Prior of the Augustinian Hermits of
the monastery at Erfurt, Baccalaureus of
Theology, his brother in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! This speech of mine, which I held in Gotha at our chapter,⁵⁾ I am sending to you.

to you, venerable father, and command them to your fidelity, as I wish to do enough for my fidelity through them, that is, that you have them brought as soon as possible either to Mr. Johann Braun, priest of the holy virgin at Eisenach, or to Mr. Wigand von Guldennappen,⁶⁾ priest in Waltershausen, 7). For I owe it to him to fulfill the promise; however, I promise and give the Lector, Father Georg Leister, the opportunity to read them, or to whom he himself may wish. Not that I consider them worthy of reading, but that I only have to comply with and obey the wishes of others more than my own.

By the way, you are violently agitated against the Magister Johann Vogt 8). I know nothing, nor do I understand any secret things (*mysteria*). But I have heard the Magdeburg prior, face to face [I have talked with him], who was also morose at that time - and completely the same as he had been in Eisleben, that is, completely despairing of maintaining the studies 9) with him, and also some seniors held it with him; then, as far as I fully understood and believed the father Magister, the study there was left without active help and assistance, but only in a suffering way, but with the will of the provincial fathers. And so, easily believing this, I left.

But now it will be your business not only to receive this blow on the right cheek, but also to offer it to the others. This will not be your greatest, but also not your last challenge. God's wisdom is only playing with you and preparing you for serious warfare if you live. It is nothing that you send the studying brethren to me, both because we have too much of it, and because the plague is raging all around, and it is expected to break in every day, so that it may

1) This sermon is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 1732. Since it was preached in 1516, on St. Bartholomew's Day, the time determination for this letter given by the Erlangen correspondence results from it.

2) This refers to the *Petrus de Natalibus catalogus sanctorum* and the *Jacobus de Voragine legenda aurea*. (Tentzel, Vol. I, p. 163.)

3) The latter's edition of Jerome appeared in the year

4) There is a gap here in the original; we have added *atque*.

5) The chapter at Gotha was on April 29, 1515. The sermon Luther delivered on May 1 is found in the St. Louis edition, Vol. X, 938.

6) Thus in Latin: *Guldennappensem*; Walch: "Guldenapt."

7) As Luther wrote to Duke John Frederick of Saxony on May 14, 1526, interceding on his behalf, he had been one of Luther's teachers in Eisenach when he attended the school of the parish church of St. George there.

8) Augustinians in Magdeburg.

9) The term "*studium*" is probably used here to refer to the "*studium gensrule*", the educational institution associated with the Augustinian monastery.

When they come, they will not be forced to leave soon, because everyone predicts the coming of the plague in the most certain way. Endure, suffer, believe, hope everything, as your love does.

I don't know if you can find the venerable father 1) in Munich. He sent letters to me from the valley 2) when I returned from Magdeburg, which are quite sad and short; I thought I had given you news about them. But the Prince, and even the Counts of Mansfeld 3) have sent him letters, and his arrival was assumed and is still suspected, but perhaps he is traveling to Alsace. Magister Johannes Vogt writes that Magister Johann von Mecheln 4) has written to him: because of the reformation 5) of the convent in Dordrecht, the venerable father has been requested by Duke Carl 6) and the council of this city; 7) I do not want this to happen. Farewell. From Wittenberg, on the day of Felix and Adauctus 8) [Aug. 30. Greet everyone and commend me to them. Brother Martin Luther.

No. 20 .

Wittenberg.

September 25, 1516.

To Michael Dressel and the Augustinian chapter in Neustadt.

Luther removes Dressel as prior because of the discord prevailing in his monastery, and orders that a new one be elected.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 21; in Löschner, vol. I, p. 819 (with the wrong resolution of the date: Sept. 27); in De Wette, vol. I, p. 30 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 50. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 549.

1) Staupitz.

2) *ex Valle*, that is from Mühlheim, *Vallis molaria*, now Thal-Ehrenbreitstein.

3) because of the newly founded monastery in Eisleben.

4) Jnscribirt im *Album Viteb.*, p. 22 im Sommersemester 1507.

5) That is, about the admission to the Congregation of the Reformed Augustinians.

6) of funds.

7) Here it says *et* in the editions, but is missing in the codex we followed.

8) In the Jubelkalender von Wien, St. Louiser Ausg., vol. XV, 132: "Adauchus."

To the venerable and devout Fathers, Brother Michael Dressel, Prior of the Convent of the Hermits of St. Augustine at Neustadt, together with the Seniors and Chapter Lords of the same Convent, his dearly beloved in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail in the Lord! I hear with sorrow, as I am worthy to hear, dear fathers and brethren, that ye live without peace and unity, and though ye are in one hand, have not one manner, nor, as the rule requires. Have one heart and one soul in the Lord. This wretched and useless way of living comes either from the weakness of your humility, because where there is humility there is peace, or from my negligence, or at least from your guilt and mine, because we do not complain before the Lord who made us, nor pray that he may guide our way in his sight, and lead us in his righteousness. He who errs, errs, errs who fails to guide himself by his counsel, much less others, but this must be obtained from God by humble prayer and godly disposition, as the Psalm [119:133.] 9) does: "Let my walk be sure in thy word." Thus Tobias taught his son [Cap.4, 20. Vulg.]: "Always give thanks to God, and ask Him to guide you in your ways." Therefore, because you did not do this or did not do it rightly, it is not to be wondered at that you were not guided but hindered. How now? There is danger in a life without peace, because it is without Christ, and is rather a death than a life.

Therefore, I am forced to do absently what I did not want to do at the moment, and now I would like to be present very much, but I cannot. Therefore, with wholesome obedience, accept this decree of mine, if perhaps the Lord of Peace will deign to work with us. For the whole or the foremost cause of your confusion is that you are at variance with your head and prior, and this is more harmful than one brother being at variance with another. Therefore, by the authority of my office, I command you, Brother Michael Dressel, to take office and seal.

9) Erl. Briefw., Ps. 119, 35.

By this authority I also absolve you from the office of a prior, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. And by this letter, as one absent, I will have done to the absent what I would have done presently to the present.

Nor do I want you to complain that I have judged you unheard and have not heard your excuses. For I believe very gladly that you have done everything you have done in the best opinion, and I can also in no way think that you have done anything intentionally and maliciously, by which this disturbance has been brought about; you have done as much as you have had grace. For this I give you thanks, and all your brothers; if they do not give you thanks, they displease me greatly.

But this is what must comfort you, that it is not enough for a man to be good and godly for himself, but there must also be peace and harmony of others with him. Often the best works fail, and are justly condemned, in order that peace may be preserved: how much more are those not to be preferred to peace, which a man has done in good faith and with all diligence, and yet by them has not served peace!

Therefore, after the prior has been absolved [from his office], I ask you, for the sake of Christ's mercy, to immediately be unanimously careful to elect three in order according to the statutes, namely, so that you do not (as I have often experienced useless elections and futile votes) mention one of them, nor does anyone among you give his vote to such a one, whom one cannot have, namely, who is already in office or otherwise not available. 1) For if one so votes, one loses time and labor, and the votes are given in vain. Therefore, it would please me if, before the election, all those who cannot be given to you were publicly enumerated, so that everyone would know to whom he should not give the vote. Nor is it a mistake for you to list some of those who can be given to you.

For the sake of those who do not know about those who are to be chosen.

But whomsoever ye shall choose, do this for him, brethren, with all diligence, that ye entreat, not with your strength, but with continual prayer, as I have said, that the Lord may guide you. For the scripture saith in Jeremiah [Cap. 10:23], "I know, O Lord, that the doings of man are not in his power, neither is it in any man's power how he shall walk, or how he shall direct his course." For behold, I testify to you by this present writing, and I tell you beforehand that unless you obtain a rule over you from God through prayer, you will not have peace and good prosperity, even if St. John the Baptist were your prior. Everything is in the hand of the Lord; whoever does not believe this will have plagues and troubles until he learns it.

In the instruction of the young people, I ask you to be diligent and faithful, as in that which is first and highest for the whole convent, as I said and recommended to you when I was present. Be well and pray for me and for all of us. In the convent of Magdeburg the brother Johannes de Buscha (*Busscha*) died; the Subdiaconus in Dresden,²⁾ the father senior, Johann Kunzel. The plague is raging all around us, and we expect daily what the Magdeburgers are suffering. Therefore, be mindful of us and of those in Magdeburg, that whom He will call away. He calls in mercy. Be at ease in the Lord. From Wittenberg, Thursday after Mauritius [Sept. 25] 1516.

Brother Martin Luder, temporary [*medius*] vicar of the Augustinians.

No. 21

Kemberg.

October 5, 1516.

To Johann Lang.

Luther sends Lang a letter concerning the prior at Eschwege, speaks out about a satirical writing sent to him, and exhorts him to patience against fallen brothers.

1) Heinrich Zwetzen was elected in Dressel's place. See No. 25.

2) According to the punctuation in the editions, "Buscha" would be the Subdiaconus in Dresden. But the postscript to the letter of October 5 reads: *Obist in Dresden P. Senior Johannes Kuntzel.*

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth. A. 399*, fol. 119. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 25 b; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 824; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 36 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 59. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 557.

To the venerable man devoted to the true religion, Johann Lang, Baccalaureus, of sacred theology, prior of the hermits at Erfurt, his [friend] to be highly honored in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! Please see to it, my dear father, that this letter is brought to the prior in Eschwege 1) in any way possible to you, and the money, which he might send to you, no one can get to us more easily than you. For you know how extremely impatient our genii, lares and all penates 2) are about a delay, because they are very poor. Since the Eschwegesche brother himself is poor and owes us, he is also so poor and in debt that he must be helped soon.

Those antics that you sent to me, "of the petitions to the holy pope against the false theologians" (*theologastros*), 3) are, as is all too clear, invented by an immoral person, and taste entirely of the same pot as the letters of the dark ones. However, they have been made known to almost everyone by me on a good occasion, since we were all together, invited to a licentiate (as they say) of two physicians, and all have passed the same judgment about it.

I sincerely begrudge Doctor Henning 4) his honors, but I fear no less for his well-being, that he might be lifted high, so that he might fall down by an even heavier fall. May the Lord grant him to think moderately of himself in all things and to recognize himself clearly.

You would have looked for the venerable father Vicarius in Munich quite rightly, 5) because from there

1) Johann Spangenberg. - Eschwege an der Werra im ehemaligen Churfürstenthum Hessen.

2) This is what Luther jokingly calls the inhabitants of the monastery.

3) *Tenor supplicationis Pasquillianae in Pasquillus Marranus exul*, reprinted in Böcking, *Huttwni opp. suppl.*, Tom, I, p. 505. (Erl. Briefw.)

4) D. Henning Göde was received with great jubilation upon his arrival in Erfurt (Erl. Briefw.). See the postscript to No. 23.

5) Compare No. 19, fourth paragraph.

He sent me a letter on September 10. I do not know whether he will come to us, but one hopes so. Of course, he writes to me that he is forced to stay because of necessity, because of poverty.

Take care of your brother, even of our brother who has fallen away, with the Lord. For thou needest not forsake him turned away by godliness, who, turned away by ungodliness, hath forsaken thee; let it not trouble thee that they suffer affliction: we are called, baptized, ordained, that we bear one another's burdens, and to our dishonest members we give the most honor [1 Cor. 12:23.]. "One must be another's burden of shame," for such Christ has been to us, is still, and will be for ever, as it is written [Heb. 5:6], "Thou art a priest for ever."

Beware, therefore, that you are not so pure that you do not want to be touched by the unclean, or that you now refuse to carry, cover and wipe off uncleanness. You are placed in an office of honor, but which is to be nothing else than to bear the shame of others. For so shall we glory in the cross and in the shame.

Be well and pray for me. The Christ and cross bearer, him, I say, the father Bartholomew Usingen,⁶⁾ you shall teach, that he may be sufficient for his name and his work, and bear Christ on his body, because it is so good in the eyes of the Lord. From Kemberg, on the fifth day of October 1516. Greetings to all from me. Brother Martin Luther.

7) In Dresden the father senior Johannes Kuntzel has died. In Grimma the younger brother Andreas Rochlis, priest, died.

No. 22 .

(Around October 5, 1516.) 8)

To Spalatin.

Luther sends the writing mentioned in the previous number, which he had received from Lang, and gives his verdict on it.

6) See No. 11, at the beginning.

7) The following postscript is found only in the Erlangen correspondence, which has taken it from Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 435. (According to the *Cod. Goth.*)

8) This time determination results from the reference to the *Supplicatio contra theologastros* mentioned in the previous number. Buddeus and, following him, Walch place this letter in the year 1521.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv at Zerbst. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. A.* fol. 235. Printed in *Buddeus, supplementum epistolarum Lutheri*, p. 16; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 38 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 61 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 742.

The Magister Georg Spalatin, the highly learned priest.

JEsus.

Hail! I have received both the letter and the florin you sent me yesterday. What is to be done will be done. Furthermore, the prior of Erfurt, Johann Lang, sent me "the petition against the false theologians", which, since it contains nothing of truth based on facts (*gestae veritatis*), reveals the same or a similar comedian as its author, as the letters of the dark ones also have him. I approve of his intention (*votum*), but I do not approve of his work, because it does not abstain from invective and vituperation. Yes, immediately it was ridiculed by all to whom I recently made it known, whatever it may be. Therefore, watch and read it with your usual modesty. Farewell. 1)

No. 23 .

Wittenberg.
1516. ²⁾

Around the middle of October

To Johann Lang.

Luther complains that Lang sends him too many brothers. He explains about the disputation held by St. Bartholomäus Bernhardt from Feldkirchen on September 25, 1516 (St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 5 ff.), especially about the third thesis. Then religious matters and, in the postscript, a report on D. Henning Göde.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* V. 399, fol. 116 (without the postscript). Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 23; in Löschner, vol. I, p. 821; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 33 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 54. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 522.

1) The original has no signature.

2) This letter is without year and date. The year we set is accepted by all without exception. De Wette lets it be written: "Before October 5, as it seems", the Erl. Briefw.: "September (?) 1516". We have followed the Weimar edition, Vol. I, p. 143, in determining the time. We were moved to do so by the following considerations. Our letter cannot be placed in September, because Feldkirchen's disputation was held on September 25 and

the venerable Baccalaureus of sacred theology, Father Johann Lang, prior of the Augustinians, hermits at Erfurt, his [friend] to be highly honored in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! [You act as if we indeed had such great abundance that I, who am poor, could receive those whom you, who are richer, cannot receive. For this winter, if the plague does not intervene, I will be the thirty-sixth, or even the fortieth, if all come who are indicated. You seem to me to assume much of the distrust and the Erfurtian idiosyncrasy, as if God could do that, that he does not also feed the ungrateful, and does not also sustain those who do not want to be sustained.]

Then you make this monastery your own in such a way that you call other people (*alios*) strangers and advise me to help my mother with you. Which is my mother and which is yours? See, therefore, how unjust zeal you have, that you want to serve her with your harm, but not her with your gain. Beware, therefore, that you persevere, as your Tauler says, as one separated on both sides, and in regard to everything [be] a common man, 3) as is proper.

At the time of our letter, it had already been printed for some time and sent to Lang, as Luther reports here, by Amsdorf. - Between August 30 and October 5, Luther does not seem to have written a letter to Lang, because only on the latter day does he return to the remark made there about Staupitzen's stay in Munich, and only on October 5 in the postscript does he report to Lang the death of Johannes Kunzel in Dresden, about whom he had already written to the Augustinian chapter in Neustadt on September 25. - On October 5, nothing is said about the plague, but in our letter it is said that it comes gradually and at the beginning; on October 26, that it takes away several. - In the letter of October 5, the honorable reception of D. Goede in Erfurt is commemorated; in our letter in the postscript, however, his violent actions there are already mentioned. - Our letter has several points of contact with Luther's letter to Lang of October 26. The brother Johann Metzeler mentioned here is mentioned there again, as well as the two brothers sent from Cologne. According to the receipt of this letter, thirty-six to forty persons must be maintained in the Wittenberg monastery from the meager income; through the influx of new brothers received during the letter, the number increased to forty-one on October 26.

3i Walch already remarks that here *sis* has to be added to make sense.

befits the son of the common God and the common church. I will give you the brother Johann Metzeler when I have learned that the Eislebeners can do without him.

It is nothing that your Gabrielists 1) are surprised about my, rather Bartholomew's Feldkirchen thesis, since also mine are so far tremendously surprised about it. And of course the thesis itself is not made by me, but M. Bartholomew has put it that way, namely moved by the chatter of the yappers against my lectures. Therefore, he has arranged for this to be discussed publicly (except in the order in which I presided), in order to shut up the gossips or to hear the judgment of others. Of course, I have annoyed everyone very badly because I have denied that the book of true and false repentance 2) is by Augustine. For it is quite tasteless and exceedingly inconsistent, and in everything far removed from Augustine's sense and learning. For I knew that Gratianus and Magister Sententiarum took a great deal from it, and made not a remedy for consciences, but a torture out of it. But it has so annoyed those people that they cannot be reconciled, especially Doctor Carlstadt, that I dare to deny this knowingly. You shall therefore tell my astonished or rather whimsical theologians that it is not to be disputed with me whether Gabriel says this, whether Raphael that, or Michael that. I know what Gabriel says, namely everything quite well, except where he speaks of grace, love, hope, faith, virtues; how much he pelagianizes there with his Scotus, I cannot now bring forward in writing.

Of the third thesis, 3) which you say you do not understand, this is the opinion of the

1) Followers of the scholastic Gabriel Viel. - About Feldkirchen compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 26 f. He is from Feldkirchen in Swabia. He is from Feldkirchen in Swabia; born August 24, 1487, died July 21, 1551. He was not, as is usually assumed, the first married Protestant preacher, but others married before him. See Seidemann's "Explanations," p. 13.

2) This writing was the main authority for the penitential theory of the Middle Ages. Luther was right in doubting its authenticity; even Bellarmine declared it spurious.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 13.

Magister Bartholomew: that love, which (as those bad theologians hold) awaits the utmost need, is inactive, yes, extremely inactive, that is, absolutely no love. Since love, forgetting itself, seeks what is external, how should it then await the utmost need,⁴⁾ since a human being, not wild animals nor the stone kind, is expected. Namely, the exceedingly astute theologians understand the word of John [1 Ep. 3, 17. Vulg. The apostle (ille) intended this: when someone sees that his brother is in need of something, or is in need of something; as the Lord was in need of the donkey and the stuffing, and as in the Acts of the Apostles [Cap. 2,45.] each one was given what was needed.

Against this unbelieving view, which also extinguishes the whole love, he said: "a completely inactive love". From no other teacher have we taken this [thesis] than from him who says [Matt. 7:12.], "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." But I mean, it could not be doubtful even to them, that though they thirsted not to the last breath, yet they wished to be watered by others, and that love would be injured if they were not watered; - but they should not injure love if they only offered [the drink] to one who would otherwise die of thirst? Therefore, when will the service of love occur? Who will prescribe when this need is there? These are monstrous things that moved M. Bartholomew because he had heard such things from me. Magister Amsdorf confesses that he sent this thesis to you with cut off titles 5); and he also wondered, but not anymore.

There was no need to ask whether the novice brothers, dressed in white, would be able to see the

4) It seems to us that instead of: *expectat* should be read: *expectit*, - Equally following we have read with all editions: *cum hominis*, ... *expectatur* instead of the reading of the Codex and the Erl. Briefw.: *cum hoc ... expectat*.

5) Thus, Feldkirchen's disputation had already been printed.

For if they administer the office in the monastery (*intus*), why not also outside? Have they adopted the clothes for the sake of the people and wear them? Therefore, they and the brothers as a whole are allowed to walk according to the statutes, in fact, they are allowed to wear their clothes. But in Italy (for this province this regulation is primarily given, or at least it is believed that all other [provinces] act in the same way) they always walk in black robes even in the monastery (*intus*), so that everywhere there is a difference between the novices and those who have made profession or have advanced higher. Thus I hold, but with reservation of the judgment of the superior.

When the venerable father Vicarius has answered you, inform me as soon as possible; I will keep these brothers here for a few days to see what I can do or where the pestilence wants to go, which is arriving and starting all the time. I am reluctant to send them back, since they are suitable for study, but we are weighed down by lack; but the Lord lives and reigns.

Against the Nuremberg Prior 1) put on a gentle mind, for that is serviceable, since he has put on a hard mind. For not a hard one casts out a hard one, that is, not the devil the devil, but a gentle one the hard one, that is, "the spirit of God" casts out the devils.

Behold, at this very hour, as I write this, two brothers are coming to me from Cologne,²⁾ who are to study. I do not know what the venerable father may think that he, without asking me, is showering me with brothers in this way; all our possessions can no longer provide either cells or other things. Fare well and pray for me, and command us yours that when the Lord calls some of us away, he may deign to call us away well prepared. From Wittenberg.

Brother Martin Luther, Vicarius.

I want to write to Doctor Henning³⁾, but lack of time prevents me from doing so. I am very sorry that he argues with his opponents more with violence than with humility and gentleness. For he follows the sense of Rehoboam [1 Kings 12], who despised good counsel, that he should act modestly, and in all that he did followed the counsel of the people of his own kind. I wish very much that this parable would be well considered by Doctor Henning. For I fear not only for him, but I fear that he may have come to Erfurt in vain, and that joy may be turned into sorrow.

No. 24.

Wittenberg.

October 19, 1516.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, annex, no. 3, Col. 1972.

No. 25.

(Wittenberg.)

October 26, 1516.

To Joh. Lang.

Luther complains about his many affairs, about the amount of brothers with whom his monastery is burdened, and about the plague, from which he does not want to flee after all. News about friars.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 399, fol. 121 b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 28; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 827; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 41 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 66. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 559.

To the venerable father Johann Lang, Baccalaureus, Prior of the Augustinians at Erfurt, his [friend].

Jesus.

Hail! I have almost two scribes or chancellors of necessity; I do almost nothing all day but write letters, so I don't know if I write the same thing over and over again; you will see. I am a monastery preacher, a table preacher, and every day I am also a pastor.

3) D. Henning Göde, formerly professor in Erfurt, became professor of canon law and provost at the collegiate church in Wittenberg in 1509. In 1516 he returned to Erfurt, especially to reconcile this city with the House of Saxony, which came about through his efforts in the Treaty of Naumburg. In 1518 he returned to Wittenberg and died in 1521. (Erl. Briefw.)

1) Nicolaus Besler, prior from May 15, 1512 to December 4, 1516; prior in Cologne in 1525. (Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 70, note 16.)

2) Among them Augustin Himmel, immatriculated in the fall of 1516, who later became pastor in Colditz and superintendent in Altenburg.

I am a study nector, 1) I am vicarius, that is, eleven times²⁾ prior, I am the fish receiver in Leitzkau, lawyer of the Herzbergs in Torgau, 3) reader on Paul,⁴⁾ collector of the Psalterium, 5) and what I have already said, that the work of letter writing takes up most of my time. Rarely do I have uninterrupted time to complete and keep the Horen 6); in addition, there are my own temptations from the flesh, the world and the devil. Behold, what an idle man I am!

I think that in the meantime my opinion and answer about the brother Johannes Metzel 7) has reached you; but I will see what I can do. How do you think I can accommodate your Sardanapals and Sybarites? If you have brought them up badly, feed also the badly brought up. I have enough useless brothers everywhere, if any are otherwise useless to a patient soul. I am convinced that the useless ones are more useful than the most useful ones, so bear them for a while.

Of the brothers who are sent to me, I think (but I do not know) recently wrote to you, 8) To the convert 9) I have

1) in the Study Institute of the monastery.

2) In the meantime, Eisleben had been added to the ten monasteries under Luther's control mentioned in No. 12. - In Leitzkau near Magdeburg, the Augustinian monastery of Wittenberg owned a pond, the yield or income of which had to be received by the *terminarius*.

3) There was a dispute between the Elector and the Herzberg City Council over the parish church incorporated into the monastery by the Elector, which the City Council reclaimed. Luther was the administrator for the Herzbergers.

4) On October 27, 1516, Luther began his lectures on the Epistle to the Galatians. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. VIII, 1352, note.

5) "Luther's First Lectures on the Psalms," published by Seidemann in 1876. See No. 9.

6) Luther prayed them on Saturday for the whole week, See Tischreden, Cap. 15, § 12 and § 24. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 517 and 525.

7) In No. 23 Luther calls him: "Metzeler".

8) See Letter No. 23.

9) This will probably refer to the "apostate brother" mentioned in No. 21. - M. Spangenberg, inscribed in the winter semester of 1508 as *Frater Bethel de Spangenberg, Augustin*, prior at Eschwege (cf.

No. 21); later opponent of Luther at the Leipzig Augustinian Convention June 22, 1523; sent to Cologne in 1525 to reform the Augustinian monastery there, i.e., to expel the Protestant-minded friars. (Erl. Briefw.)

I sent them with a younger [brother] to M. Spangenberg to their places, where they desired, so that they would not remain in this air, which is little beneficial to them. I have kept two others, together with the two men from Cologne, 10) with whose skill I have had such great pity that I would rather keep them, even with explicit harm, than send them back. Twenty-two priests, twelve young people, and a total of forty-one people feed on our more than exceedingly poor supply; but the Lord will provide.

You write that you began the second book of the Sentences yesterday; but I will begin the Epistle to the Galatians 11) tomorrow, although I fear that the presence of the plague, after I have begun, will not allow it to continue. The plague in our country takes away at most (but not yet every day) three or two, and the blacksmith, our neighbor across the street, has buried a son today who was healthy yesterday, and the other son is down with the plague. What can I say? It's here and it's attacking all of a sudden, especially younger people. And you advise me, and M. Bartholomew with you, to flee. 12) Where shall I flee to? I hope that the world will not collapse when Brother Martin falls. The brothers, of course, if the plague increases, I will scatter all over the world; I am set here; out of obedience I am not free to flee until the obedience that commanded commands again. Not that I do not fear death (for I am not the Apostle Paul, but only a reader of the Apostle Paul), but I hope the Lord will pluck me out of my fear.

The venerable father, Magister Johannes Huesden, 13) Prior of Cologne, wrote to me that the father M. Spangenberg was honored and loved by the citizens of Dordrecht.

10) See No. 23.

11) The shorter interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians. St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1352.

12) Aurifaber and Löscher offer: *M. Bartholo: tecum fugam*. Aurifaber adds the marginal note: *Quid si: ad te confugiam*. De Wette and the Erl. Correspondence read: *M. Bartholomaeo*, and the latter: *fugam tecum*.

But it is *Bartholo* to be dissolved by *Bartholomaeus*.

13) Also Huesden was deprived of his priory in 1525 and Nicolaus Bester (see No. 23), who was attached to the old doctrine, became prior in his place.

and the convent will become more glorious than the others in a short time. Prior there is the Lector Heinrich, 1) who was once our fellow student (as they say), before he was in second place (*secundarius* == subprior) at Cologne. The Lector Fugius (*Phugius*) writes that Reuchlin's cause stands well, and rejoices extraordinarily. About the preceptor or the letter of permission 2) I ask to send at the same time also a sibyl: these sheets I cannot read what they contain. Greet all who are to be greeted, and to the Fathers Magisters I cannot write now, I will write at another time. Read this letter to them if you wish.

Magister Wenceslaus 3) is absolved [from his priory] and is a preacher in Munich; likewise the Baccalaureus Fladenstein in Culmbach is absolved. In Neustadt, Brother Michael Dressel 4) is relieved of the priory, and Brother Heinrich Zwetzen is prior. But I did this for the sake of hoping that I myself would reign there for about half a year, because this place needs a head very much. The venerable father Vicarius sent letters to me again on the eighth of October from Alberkirchen, 5) that is, from the house of Pfeffinger, who is now, with his Sara, fattening a Bavarian pig 6). He writes that he will enjoy the winter of rest in Munich. Farewell. In haste, and be mindful of us in this time of the visitation of the Lord. Glory be to him. Amen. October 26, 1516.

Brother Martin Luther, 7) Augustinian.

1) Heinrich von Zütphen, later burned for his faith, immatriculiert as *Fr. hinricus gelrie de zutphania* (*Alb.* p. 26) in the summer term 1508.

2) According to No. 27, this is how the word *licentiatioris* is to be translated. There it occurs several times in this meaning.

3) Link. He stayed only a short time in Munich. He was expected back in Nuremberg as early as the end of January 1517.

4) See No. 16.

5) this is Albertskirchen, a small village near Bogen in Lower Bavaria, where Pfeffinger had an estate.

6) Walch reads *suum* instead of: *suem* and translates: "who now feeds his Bayer".

7) Instead of *Lutherus* in the other editions, the Erl. Briefw. according to the *Cod. Goth.*: Vicarius. We did not dare to accept this reading, because the codex also has many other bad readings, as: *Luckaw* instead of *Litz kaw*; *arce* instead of *aere*; *dies* instead of *duos*; *fladensis* instead of *fladenstein*; *avem* instead of *suem*.

No. 26.

Wittenberg.

October 29, 1516.

To Joh. Lang.

Luther transfers three monks from Erfurt to the monastery at Sangerhausen.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* A 399, fol. 119d. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 30; in Löschner, vol. I, p. 829; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 43 (with the wrong date of October 28) and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 71. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 563.

To the venerable and devout Baccalaureus, Father Johann Lang, Prior at Erfurt, his [friend] in thy HErn.

JEsus.

Hail! If it is still in your and your fathers' mind, venerable father, to send the three brothers away,⁸⁾ as you have written to me for the second or even the third time, then it has seemed good to me that they should no longer be let go. Therefore, I summon all three of them to Sangerhausen by my power and command and appointment for a while, if they want to get along again. And I would have sent them there a long time ago, because that convent had needed people for a long time, but I feared that they would be extremely useless to strangers, since they are not useful to their own.

But now I have written to the prior there that he should receive them, and especially not let the brother Jakob Schlegel go out to collect gifts. 9) Now it must be tried what the Lord wants to work in them and in such a way. It is now up to you to immediately inform them of this commandment of mine and to encourage them to travel, as is customary. Fare well and pray for me. From Wittenberg, on the day after Simonis and Jude [Oct. 29] 1516.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian vicar.

No. 27.

Wittenberg.

December 14, 1516.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends thanks to the Elector for a donated dress, reports on Staupitzen's efforts to collect relics and the difficulties he encountered in doing so

8) See No. 17.

9) *terminatum ire* == to go begging. The begging monasteries were dependent on mild gifts. - Walch: "to roam around".

He humbly rejects the praise given to him by the Elector, expresses his opinion about Spalatin's plans to translate several writings into German, recommends Tauler's sermons to him, and sends him the "Büchlein, was der alte und neue Mensch sei" (see St. Louis edition, vol. Louiser Ausgabe, Bd. XIV, 180), an excerpt from your book "Ein deutsch Theologia", of which he says in its preface that "the matter is almost after the manner of the enlightened Doctor Tauler".

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv in Zerbst. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 30 d; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 829; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 44 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 72. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 564.

To the servant of Christ and priest of the Lord, Georg Spalatin, the highly learned magister and his sincere friend and righteous brother.

JEsus.

Hail! Your letter, my dear Spalatin, was delivered to me just on the feast day of St. Lucia [Dec. 13], in which you, among other things, saw to it and reminded me that I should hand over to the Wittenberg bearer what I wanted to send to you or to Hirschfeld. For I wanted nothing more urgently than a certain bearer or reliable provider of the things to be sent.

I have, of course, written two letters to the venerable Minorite Father Jacob, who is the confessor of Prince Frederick, that he should at the same time thank the Prince for having clothed me so generously, and with better cloth than is perhaps proper for a habit, if it were not a gift from the Prince: Cloth, than perhaps befits a habit, if it were not a gift from the Prince; and that he would like to inform him about the matter of the holy relics, which he had ordered our Reverend Father Vicarius to procure in the Rhine regions 3); but I do not know whether the letters have arrived or will arrive yet. Therefore, I want you to know how this matter stands. The venerable father Vicarius obtained from your

Archbishop of Cologne relics for the prince, and a plenipotentiary or (as it is called) *commissarius officialis* 4) in this matter, of the same archbishop, and on the part of the prince and the vicarius the care has been entrusted to the subprior 5) of our monastery at Cologne to demand [relics] and raise them. Since, however, after the departure of the venerable father, the superior (*virgo maxima*) of St. Ursula was requested [for relics] by the aforementioned plenipotentiaries, the pope's prohibition protected her, and she could not, for the sake of conscience, let herself in without the pope's command and permission. Although a copy of the letter of permission was shown to her, she has rejected it until now, because the copy would not be authenticated and proven by the seal. Therefore, if you wish, you can indicate to our prince that he send a letter of permission of proven credibility, or that he may consider the venerable father vicarius excused.

But that you write that the most noble prince has remembered me often and in an honorable way, I am not happy about that, but I pray that God the Lord will reward his humility with glory. For I am not worthy that any man should remember me, let alone a prince, and such and such a great prince; indeed, I see and experience that those benefit me most who remember me most grievously. But I ask you to let me give thanks through you, both for the favor and the good deed of this prince of ours, although I do not want to be praised by you or by any man, for the praise of man is vain, but the praise of God is true, as it is written: Not in any man, but "in the LORD shall my soul be praised" [Ps. 34:3, Vulg.], and again, Not in your name, but "in His holy name let yourselves be praised" [Ps. 105:3, Vulg.]. Not that our rulers are to be blamed, but rather that they are rulers of men as of God, to whom alone praise, honor and glory [be], auras.

1) Bernhard von Hirschfeld at the Electoral Court; in 1521, Luther dedicated the sermon on the Gospel of the Ten Lepers to him, along with Hangold von Einsiedeln and Hans von Dolzig. See St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 1438.

2) Jakob Vogt, Franciscan. He died on April 15, 1522. See Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p 22 b.

3) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 50b f.

4) Martin Oed von Kempen. (Erl. Briefw.)

5) Johann Ferber. (Erl. Briefw.)

You want my judgment about your intention to translate small writings into German: there you demand something that goes beyond my powers. For who am I to judge what would both please and benefit the public? since that alone is a work of grace, that whatever pleases and benefits may please and benefit. Or do you not know that the more wholesome some things are, the less they please and benefit? What is more wholesome than Christ and the gospel? But to most they are stinking and a stench of death unto death, and to very few a stench of life unto life. Perhaps you say that in public you want to benefit only those who like the good. Here you no longer need my judgment, for the sheep always hear every voice of the shepherd, and only reject or flee the voice of strangers. Therefore, whatever you do, if it is only good and the voice of Christ, do not doubt it, will please and benefit, but only a few and very few, because the sheep are very few in this land of wolves.

Above all, however, seek Christ's counsel and will through humble prayer, to whom even the good that is done without his command and will is not filled, as Isaiah says, Cap. 30, 1. [Vulg.]: "Woe to you, apostate children, because you have counseled without me, and not from me, and have begun a plot, and not by my Spirit." Therefore, do not follow your good and godly opinion (as the great multitude of monks and priests err everywhere and in the worst way), but ask for your permission, yes, for your command, especially in this and in all your work, if you do not want your work to become stagnant. But I also add my advice. If it pleases you to read pure, thorough theology, which is quite similar to the old one, written in German, then you can obtain the sermons of Johann Tauler, Order of Preachers, whose entire short epitome I send you, lo and behold, here. For I have seen no theology, either in Latin or in our language, that is more wholesome and more in harmony with the Gospel. Taste it therefore, and see how friendly the Lord is, after

you have tasted before and seen how bitter everything is that we are only ever ourselves. Farewell and pray for me. From our monastery in Wittenberg, on the following Sunday after St. Lucius [Dec. 14] 1516.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 28.

(Wittenberg.)

(Late 1516.?) 1)

To the provost at Leitzkan, Georg Mascov. (Fragment.)

Luther exhorts patience in the face of the rampant corruption of morals in the monastery.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 2; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 64 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 77. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 576.

Jesus.

Hail! I believe that your order will become lax, because all orders become lax and [the guardians] act mischievously, while those who are appointed guardians should act vigilantly. Therefore, if you cannot do anything with peace and good, I do not advise you to quarrel with the greater part of yours by force and obstinately, but give room to anger, and let the tares grow with your wheat; it is better to keep a few in peace, than to put everyone altogether in trouble because of many. And it is better to tolerate many for the sake of many than to spoil many for the sake of many. Brother Martin Luther.
2)

1) We have left this letter and the following one in the same order as it is found in Aurifaber. The Erlangen correspondence has reversed this order, because in the following one there is a clue for the approximate time determination, but not in this one. Namely, it is mentioned (in No. 20 towards the end) on September 25 that the plague is raging in Magdeburg and its environs, and no other reason for the mortality can be assumed than the plague, which is also mentioned in No. 23 and 25. That we have now given this letter the same time as the following one, is because we agree with Lücke's assumption in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 571, that both are a letter from the middle of which something has fallen out, although Aurifaber has given the second one this superscription: *Fragmentum ex alia epistola etc.* All editions except the Erlangen Briefwechsel place both pieces in the year 1517. - In Leitzkau, also called "Kloster Liezke", was the provost of the Premonstratensian monastery Georg Mascov, for whom Luther already in 1512 composed the magnificent synodal speech on I John 5, 4. f. See St. Louis edition, vol. IX, 1728.

2) This signature seems to have been added unauthorizedly, because the piece given here is obviously only the beginning of a letter.

No. 29 .

Wittenberg.

(Late 1516.)

To the provost at Leitzkau, Georg Mascov.
(Fragment.)

Comfort because of mortality. Ask for intercession.

The locations are given at the previous number.

But be strong in Christ, and be not moved, that the cattle and the bodies die. For these are more signs of grace than of wrath. For he is then most angry when he is not angry, as he says through Ezekiel [Cap. 16, 42. Vulg.], "I will no more be angry with thee, and my zeal shall be taken away from thee." This is something exceedingly frightening and said only to the hardened. At the end of the letter I beg you very much to pray to the Lord for me, for I confess to you that my life is getting closer to hell day by day, because I am getting worse and worse every day. Farewell. From Wittenberg.

The exiled son of Adam, Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 30 .

Nuremberg.

January 2, 1517.

Christoph Scheuch legal scholar in Nuremberg, to
Luther.

Scheurl seeks Luther's friendship under the praise of Luther
nud Staupitzen, whose merits and successes are described.

Handwritten in the Scheurl family archive in Nuremberg, *Cod. G*, fol. 66 (104) f. Printed in Burkhardt, *Luthers Briefwechsel* (1866), p. 3; in "Christoph Scheurl's Briefbuch," edited by Franz Freiherr von Soden and J. K. F. Knaake, vol. II (1872), p. 1 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 79.

To Martin Luder, theologian of the Augustinian
school near Wittenberg 2c.

My services before. Your membership in the Augustinian Order, your well-known virtue and your famous name, venerable father, bind me to you in such a special way that I very much wish to become a friend of yours and to be inscribed in the register of your intimate friends. With our common father and vicar, as much as it concerned our mutual business, I have sometimes conversed for whole days, and sometimes also for part of the night; often

The talk was about your excellence, goodness and erudition; apart from Martin, Otto 1) and Amsdorf, we missed very little. However, our very good friend preached about the final consummation of the eternal dispensation,²⁾ to such great applause of the people, to such a large audience that I hardly dare to say; so large that your church 3) often could not contain it. Those who excel in spiritual gifts among us praise and admire this man's eloquence, mature mind and skill, and that I say it in one word, they publicly claim that they have not heard this man's like before. I say nothing of the fact that some call him a disciple, nay, the tongue of Paul, others a herald of the Gospel. and true theologian; his kindness and accessibility made this far more glorious. Not only respectable citizens, but also the nobles and at least those who have the highest leadership of the commonwealth in their hands, considered it something nice to apply for his friendship, yes, they considered it an honor to offer themselves as guests and to have lunch with Doctor Staupitz uninvited. Those who did so gained favor, and rose higher in the same. The council is only concerned that he may not gain too little. In the last five years, during which I have served the Fatherland, no one has been so kindly, so sincerely, so benevolently honored; the whole city awaits his return: all to our Order's 4) immense honor. As for me, though I have long been an Augustinian; now I have certainly become one for the Augustinians; every least of your association will always have me for his property and devoted servant. But at the request of the friends, Staupitzen's sermons, for God's glory and the salvation of the Augustinians, have been divided into twenty-four chapters and faithfully translated,⁵⁾ whose publication in both languages the people expect in the course of a few days, but with great acclaim: all this, I hoped, will give you

1) Otto Beckmann. On him, see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 567, note 4.

2) Staupitz preached these sermons during Advent 1516, and Scheurl published them in both Latin and German. The Latin copy has the date at the end: Feb. 6, 1517; the German: Jan. 20, 1517.

3) This is the church of the Augustinians in Nuremberg.

4) The whole Scheurl family had been accepted by Staupitz into the Augustinian brotherhood on October 6, 1511 by a brotherhood letter.

5) Editor of the Latin *Libellus de Executione eterne predestinationis. Fratr. Joannis de Staupitz etc.*, and also the German translation was Christoph Scheurl.

I thought I had to write it to you, and I ask you to interpret it for the best, and to say mass for my mother Helena from time to time. But I do not offer you my service, since I am entirely yours. Farewell, most excellent father. At Nuremberg, January 2, 1517.

Christoph Scheurl, 1) Doctor of both rights.

No. 31 .

Wittenberg.

January 27, 1517.

To Christoph Scheurl in Nuremberg.

Answer to the previous letter. Luther accepts the praise given to Staupitz, he rejects the praise given to him in the feeling of his unworthiness. He forbids all praise for the future, because GÖtte alone must be given all honor.

The original is in the Scheurl family archive in Nuremberg. Printed in Prof. Christ. Gottl. Schwarz' program, Altorf 1740, p. 3; in Gottfr. Schütze, "Luthers bisher ungedruckte Briefe" 2c., vol. II (1781), p. 10; in *Strobel-Ranner, Luth. epistolas, Norimb.* 1814, p. 34; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 49 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 82. German in Walch, vol. XXI, p. 566.

To the respectable and highly learned Mr. Christoph Scheurl, Doctor of both Laws, the famous Nuremberg Advocate, his special friend in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I have received your letter, highly learned and kind Christoph, which is indeed very pleasant to me, but also very distressing. Why are you frowning? For what could you have written me more pleasantly than that you have raised the venerable father, yes, Christ in his instrument, our Vicarius, with such well-deserved praise? For nothing can be more pleasing to me than that the word of Christ should be preached, heard, and accepted, nay, what is more, even lived, em

1) Christoph Scheurl (his father had the same name), born Nov. 11, 1481, at Nuremberg, died there June 14, 1542. He was never heartily devoted to the Reformation; after some years he turned away from it completely and entered into ever closer contact with its enemies. In 1528, he even offered to provide Duke George of Saxony with a copy of Luther's letter to Wenceslaus Link of June 14, 1528, which gave rise to "Luther's Writing of Secret and Stolen Letters. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Einl., p. 20a f.

and understood. Again, what could you write more bitterly than that you desired my friendship and honored me with so many quite trivial titles? I do not want you to become my friend, because this friendship will not be for your glory but for your danger, if the saying is true: Friends have everything in common. If then through this friendship mine becomes thine, thou shalt not be richer in any thing than in sins, and likewise in iniquity and dishonor. For these are my things, which (as I have said) thou hast adorned with the opposite titles. But I know that you are Christian-minded, and will say: Not you, but Christ do I admire in you. To this I say: How can Christ, the true righteousness, be in sins and unrighteousness? Yes, this is the highest presumption, when someone has the presumptuous opinion of himself that he is Christ's dwelling place, and this glory cannot easily be granted to any other state than the apostolic. Therefore, I wish you happiness in the desired circumstance that you are connected with this man, our father, through friendship and intimate contact: but take care of your honor, and, I beg you, do not be out of sorts, and put yourself into my friendship, although even this same venerable father, not without my fear and danger, praises me everywhere and says: I praise Christ in you, and I am forced to believe it. But this is a difficult faith. For this is a misfortune of this exceedingly miserable life, that the more rulers and friends there are, and the more closely they are associated with us, the more harmful they are, as it is written [Matt. 10:36.], "A man's enemies shall be his own householders," and again [Ps. 102:9. Vulg.], "They that praised me sware against me," and [Ps. 38:12. Vulg.], "My friends and my neighbors stood afar off from me, and stood against me." For God's favor recedes as much as man's favor is added. For God wants either to be alone or not to be a friend. To make matters worse, if you humble yourself and refuse praise and favor, the more praise and favor you will receive.

Favor (that is, danger and destruction) follows it. How men, why then do we praise the things of Christ without much more salutary is hatred and blame than all praise the name of Christ? See how talkative your friend is, and love, since hatred is only once a danger, but love is twofold danger. Nothing is more like a loving, even a senseless woman, who, when she is rejected, desires all the more furiously than this temporal praise and glory. See, therefore, with how much effort Solomon, Proverbs 7 and elsewhere, dissuades me from this adulterous and wicked woman, whom he describes as a stranger, a foreigner and a seductress of the young.

I am not writing this, my dear Christoph, as if I wanted to despise your sincere and benevolent mind, but because there is also something to fear for my mind. You fulfill the task of a godly and Christian man who should despise no one entirely but himself; but I, too, must strive to be a Christian similar to you (if the friendship is to become a firm one), that is, a despiser of myself. For not he is a Christian who regards a man because of his learning, virtue, holiness, fame (for this is also done by the pagans and paltry poets, as they also give their names in our time), but he who loves the meager, the poor, the foolish, the sinner and the wretched, as the Psalm says M. 41,2]: "Blessed is he that taketh care - not of the learned, the highly educated, the holy, the well-fortified, but - of the needy" and of the poor and the like. Yes, Christ confesses that what was done to His least was done to Him, whereas He could have said: to the greatest and to His high ones; "for what is high among men is an abomination in the sight of God" [Luc. 16:15]. To this abomination, I beg you for the sake of Christ our Lord, do not drive me and force me, if you want to be a friend. But you can do this very easily if you do not praise me to my face or before others in any respect. If you really think that Christ must be praised in me, then also mention his name and not mine. Why then should the cause of Christ be defiled by my name, even deprived of his? If no one speaks of things other than by their own names, then why should the cause of Christ be stained?

From our hermitage at Wittenberg, January 27, 1517.

Brother Martin Luder, a part of the Association of Hermits of St. Augustine.

No. 32 .

February 8, 1517.

To Johann Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 16.

No. 33 .

March 1, 1517,

To Johann Lang.

Wittenberg.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1974, Appendix, No. 4. - The penultimate sentence of the first paragraph is to be changed thus: "If the Psalms, which I have translated and interpreted in German, would please no one, they would please me best." These psalms are the seven penitential psalms, St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 1654, where it is stated in the note Col. 1656 f. how the words just mentioned are to be understood.

No. 34

Spring 1517.)

(Wittenberg.)

To Spalatin.

Luther sends him various writings and repeats his recommendation (No. 27 at the end) of Tauler's sermons.

The original is located in the Anhaltisches GesamtArchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. V*, No. 3 and in *Cod. Jen. A*, fol. 7. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 167; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 974; in De Wette, vol. I, 258 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 90. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 629.

Semem Spalatin.

JESus.

Hail! I send, as you wish, my dear Magister, the booklet of the verse²⁾ in Latin; if you also send it in German

1) All editions except the Erl. The Weimar edition, Vol. I, p.155: "Beginning of 1518"; Köstlin, M.' Luther (3.), Vol. I, p. 782 ad 118: "Spring 1517?"; in the supplement to De Wette, Vol. III, Veesenmeyer's assumption is reported that the letter belongs to the year 1517. This is undoubtedly correct, as can be seen from the time of the appearance of Staupitz's writings and the Penitential Psalms.

2) Staupitzen's sermons. See No. 30 towards the end.

I will send it, because through Scheurl's service, one can also have it in German, much more ornate than the Latin is. Of the art of dying 1) (as you call it) I have only this one for myself, all the others have been distributed. Therefore, use this one, which is mine, for the time being, I will see to it, if I can, to raise several. The third, namely the "Adam", 2) which is quite short, but whose like (I am not lying) has not come into my hands; this exceedingly theological book (*theologicissimum*), behold, I send it to you; but it should make me regret this mission if you read it industriously. Behold, Erasmus, the highly learned man, together with his highly praised Jerome: I know nothing whether they could write such a one; I am sure that they have not written such a one.

I do not have the seven psalms, but the printer does. But I do not want you to want them at all, because they are not published for refined people, but for completely unlearned people, of whom I have many. For that is why they are so unproven and without testimony of the Scriptures, then they are very wordy, and (about which I myself am surprised) not yet interpreted wordily enough. This thing is so unknown to the people, or rather they are not able to grasp it. Therefore, it is not for your soul to eat a food that has been chewed two or three times, as this one is.

You have enough, if you want, of the books just mentioned. If these are not enough, - I beg you, leave yourself to me only this once faithfully, - then get also the book of the sermons of Tauler, about which I have also spoken to you before, in whatever way you can. You will easily obtain it through the help of Christian Goldsmith,⁴⁾ a theologically very educated man. For this is the book from which you will see.

1) The book published by Staupitz in. 1515: "Ein buchlin von der nachfolge des willigen sterbes Christi" 2c.

2) Adamum == "The booklet, what the old and new man is", a fragment of the "German theology". See St. Louis edition, Vol. XIV, 180.

3) The Seven Penitential Psalms, St. Louis Edition, Vol. IV, 1654. - The printer is Johannes Grüenberg.

4) Christian Döring, a goldsmith, at the same time also a printer and bookseller, therefore here called *Aurifex*, otherwise also *Aurifaber*.

how the learning of our time is iron, even earthen, whether it be Greek or Latin or Hebrew, compared to this learning of true godliness. Fare well.

About Wimpina's booklet on predestination, I have the same opinion as D. Carlstadt, that is, that he has worked in vain, as far as the matter itself is concerned. For you will be able to judge sufficiently for yourself about his sought-after daintiness, which he has artficed in it. For even if his opinion were true, which he endeavors to assert, he would still not achieve what he has sought through it.

No. 3 5.

Nuremberg.

April 1, 1517.

Scheurl to Luther.

Scheurl recommends the D. Johann Eck to Luther's friendship.

Handwritten in *Cod. Scheurl*. G, fol. 102 (163), Printed by Burkhardt, p. 5; in Scheurl's Briefbuch, vol. II. p. 12 and in Erl. Briefw. Vol. I, p. 92.

To the Doctor Martin Luder.

My services before. I have informed my friend Johann Eck 6) of your virtue, therefore he, very eager for your friendship, has not only addressed a letter to you, but he also sends a booklet with his disputations. 7) I have no doubt that you will answer him and release me from my promise, since you would consider it shameful to be defeated in love and surpassed in kindness. But I ask you to write to him again in friendship, since I consider him worthy of your friendship. The venerable father often speaks of you and wishes you the best of health. I wish that you would put me at the command of your prayers.

5) *De divina providentia: contra mundi sapientum circa hanc varia et mirabilia erramenta, libri tres*. Printed in Frankfurt a. O., March 1, 1516.

6) Eck was a guest of Scheurl at that time. For Eck's personal details, see the St. Louis edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 23.

7) namely the one in Bologna (1515) and the one in Vienna (1516). The theses of both disputations are contained in the *Disputatio Joan. Eckii Theologi Viennae Pannoniae habita etc.*, printed by Miller in Augsburg, January 27, 1517.

8) Staupitz was in Nuremberg at the time and preached there.

The Emperor's cause will be explained to you by Otto 1). Farewell, venerable father. At Nuremberg, April 1, in the year of the virgin birth 1517. C[hristoph] S[cheurl] D.

No. 36.

Wittenberg.

April 3, 1517.

To Spalatin.

Intercession for a poor youth for a bequest to clothing.

The original is located in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Printed by *Buddeus*, suppl. epist. Luth., p. 1; in *Löscher*, vol. I, p. 833; in *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 53 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 94. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 571.

His Georg Spalatin, his special friend in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I understood from Ali's statement of good people, dear Magister, that it had been handed over to you that you distribute clothing or cloth for the poor in the name of the godly deceased Doctor Reuters. Therefore, I have been asked to ask you for a young person, Wolfgang,³⁾ whom we also feed for God's sake; he is an honorable child, very reliable and gives good hope. Therefore, if you have not been called upon before, you will assist his poverty, rather our poverty; you see that vain beautiful opportunity is presented to you. Therefore I do not insist on it, since I am sure that you will do what is right according to your judgment. Farewell. In haste, from our monastery, 1517, on Friday after Judica [April 3].

Brother Martin Luder, Augustinian.

No. 37.

(Wittenberg.)

(April 9, 1517.)

To Spalatin.

Luther gives several books that deserve to be read during Easter week.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Printed in *Aurifaber*, vol. I, p. 346; in *Löscher*, vol. I, p. 833; in *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 53 f. and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 95. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 572.

1) Otto Beckmann.

2) Kilian Reuter, Doctor of both laws, from Mellerstadt, inscribed in the winter semester 1505 (16. p. 18). He died in the winter of 1516.

3) Wolfgang Sieberger from Munich, inscribed in the winter semester 1515 (Alb. p. 59), later Luther's famulus.

To his Georg Spalatin, the exceedingly righteous servant of Christ and friend.

JEsus.

Hail! I thank your very good heart, my dear Spalatin. For this alone I regard, which is rightly preferred to all gifts. Incidentally, that you wish me to indicate to you what you should primarily read in these days: according to my judgment, either Augustine on the grace of the New Testament to Honoratus, in which he at the same time acts the 22nd Psalm, [Vulg.] "My God, my God, look at me" 2c., which is appropriate for this time, or Hilarius on Octonarius, 4) and Cyprianus in his Homilies is not inappropriate either, or Augustine on John from the 13th chapter where the incidents of these days begin. I will take pains, if I can, that tomorrow I teach that Christ is seen as [the representative] of men in any piece. 5) Be well. [On the day before Char Friday (April 9, 1517). 6)

Martin Luther.

No. 38.

Wittenberg.

May 6, 1517.

To Christoph Scheurl.

This letter is the answer to No. 35. Luther thanks Staupitzen for the writing sent to him, considers his own work on the Penitential Psalms not worthy of dissemination, and sends Carlstadt's theses.

The original is in the Scbeurl family archive in Nuremberg. Printed by Schwarz, in his program (see No. 31), p. 6; by Schütze, Vol. II, p. 13; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 36; by *De Wette*, Vol. I, p. 54 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, Vol. I, p. 96. Deutsch by *Walch*, Vol. XXI, 572.

4) The 119th Psalm is meant, which consists of octonaries, that is, divisions of eight verses each. Luther himself calls it *Octonarius*. See St. Louis edition, Vol. V, 1252, note.

5) In the original, the reading here is: *Christum in quoquo hominum videri*, whereas in the editions (except the *Erl. Briefw.*, which reproduces the original): *Christum in cruce quoque hominem videri*. - The assumption of the *Erl. Briefw.*, that "die Predigt vom Leiden Christi", St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1176, does not belong to the year 1518, but to the year 1517, seems to be correct. Accordingly, we have accepted the time determination of this letter given in all editions.

6) This time designation is missing in the original, but is included in all editions except the *Erl. Briefw.*

Your esteemed Mr. Christoph Scheurl, doctor of both rights, defender (*patrono* == advocate) of the citizens of Nuremberg, his! true friend in Christo.

Jesus.

Hail! First of all I thank you, dear man, for your gifts, namely the writings of Staupitz, 1) but I am sorry that my little works are spread among you by the venerable father [Staupitz]. For they were not published for Nurembergers, that is, for finely educated and exceedingly clever people, but for the coarse (as you know) Saxons, to whom the Christian doctrine cannot be presented and chewed over with however many words. But, even if I wanted to, I could not manage anything that would be bearable to Latin ears: how much less now, since I have deliberately wanted to serve the slow understanding of the common people. Therefore, I ask you to remove them from the eyes of learned men as much as you can. By the way, as far as your reminding me that I should write to our corner in a friendly manner is concerned, I have done so with the greatest possible care; whether the letter has reached it, I do not know.

These sentences, which are called theses, I send to you, and through you to the father Magister Wenceslaus (link), and if there are others who delight in this kind of delicacies. It is these (if I am not mistaken) not exactly Cicero's 3) paradoxes, but of our Carlstadt, rather of St. Augustine, which are so much more admirable and worthy than Cicero's, than Augustine, rather Christ, is worthier than Cicero. But these paradoxes punish all their carelessness.

1) The booklet mentioned in No. 30, von der Versehung, both in Latin and in German, which has meanwhile been completed in print and, as only we learn here, was sent to Luther as a gift from Scheurl, your editor. That this writing was already in Luther's hands before, we see from No. 34.

2) The Seven Penitential Psalms, St. Louis Edition, Vol. IV, 1654.

3) Cicero wrote *Paradoxa ad M. Brutum*. - On the Sunday of Misericordias Domini (April 26), when the solemn display of the relics took place in the collegiate church at Wittenberg, Carlstadt proposed 152 theses for a disputation, which was held to glorify this day. (Jäger, "Carlstadt," p. 7.)

or ignorance, to whom they may have seemed more paradoxical (whimsical) than orthodox (orthodox), to say nothing of those whom they will rather condemn with insolent sacrilege as bad propositions (*cacodoxa*), who read neither Augustine nor Paul, or read in such a way that they do not understand him, and neglect themselves and others with them. They are therefore strange propositions (*paradoxa*) for the limited and those who do not know them, but good propositions (*eudoxa*) and beautiful propositions (*calodoxa*) for those who know them, but for me the very best propositions (*aristodoxa*). Praise be to God, who again commands the light to shine out of the darkness.

I assume that the venerable Father Vicarius is not with you, but we are expecting his arrival. The Doctor Kilian Reuters has departed from mortal life; God grant that he may be in eternity. 5) Amen.

Greetings from Amsdorf and all the friendly cooperative. We greet again through you all who deserve to be greeted. Farewell. From Wittenberg, May 6, 1517.

Brother Martin Luder, Augustinian.

No. 39.

Wittenberg.

May 17, 1517.

Au the provost in Leitzkau, Georg Mascov.

How the provost should act against a fallen monk.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. I; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 835; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 56 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 99. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 574.

Jesus.

Hail! I also regret, venerable father, the miserable fall of your, yes, our brother; but that yesterday, we today, yes, that yesterday, we yesterday and healed, and always we are Adam's children, therefore we do the works of Adam. But one must not despair of the mighty hand of God. Therefore, it is difficult for me to judge and advise you what to do with him, because I do not know the content of your statutes. 6) If they are the

4) See No. 36.

5) Here Walch has, by wrong readings, senseless translation.

6) The monastery at Leitzkau was not an Augustinian, but a Premonstratensian monastery.

If you are so kind that you do not punish such a transgression with eternal imprisonment or with immediate death penalty, it seems to me that you should impose all your severity on him. For it is not you, but justice and the law, over which you are not a judge, but its servant, who punish in this way. Therefore you need not be moved by the fact that you are either an equally great or a greater sinner; it is enough that this should be known to God. But here, for the sake of building, we must almost always punish people who are better than we are, teach more learned ones, preside over more worthy ones, so that the saying of the Lord may stand [Luc. 22, 25. f.], that the rulers of the Gentiles rule over their own as over their inferiors, but the rulers of the faithful serve them as their superiors. He who is greatest among you, he says, be your servant 2c. Therefore keep hearty humility and kindness toward him, but show severity of hand and violence, for your violence is not yours, but God's; but the humility must not be with God, but with you. Who knows whether he was not allowed to make the stink of his sin public for the sake of it, because the hidden thing could not be healed, which can very well be healed by public shame. God is wonderful in His counsels over the children of men. He heals many from sins by sins, as one poison is cast out by another. Therefore, do not be frightened; it is the Lord who works all this; praise and love him, and pray for that poor man and for me all the more devoutly. Fare thee well. From Wittenberg, given on Sunday Vocem Jucunditatis [May 17] 1517.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 40.

(Wittenberg.)

May 18, 1517.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1968, annex, no. 1.

No. 41.

Wittenberg.

July 16, 1517.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1970. annex, no. 2.

No. 42.

Gates of Heaven.

August 6, 1517.

To Joh. Lang.

At Staupitzen's command, Luther recommends several studying brothers to him and challenges him to obtain the dignity of licentiate.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* V 399, fol. 130. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 36; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 816; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 59 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. I, p. 103. -German in Walch, vol. XXI, 546. In Löscher and Walch erroneously placed in the year 1516.

To his brother Johann Lang, Prior of the Hermits of St. Augustine in Erfurt, Baccalaureus of Theology, his beloved in Christ.

JESus.

Hail! These studying brothers, venerable father, are recommended to you by the venerable father Vicarius, yes, by the Lord Jesus in him. Receive them, therefore, and see to it that they increase on both sides, as the Lord Jesus sees fit to do for you. It is also the express and firm will of the venerable father Vicarius that you, as soon as it can happen and time permits, receive the dignity of a licentiate of theology, which the same has also ordered you orally in Eisleben, and now announces in writing from the gates of heaven, 1) so that you know that the venerable father desires not words, but action. Fare well and pray for me. From Heaven's Gate, Aug. 6.

Brother Martin Luder, Augustinian.

These brothers have five gold florins; see that they show them to you and that an account is kept for the vestments to be purchased. And if they need anything more, spend it for them, on account of the venerable father Vicarius, who has ordered that this be inserted in this letter. For it will be faithfully returned to you. Farewell.

No. 43.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of August 1517.)

To Spalatin.

Invitation to dinner.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* A, fol. 233. Printed in Löscher, vol. I, p. 843; in *Buddeus*, p. 2; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 63 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 105. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 585.

1) Himmelspforte near Wernigerode, three and a half German miles from Halberstadt.

Au his Spalatin in the castle. 1) JEsus.

Hail! You and that confessor 2) with his companion come after nine o'clock. If the envoy, Mr. Christoph, 3) is with you, he can come with you, otherwise the order to invite him has been given to our Otto²⁾. Farewell. But see to it that you also get us wine, for you know that you will come from the court to the monastery, not from the monastery to the court.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 44.

Wittenberg.

September 4, 1517.

To Joh. Lang.

Luther offers to discuss the theses sent by Otto Beckmann in Erfurt. At the same time, he sends his sermons on the Ten Commandments for use in the pulpit and reports the death of the Antonite preceptor Johannes.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 26. The beginning of the last paragraph should be improved: "I believe that you know that Magister John, the Antonite preceptor, died at Brieg" 2c.

No. 45.

Wittenberg.

September 11, 1517.

To Christoph Scheurl.

Luther reported that he had given away some of Staupitzen's writings and sold some of them, and that he wanted to use the proceeds, which were intended for the poor, for himself and his brothers. He orders more copies, which he wants to pay for, and sends his theses against scholastic theology.

The original is in the Scheurl family archive. Printed by Schwarz in his program, Altorf, p. 7; by Schütze, vol. II, p. 15; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 39; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 61 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 108. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 577.

1) Spalatin was in the entourage of the Elector in Wittenberg.

2) Jakob Vogt. See No. 27.

3) Scheurl. His legation must have fallen between August 18 and September 27, because on these two days he writes again from Nuremberg (*Scheurls Briefb.*, Vol. II, No. 135 and 136). Since Luther writes again to Scheurl on September 11, as to a friend he "recently met" (No. 45), and Otto Beckmann had traveled to Erfurt before September 4 (No. 44), the date we have set according to *Erl. Briefw.*

4) Otto Beckmann. See No. 30 and St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 567, Note 4.

To his special friend, the highly learned and finely educated man Christoph Schenrl, Doctor of Both Laws, the respected Nuremberg advocate, his sincerely esteemed [friend].

JEsus.

Hail! Although, dearest Christoph, I had no occasion to write to you that seemed worthy that I should write to you, such an important man, this has nevertheless been a sufficiently great motive for me that, putting aside the titles of your high dignities with which you are adorned, I wrote to a friend, and indeed to such a friend who is pure and completely sincere and exceedingly friendly, and, what is most to the point, only recently got to know and found. Therefore, if silence is to be counted as a fault anywhere, the silence of one friend against another is to be respected as such, since dallying and joking do not warm up friendship any less, not to say complete it, than doing serious things. Yes, this is precisely what St. Jerome urges on his friend, namely, that he write that he has nothing to write. Therefore, it has also been my intention now that I would rather say unrhymed things to a friend than remain silent. But, dear God, when does this brother Martin, who is falsely called a theologian, ever write anything in which he does not speak unrhymed, since he has not at all increased in the things that belong to an educated language under the din and confusion of reasoning, so that even if he has ever tasted something of erudition or eloquence, the very long and constant use in writing has brought this completely back to childhood and slurring. But this is already enough and over enough of prefaces, so that I do not rather seem to write a whole book than a letter, that is, to be nonsensical even in unrhymed speeches and twofold, since it is already too much for a theologian to be nonsensical once. The purpose of this letter is that you may realize how high an opinion I have formed of you and your faithfulness, not that I demand the same for myself from you, since I certainly believe that I already possess this,

but only that you keep yourself convinced that you cannot promise yourself wavier from me than you could from yourself.

But meanwhile it occurs to me that you have sent me the writings of the venerable father Vicarius through this Ulrich Pinder 1) almost to the value of two gold florins, which I have admittedly partly sold, partly given to good friends of the venerable father for free; but the money which I have redeemed from the sold ones I have (as you have ordered) given to the poor, that is, to myself and to the brothers, because I have not yet got to know a poorer person than myself. By the way, I ask that, if it can be done, I be sent some of the same books, through your good will, for one guilder, which I will faithfully repay you when they are sold. For there are people who desire and expect these books. I also send our theses,²⁾ which are quite strange (*paradoxas*), and as it seems to many, very bad sentences (xxxxxxdocus), which you can present to our corner, the very learned and perceptive man, so that I may hear and see what name he gives them. Many greet you and remember you best, especially the licentiate Amsdorf, Doctor Hieronymus (Schurs, and a certain part of your friendship, the well-known Peter Barbierer. 3) Fare well and pray for me. From Wittenberg, 1517, on the eleventh of September.

Brother Martin Luder, Augustinian at Wittenberg.

No. 46.

Nuremberg.

September 30, 1517.

Scheurl to Luther.

Reply from the previous letter. About the traffic on the left with the Patricians of Nuremberg. Praise of Hieronymus Ebner. Scheurl sends his own writing and promises to send Staupitzen's writings.

Handwritten in *Cod. Scheurl*. G, fol. 115 (176). Printed by Burkhardt, p. 6 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 111.

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1970, note.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 18.

3) About "Peter Balbirer" see St. Louis Edition, Vol. IX, 1821 ff.

To Martin Luder, Augustinian (Aurelium 4) theologian.

Hail in Jesus Christ! That you write to me in friendship and excuse your silence, venerable father, highly learned man, you certainly do well, because I am, as many know, an Augustinian who considers it very shameful to be defeated in love. This is also testified by Wenceslaus [Link], our special friend, the good and learned man. He has not only as listeners, but also as guests at the table, the Losunger 5) Hieronymus Ebner and the Septemvir Hieronymus Holtzschuher, since the venerable father Vicarius, through his famous virtue, has an extraordinary reputation among our nobles, whom he has brought to the point that they are certainly very devoted and favorable to the Augustinians (Aurelians); this is not only to our honor, but also to our benefit. Among the rest, the Losunger, of whom I have spoken, Hieronymus Ebner, distinguished by his erudition and holiness, stands out, if I am not mistaken, the honey and the delight of the Nuremberg people, a man who is above all exceedingly affable and irreproachable. He also takes pleasure in your excellence; at table he often hears and talks about dix; he has the Decalogue,⁶⁾ the disputations and the other results of Luther's untiring activity (*vigilias*) in his hands, reads and admires them. Like you, he has nothing in mind but Christ and the commonwealth. Not only to this superior of the community, but also to me, you would do the most pleasant service, which would certainly not be unworthy of you at all, if you would attribute something Christian to him, 7) as you tend to do either publicly or privately. The other circumstances concerning this man you have learned from the biography of Anton Krefß 8).

4) Aurelius is the first name of Augustine.

5) *duumvirum* == Losunger. The two Losunger stood at the head of the community and were elected from the *septemviri*, the seven older lords s "Elteren Herr"). (*Erl. Briefw.*)

6) In the Codex: *catalogum* See St. Louiser Ausg., Bd. III, 1132, note Köstlin, M. Luther (3.), Bd. I, p. 123. According to this passage together with the words in the letter to Lang, from Sept. 4, 1517 (St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XVIII, 28): "I have sent you the interpretation of the Ten Commandments in both languages," one would like to assume that this writing did not appear in print only in 1518, but already in 1517, but that this edition did not come down to us.

7) Luther complied with this request by the interpretation of the 110th Psalm, which he dedicated to Ebner. St. Louis edition, Vol. V, 888.

8) This book of Scheurl's, which he dedicated to Hieronymus Ebner, has the title: *Vita Reverendi patris*.

which was sent to our Otto. I will again send you fifteen of the Vicarius' books as a gift, as soon as I can do so by messenger. I will send the Eck the disputation, 1) which we received a long time ago; I wish I could also send it to the Cologne and Heidelberg theologians; I am known to many learned people. But you are well. September 30, 1517.

No. 47.

Wittenberg. October 31, 1517.

To Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz.

Luther asks the archbishop to control the lack of indulgences and sends him the 95 theses he posted that day.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 390, no. 114.

No. 48.

Nuremberg. November 3, 1517.

Scheurl to Luther.

Similar^o contents to No. 46.

Handwritten in *Cod. Scheurl*. O, fol. 133 (194b). Printed by Burkhardt, p. 7; in Scheurl's Briefbuch, vol. II, p. 35 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 119.

To Martin Luder.

Restore Christ's theology and walk in his law! Since I am completely devoted to the Augustinian community, I have not been able nor allowed to be guilty of the fact that my housemate brings letters to most friends, but you, who hold the castle of scholarship and are counted among my dearest friends because of your excellent kindness, do not receive any letters from us. Our common father, the Vicarius, has won the hearts of my fellow citizens in an extraordinary way by his zealous efforts, and has left a great desire for him. Daily I am asked if he will return in a short time. It follows his footsteps and presents him quite beautifully, in his whole being, our good and trusted friend Wenceslaus. Hieronymus Ebner, the joy of the Nuremberg people, Caspar Nützel 2) (*Nutzel*), Hieronymus Holtzschuher, the Septemvirm, three

Dn. Anthonii Kressen, J. V. D. et, praepositi Sancti Laurentii Nurenbergn. per Christophorum Scheurl Juris utriusque Doctorem condita. Printed at Nuremberg by Friedrich Peypus in 1515. Kreß died on Sept. 8, 1513.

1) See the previous number.

2) later a zealous promoter of the Reformation in Nuremberg; he died in 1529.

Legal scholars, and other very many followers of Staupitzen. A more distinguished (digniore) company has no one with us. These also often dine with him and invite themselves, while we are the dining masters, since I have never been an unfaithful mediator of the Augustinian friendships. In this way, the reputation, the love, the favor of your brothers with us has increased not a little; but I am pleased, and will write to you once in more detail. Your theses are approved by the Dean of Eichstädt, 3) a learned man, and many others. Hieronymus Ebner, as he is a learned and God-fearing man, so he also loves and praises you, whom he knows by reputation, whose writings he has in his hands, reads and admires, he, the second ruler of our community. You will do something worthy of your reputation, and very pleasant for us, if you write to him, his wife Helena,⁴⁾ my *consobrinam*, or also to both of their sons and namesake [his father] Jerome 5) something from your religious, Catholic, Christian workshop, which serves the salvation of souls, for which they thirst exceedingly much. Farewell, venerable father, and if I can serve you or yours in any matter, you have me entirely as yours. Given as above. ⁶⁾

No. 49.

Wittenberg. In the first days of November 1517, to Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2402, annex, no. 11.

No. 50.

(Wittenberg.) (Before November 11, 1517.) 7)

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Luther reminds the Elector of the promised new dress, seeks to invalidate an unfavorable prejudice of the Elector against Staupitz, and advises against an intended new tax.

3) Erhard Truchsess. Scheurl's Briefbuch, p. 15.

4) a native of Fürer; her mother Anna, a native of Tucher, was the sister of Scheurl's mother.

5) A strange request, Luther should dedicate a writing to a ten-year-old boy! Hieronymus Ebner, the younger, born in 1507, died in Paris in 1532.

6) This version of the time determination comes from the copyist who made the copy for Scheurl's archive. It refers to the previous letter, which has the date set by us and repeated by Luther in his reply (No. 53).

7) The justification of the time determination is to be looked up at the previous number, St. L. Ausg., Vol. XV, 2402, Note.

The original can be found in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv. Printed in the supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 27; in Walch, vol. XXI, 2; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 77 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 1.

To My Most Gracious and Dear Lord, Duke Frederick,
Electors of Saxony, at Your Grace's Hand.

Most gracious Lord and Prince! When E. F. G. promised me before this year through the Hirsfelder to give a new dress, so I come now and ask F. G. to be mindful of the same.

But ask, my lord, as before, if Pfeffinger is to deliver this, that he deliver it by deed and not by friendly promise; he can almost spin good words, but will not make good cloth out of them.

It has also been revealed to me, my lord, namely through the prior 1) at Erfurt, who understood it from E. F. G.'s confessor, how E. F. G. should have received disgrace about D. Staupitz, our worthy dear father, because of some letters; when he was here and sought E. F. G. at Torgau, I spoke to his dignity and reproached me that I would not like it if E. F. G. received disgrace about his "dignities. F. G. at Torgau, talked with his dignity, and reproached that I would not like it, E. F. G. Unglimpf about his "dignities, I have found in truth in many words not different, which we had the evening full E. F. G., because that E. F. G. is a dear prince to him, and is indeed especially favorable to E. F. G., so that he finally said: "I do not think that I have ever angered my most gracious lord, I would have done so because I loved S. G. too much. Therefore, I ask, my lord, for his sake, as he also recommended it to me several times, that E. F. G. provide himself with all favor and loyalty to him, as E. F. G. has undoubtedly often found the same in him.

Also, most gracious lord, that I also show my loyalty to E. F. G. and earn my court dress: I have heard that E. F. G. wanted to write another and perhaps more difficult one after the end of this essay. If E. F. G. does not want to despise a poor beggar's prayer, I beg you, for God's sake, do not let it come to that, for I am full of heart.

1) Johann Lang. - The confessor is Jakob Vogt.

2) According to Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib.* I, p. 67a, this tax was the tithe on beverages proposed by Pfeffinger, which seemed so heavy to the people.

and many of those who favor E. F. G. are sorry that this estimation has robbed E. F. G. of so much good gossip, name and favor in recent days. God has indeed gifted E. F. G. with great reason, so that she sees further in these matters than I or perhaps all of E. F. G.'s subjects do; but it may well be, indeed God wills it so, that great reason may at times be guided by lesser reason, so that no one may rely on himself, but only on God our Lord, who will save E. F. G.'s health for our good, and then E. F. G.'s souls for salvation. Amen.

E. F. G. submissive Capellan, D. Martinus Luther,
at Wittenberg.

No. 51.

Wittenberg.

November 11, 1517.

To Joh. Lang.

Luther sends him his 95 theses against indulgences and defends the earlier ones against scholastic theology against the Erfurt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 394, no. 115.

No. 52.

Wittenberg.

November 11, 1517.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 28.

No. 53.

Wittenberg.

December 11, 1517.

To Christoph Scheurl.

This letter is the answer to No. 48. Luther indicates to him that he has no writing in stock that is worthy of being dedicated to a man like Ebner. The expected copies of Staupitzen's writing had not yet arrived.

The original is in the Scheurl family archive at Nuremberg. Printed by Schwarz in his program, Altorf 1740, p. 9; by Schütze, vol. II, p. 17; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 41 by De Wette, vol. I, p. 78 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 129. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 580.

To the worthy and sincere man, the highly learned
Doctor of Law Christoph Scheurl, Advocate of the
City of Nuremberg, his special friend.

Jesus.

Hail! Your letter, which you addressed to me on
November 3rd, highly learned and highly

The letter from you, my dear man, has shown your sincere heart, which is far more benevolent than our merits, towards ours and my humble self. But also the letter itself, a true reflection of your heart, was nothing else than sincerity and indicated nothing else than a sincere man. I rejoice and give thanks to the Lord Jesus that your Nurembergers, especially the nobles, so venerate and honor the venerable Vicarius and his (as you write) happy emulator, our Wenceslaus, and do this not out of any carnal intention or respect for persons, as the common people are wont to do, but out of a right love of salutary knowledge and out of zeal for the word of grace. I pray that the Lord will strengthen the work he has begun and also accomplish it, amen.

By the way, that you admonish me for the second time that I should honor my studies and produce something from my workshop for Hieronymus Ebner, the regent (*moderatore*) of your famous city (since I cannot honor his name through my studies, but rather his name through my studies), you give me too much credit and assume too much of me. For I do not lack the desire and the effort to serve him to the highest degree and to be at your will, but it is not within our capabilities, nor do I consider myself worthy of such an honor. You have a high opinion of my studies, but I have a very low one. And although I must believe that you mean it quite faithfully from your heart, I am much more obliged to estimate my powers correctly myself. Yes, that I confess it to you straight out, I have begun to want to follow your memories, and already searched around everywhere, what I could probably take in front of my hand first. And behold, everything that met me in my entire stock (of which I never realized that it was so poor) was bad and seemed to me quite unworthy that it should be dedicated to such a great man of mine, such a small person. For it was not only my great ignorance, in which I seemed to know nothing, that prevented me from doing so, but also another thing, namely my impiety, in which

I would not be able to properly present what I would like to know, even if it is quite valuable. But I consider it a lesser harm if someone serves good wine in a small vessel than if someone serves cloudy water in an extremely precious vessel. Therefore, I ask you to excuse me, since I deserve it very well, and henceforth refrain from praising me.

Your housemate, the bearer of the letter, has told me that you have again had the kindness to send the books of the Verse to me via Erfurts; I have not received them yet, but will receive them without doubt. Therefore, I thank you, and if I can, I will be your representative (*vicarius*) to God. Fare well in the Lord, my dear Christoph. From Wittenberg on the eleventh of December 1517.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 54.

Wittenberg.

December 20, 1517.

To Spalatin.

Luther answers the question whether other women than the Marys came to the tomb of Christ, and how the Marys were, and touches on a controversy (of Wimpina against Egranus) about the legend of St. Anne.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 283. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 43; in Löscher, vol. I, p. 841; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 80 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 132. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 582.

To his Georg Spalatin, the priest of Christ, his exceedingly honest [friend].

JESus.

Hail! To your letter, which you wrote to me from the castle at Lochau, I certainly answered,²⁾ my dear Spalatin, and believed that it had reached you through the service of the escort or the servant of public safety. In it, I asked you to thank your most noble prince for me for the cloth, then I explained to you, as best I could, my strange speech (*paradoxum*) about the insurmountable ignorance.

1) Scheurl had commissioned Jodocus Trutfetter in Erfurt to write a letter on Oct. 23 (Scheurl's Briefb., vol. II, p. 29.).

2) Namely by letter No. 52.

Now, with regard to what you ask, first of all: whether there were other women at the tomb of the Lord besides those Marys? you have a clear text Lucā at the last, not far from the beginning [Cap. 24, 10.], where it says: "Now there was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary Jacobi, and others with them, who told these things to the apostles" 2c. Yes, there seem to have been many, especially those whom he lists in the eighth chapter [v. 2.f.] as those who followed the Lord, of whom he again said at the end of the 23rd chapter [v. 55.], "But the women followed, which came with him out of Galilee," and in the beginning of the last chapter [v. 1]: "But on the Sabbath very early they came to the sepulchre, bearing the specimens which they had prepared" (at any rate the very same ones of whom he had just before said that they followed him), and in the Greek it is added here: "and some with them", 1) as Laurentius Valla and Erasmus testify, and these "some" seem to me to be others than those mentioned before.

The other: how many Marys were there? It is certain that it can be clearly proven from the Gospel that there were only two Marys besides the mother of the Lord, namely Magdalene and Mary Jacobi. For it is an obvious error that Mary Salome is any other²⁾ than Salome herself. For Salome is the name of a woman, not of a man, the feminine of the masculine, which is called Solomon. Therefore also from Josephus that Salome is known, the sister of Herod the Great. Read Matthäi Cap. 20, 20. where the mother of the children of Zebedee comes to Christ, where Chrysostom says: This is Salome. And Marci 10, 35. calls the sons of Zebedäi by name: John and Jacobus. But John Cap. 19, 25. calls the Mary of Cleophas [wife] the sister of the mother of the Lord.

But the same [namely as Maria Cleophä] is Maria Jacobi. Because Matth. 13, 55. and Marci 6, 3. are called Jacobus, Joses, Juda

1) These words are missing in the Vulgate.

2) Instead of *nullam* in all editions, *ullam* is to be read. See Luther's shorter interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, St. Louis edition, vol. VIII. 1404: "Therefore the error of those is quite evident who have invented a third Mary, whom they call Mary Salome."

and Simon are enumerated as brothers of Christ, that is, as mother-sister children of Christ, because they are sons of the sister of His mother. Therefore John Cap. 19, 25. calls this Mary the "Mary of Cleophas", Marcus Cap. 16,³⁾ 1. "Mary Jacobi"; the latter names her after her son, the latter after her husband" And see also that John alone names Mary Magdalene at the tomb, Matthew two, namely Mary Magdalene and the other, Mary Cleophä or Jacobi; Marcus three: Mary Magdalene, Mary Jacobi, and Salome; finally Lucas very many. For also Matthew [Cap. 28, 1.] said: "the other Mary", without name, to indicate that there was one and another; only two.

I hear that D. Conrad Wimpina 5) I do not know what he is planning against the preacher in Zwickau§) because of this very thing, namely because he refutes the history of St. Anne, and especially proves against those three Marys. It seems difficult to me, however, that the latter [Egranus] can be refuted, although I do not want this history to be dispelled by argument, but rather, for the sake of the people, that it gradually grow cold in itself and cease, especially since this error, which comes from a godly mind (*pietate*), is not so much to be condemned as that according to which the saints are venerated for the sake of money. Farewell in Christ, my dear Spalatin. From our monastery, on the day before St. Thomas [20 Dec.] 7) 1517.

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian. .

3) Incorrect in the editions: "*cap. VI.*"

4) Instead of *Mary* in all editions, *marito* is to be read. See the genealogical register of Christ, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2084, § 136. Likewise the passage of the interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians cited above. - Subsequently, the Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 336 in the misprint index: "it is probably to be read a *marito*".

5) Wimpina, actually Koch, professor of theology at Frankfurt a. O., born 1460 at Buchheim near Wimpfen (hence *Wimpina*), died 1531. About him see St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 12 b. - About Egranus *ibid.* p. 216, and vol. XV, appendix, no. 42, Col. 2465.

6) In 1518 appeared Wimpina's writing: *De divae Annae trinitatis et trium filiarum ejus asservatione lib. III.* Here Luther does not speak of the already published, but of the first intended writing.

7) Burkhardt's remark on this date (p. 9): "falsch reducirt", is erroneous.

No. 55 .

Wittenberg.

December 31, 1517.

To Spalatin.

Luther does not declare the invocation of the saints to be superstition per se, but only if it is done merely for the sake of bodily goods.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 288. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 130d; in Löscher, vol. II, p. 646; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 201 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 135. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 611. Only the Erl. Briefw. has the year set by us (because at that time the new year began with Christmas), all other editions: 1518.

His Georg Spalatin, ducal book keeper 1) and book lover, his [friend] to be highly honored in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! You want to know from me, my dear Spalatin, what my opinion was that in certain sentences I condemned the veneration of the saints for temporal things as superstition. Dear Spalatin, it has never been my opinion that the veneration of the saints is superstitious, not even their invocation for the sake of things, however corporeal. For this opinion is held by the heretics, our neighbors, the Picards in Bohemia. For it is better for us to obtain all goods of any kind from God through His saints (since all things are indeed gifts of God) than to seek them from the devil through sorcerers and witches, as many are wont to do. But this is what I wanted, namely, that it is superstitious, even ungodly and wrong, to ask God and the saints only for what concerns the body, but not to care at all about what concerns the soul and blessedness, yes, about the will of God, as if we had forgotten or did not believe the word of him who says [Matth. 6, 33]: "Seek first the kingdom of God, and all these things will be added to you. Yes, everywhere Christ teaches the bodies and that which is of the body as the

To despise the least. If it is allowed to ask for this, it is only allowed to those who are imperfect in faith and live more under Moses than under Christ. Therefore, such a service of the saints is only to be tolerated for the sake of the weak, but not to be exalted as a matter very much in the interest of the Christian life. But now see if any of the saints are celebrated among the people for chastity, for patience, for humility, for faith, hope, love and other spiritual goods, in order to obtain these; these are not sought, nor do we have any saints to whom, for the sake of these things, there would be a great crowd, churches would be built and services would be held. But because of fire danger St. Laurentius is venerated, because of the plague Sebastian, Martin and even the unknown St. Rochius,²⁾ because of poverty St. Anna with her son-in-law, and the holy virgin because of many and most things; St. Valentine because of the falling sickness, Job because of the French scabies; so Scholastica, Barbara, Catharina, Apollonia, yes, so many of the saints are famous, are famous only because of bodily salvation, and so famous that they have been preferred to the apostles in veneration and rendering pious services. Namely, they would become very unpopular if no one needed bodily things, or if they despised bodily things. For why do we not call upon St. Paul, lest the soul die in ignorance of Christ? as St. Christopher is called upon because of one, I know not what kind, of laughter at night time. Such people, I say, if they are weak, are to be tolerated, and finally, so that they become better minded and strive for the spiritual, with contempt for the bodily things, they are to be instructed, so that we are not always children under Moses, but finally also take hold of Christ. But if they have a better faith,

1) *bibliophylaci et philiobiblio*. Here we first encounter the title "librarian" (*bibliothecarius, librarius, a libris, a libellis*), which later recurs frequently, in the inscription used for Spalatin.

2) This passage undoubtedly proves that our letter belongs to the year 1517, since Luther, in the interpretation of the Ten Commandments, which came out in 1518, wanted to have the passage from "St. Rochius" deleted. See St. Louis edition, Vol. III, 1160, note 1.

3) The explanation of this passage can be found in St. Louiser Aug.

they are to be punished for not seeking worthier things. Therefore it is a mistake that we promote the service of the saints through the fear of evils and the desire for temporal goods. For this is not to be said and persuaded to all in general, as it is done, but, as I have said, to the children and the weak'; but to others it is to be persuaded that they seek from the saints the opposite, namely, torment, sickness, scourging, the cross, and all kinds of plagues, as David (ille) says [Ps. 26:2.]: "Try me, O Lord, and try me; purify my kidneys and my heart." Now, if we were all to take hold of what belongs to only a few, would not everything have to be filled with superstition? Let this be milk for the weak; let the strong work solid food. You see, therefore, that it is a superstition and not a superstition to worship the saints for the sake of bodily things. Those who can desire spiritual things, and see that they are lacking in them, undoubtedly obtain bodily things under God's wrath by neglecting to ask for the good Spirit. Yes, the Our Father teaches us in the first three petitions to ask first for what is spiritual and what is God's, and then for what is ours. But it is certain that this prayer will be perverted by those who do not care whether God rules or serves, and seek only to be delivered from their evil, making the first the last and the last the first. Fare well and pray for me. From Wittenberg, on the day of St. New Year's Eve 1518 [Dec. 31, 1517]. 1)

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian.

1) Because all previous editions except the Erl. Briefw. place this letter in the year 1518, also Burkhardt does not note anything about it, we come back again to the time determination. It seems impossible to us that Spalatin could have addressed the question answered in this letter to Luther at the end of the year 1518, after Luther's writing: "Die zehn Gebote, dein Volk zu Wittenberg gepredigt" 2c. had appeared in print. Yes, Luther would have referred Spalatin to this writing instead of an answer. One reads in the St. Louis edition, Vol. III, Col. 1159 to 1169; we are convinced that the correctness of this remark of ours will be acknowledged.

No. 56.

(Beginning of 1518.)

Wittenberg.
2)

To Joh. Aesticampimus³⁾ in Wittenberg.

Invitation to a small breakfast.

The original is in the school library in Annaberg. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 186; printed in *Novis. litter. Hamburg* 1703, p. 29; in *Wilisch, Arcana Biblioth. Annaberg, Lips.* 1730, p. 29; in *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 429; in *Kreißig*, D. Just, Jonas letter to Johann Friedrich, Churfürst von Sachsen, about 1)r. Wart. Luther's last illness and end of life 2c., Meissen 1847, p.22 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 138.

To the Lord Doctor Aesticampianus, his [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail in the Lord! I ask only one thing of you. Most learned and upright among men, but this is that you honor me with your presence, at ten o'clock or half an hour later, for a small breakfast. For this intention has always been thwarted when I once wanted to invite you, and even now I cannot do so. But I assume with good reason (*multum*) that you know very well our modest circumstances, not to say our poverty. But I want you to bring your master, whose name I do not know. Farewell, dear Lord, in the Lord. From our monastery.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 57.

Wittenberg.

January 18, 1518.

To Spalatin.

This letter is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 218 and again, improved and retranslated from the original, vol. XVIII, 1976, annex, no. 5.

2) De Wette places this letter after the one of March 21, 1520 to Joh. Lang (St. Louis edition, vol. XV, annex, no. 56), in which it is reported that Aesticampianus had received the last ovation. He died on May 31. Therefore, our writing cannot belong to this time, but must rather be placed not long after Aesticampianus' entry into the professorship at Wittenberg, as Seidemann, "Lauterbach," preface p. XIV, and him after the Erl. Briefw.

3) On Aesticampianus, see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 396, note 2.

No. 58.

Wittenberg.

Probably February 6, 1518.

To Hieronymus Scultetus, Bishop of Brandenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 405. Our determination of the time, which differs from that of the Erl. Briefw. is given there.

No. 59 .

Wittenberg.

February 15, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2381, annex, no. 4.

No. 60 .

Wittenberg.

February 19, 1518.

To Joh. Lang.

Luther designates the new books he wishes to have from the Frankfurt Fair and puts forward the question of what difference there is between and .

Handwritten in *Cod. Gothan*. A 399, fol. 1156. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 32b (among the letters of 1517); in Löscher, vol. II, p. 605; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 93 (erroneously: February 18) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 157. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 587.

To the venerable and devout father Johann Lang, the excellently learned licentiate of theology, prior of the hermits at Erfurt, his constant [friend] in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! It writes Wolfgang Fabricius, 1) venerable father, that the proverbs (*Adagia*) of Erasmus are printed again multiplied, "the lament of the expelled peace",²⁾ Lucian's conversations, the utopias of Morus (whose Richard Paceus 3) commemorates), the same Morus epigrams, 4) likewise the two books of instruction in Hebrew by Wolfgang himself, and, for whose sake I have this main

1) Capito, then a collegiate preacher in Basel.

2) In Strasbourg, an edition of the *Adagia* was published by Matthias Schürer in January 1518; in December 1517 in Basel by Joh. Frobenius an edition of the Erasmus *Querela pacis undique gentium eiectae profligataeque*.

3) *regis Anglorum orator*, occurs frequently in the letters of Erasmus.

4) These epigrams, together with those of Erasmus and the preceding writing, were published by Joh. Frobenius in March 1518.

I am actually writing the very decisive defense of Erasmus against Faber Stapulensis: so that you know what you should recommend to your booksellers who will travel to Frankfurt. Further, I ask for the Utopias of Morus and the Hebrew teachings of Fabricius, but most of all for that apology, if it is not the same one that we have had here for a long time, 5) namely, that on the sixth verse of the eighth Psalm: "Thou hast made him lack a little time of angels" [Heb. 2, 7.],⁶⁾ in this matter it is to be regretted that so great chiefs of the good sciences argue against each other with so great impetuosity. Whether it be another, or whether it be printed in another manner and increased, I desire to see. The one I have has never been printed by a Basel press. 7)

We desire of thee, O Greek,⁸⁾ that thou decide our controversy as to what difference or distinction there is between xxx

xxxx with epsilon and with eta, and why the Greek dictionaries do not have xxxxxx with short *penultimate* syllable (*penultima*), since this is found everywhere in the New Testament, as, Rom. 9,⁹⁾ 3., 1 Cor. 12, 3. and Gal. 1 [v. 8. 9.] twice. Only that Erasmus uses Rom. 9 with an eta in the notes, while it stands in the text with epsilon, and is not found in the dictionaries other than with eta. I do not know the form of the letters, 10) otherwise I would give my judgment to your judgment.

5) It was the same; the first edition was published in August 1517. (Erl. Briefw.)

6) Faber had claimed that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew, and that the translator had interchanged the correct with. Erasmus refuted this in his *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*, printed in 1515. Erasmus responded to Faber's vehement rebuttal with his Apology.

7) In February 1518, a second edition of the *Apologia ad Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem* was published by Joh. Frobenius in Basel (*Panzer, Annal.* VI, 204, No. 214.) Whether the first edition was also published there, we do not know.

8) In Walch: "We ask of you Greek." Immediately following xxxxxx *penultima correpta* is so given:

"Anathema not in the last syllable without a short have."

9) In the editions: *Rom.* VIII, but there this word does not occur.

10) *figuras literarum pingere*. This is difficult to explain, It seems to us the reading is corrupted. Perhaps it should be read instead of *pingere*. After that we have translated.

prefer. But because an eta denotes something set aside and separated, so called by "lay", so would like to

with an epsilon meaning "to put out of the community", or to put out of the country, or one driven out of the country 1), from the Greek expression meaning a country (*regionem*), without country, xxxxxxxx a distinction from "being without country", that is, excommunication.

When the wretched Agathe comes to you, show mercy to the sinner, she has sinned shamefully. Be well and pray for me. February 19: Brother Martin Luther.

No. 61.

Wittenberg.

February 22, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2399, annex, no. 10.

No. 62.

Wittenberg.

March 5, 1518.

To Christoph Scheurl.

Luther complains that he did not send the indulgence thesis to Scheurl. He announces a German writing on indulgences, thanks Dürer for a gift, and praises Staupitzen's writing "von der Liebe Gottes.

Handwritten in the Scheurl family archive. The original was given by Christoph Scheurl III. (b. 1535, d. 1592) gave it to M. Laurentius Dürnhöfer, preacher at St. Aegidien. Printed by Chr. Gottl. Schwarz, Programm, Alters 1740, p. 10; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 19; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 43; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 95 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 165. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 589.

To the esteemed and highly learned Christoph Scheurl, Doctor of both Laws, Public Advocate at Nuremberg, his [friend] to be highly honored in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! I have received two briefs from you, dear and highly learned Christoph, the vain one in Latin, the other in German, at the same time also the gift of the excellent man Albrecht Dürer, likewise my Latin and German theses. 2) First

1) *exterrem* == *extorrem*. Löscher has the latter reading.

2) Luther's theses spread quickly and were printed many times, among others also in Nuremberg. Caspar Nützet had translated them into German (Scheurl's Briefbuch, Vol. II, p. 43, last line), but this translation is not bibliographically verifiable.

I answer that it was neither my intention nor my wish that they should be published, but that they should first be discussed with a few who live with and around us, so that they might be either rejected and dismissed, or approved and published, by the judgment of many. But now they are printed and circulated so often, far beyond my expectation, that I regret this production, not as if I were not in favor of the truth becoming generally known, yes, that is what I sought above all things, but because this way is not suitable for informing the people. For I myself am doubtful about a number of things, and I would have asserted or omitted a number of things far differently and more certainly if I had expected this to happen. But I can see enough from this dissemination that everyone everywhere has an opinion about indulgences, even if it is a secret one, namely out of fear of the Jews. Thus I have been forced to prepare proofs 3) of the theses, which I have not yet been allowed to publish, however, because the venerable and gracious Lord, the Bishop of Brandenburg, whose judgment I have consulted in this matter, has been very much prevented and has kept me so long. Yes, if the Lord should give me leisure, I wish to publish a booklet in German on the power of indulgences, 4) so that I can suppress these quite indefinite theses. Of course, it is not doubtful to me that the people are deceived, not by the indulgence, but by its use. I will send them [the explanations] as soon as they will be finished.

Meanwhile, I ask you to recommend me to the worthy man Albrecht Dürer and to tell him that I am grateful and mindful of him. But that is what I ask of you and him,

3) The "Explanations on the Disputation on the Power of Indulgences," St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 100.

4) This is the "Sermon on Indulgences and Grace", St. Louis edition, vol. Kolde, "Martin Luther", Vol. I, p. 375 f. has convincingly proven that this writing is meant here/ So far all authorities, e.g. Köstlin, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 181; the Weimar edition, Vol. I, p. 239; the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 167, have pronounced "that this sermon is hardly meant here". But see St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 14b f.

that you give up your quite unreasonable opinion of me and do not think of me in greater terms than I am able to do; however, I am not able to do and am not able to do anything thoroughly and am becoming more and more of a nothing every day. I recently wrote to D. Joh. Eck and to all of you, but I do not realize that the letters have arrived. How much I wish that the booklet of our venerable father Vicarius "von der Liebe" 1), which came out very recently and was preached in Munich, would be printed again. For we hunger and thirst greatly. Fare well in the Lord. At Wittenberg, 1518 the fifth of March.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 63.

Wittenberg.

March 11, 1518.

To Spalatin.

Cover letter to a draft for the improvement of university studies.

Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 7; in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 26. printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 52; in Löscher, vol. II, p. 606; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 96 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 167. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 591 (probably due to a printing error: 1517).

His best friend, Georg Spalatin. JEsus.

Hail! The other day we were at Doctor Carlstadt's, dearest Spalatin, and began to discuss what you had already presented to us long ago, namely the new²⁾ or lectures to be established at our university. And that I have not written to you about this for a long time is the reason that it seemed to us almost all to be a matter in which we would have to despair, especially because we fear that our most noble prince would be burdened with such great expenses. But so that you and your will may be satisfied, I send you a note here, in which you can read what seemed good to us at that time. But, if in such a way

1) This writing originated from sermons that Staupitz had held in Munich during Advent 1517, and appeared under the title: "Am sälligs newes jar. Uon der lieb gottes" (1518). Luther gave a copy of it to his mother.

2) We have followed the reading of the Erl. Briefwechsel: *initandis*, instead of *mutandis* in the other editions.

If our educational institution could be established, dear God, how great an honor that would be for our prince and for our school, and a right occasion to reform all universities, yes, also to eradicate all barbarism all the faster and to increase all scholarship in the most abundant way. In this you use your concern. Farewell. Wittenberg, March 11, 1518.

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian.

No. 64.

Wittenberg.

March 21, 1518.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2379, annex, no. 3.

No. 65.

Wittenberg.

March 23, 1518.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther sends him his "Asterisks Against the Obelisks of Eck".

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 536.

No. 66.

Wittenberg.

March 24, 1518.

To Joh. Sylvius Egranus, preacher at Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2465, annex, no. 42.

No. 67.

Wittenberg.

March 31, 1518.

To Staupitz.

Luther complains about the misinterpretation of his teaching by his opponents, who are especially hostile to him because he prefers the Church Fathers and the Bible to the scholastics.

Handwritten in *Cod. Seidel.* in Dresden, p. 217. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 21; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 101 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 175. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1356 without the address.

His father and superior in Christo, Staupitz.

JEsus.

Hail! Since I am busy with many things, I am forced, dear Father in the Lord, to write very little. First

I have the firm conviction that my name stinks with many, for good people have long been accusing me of this, that I condemn the rosaries, the crown prayers, 1) the little psalters, even other prayers, and even all good works. So it also happened to Paul from those who said that he said [Rom. 3:8.], "Let us do evil, that good may come of it." I have certainly followed Tauler's theology, and the booklet,²⁾ which you recently gave to our Christian Goldschmied to print. I teach that men should not trust in anything else but in JESUS Christ alone, not in their prayers and merits or in their works, because it is not by our running but by GOD's mercy that we are saved [Rom. 9:16.]. From these speeches those people sang the poison, which, as you see, is spread by them. But for the sake of good or bad talk I have not begun, nor will I desist from it. God will have mercy. The same people bring hatred on me because of the scholastic teachers, because I prefer the church teachers (*ecclesiasticos*) and the Bible to them, so they are almost nonsensical with heated zeal. I read the scholastics with good judgment, not (as they tend to do) with closed eyes. This is what the apostle commanded [1 Thess. 5, 21]: "Examine everything and keep what is good." I do not reject all their things, but I do not approve of everything either. But in such a way those chatterers are wont to make the whole out of one part, a conflagration out of a swift, and an elephant out of a gnat. But I, by God's grace, do not respect those larvae in the least. They are words, they will remain words. If Scotus, Gabriel and his kind were free to have other opinions than St. Thomas, again the Thomists are allowed to contradict the whole world, yes, among the scholastics there are almost as many sects as heads, rather as many as hairs on each head: why do they not allow me the same against them, what they arrogate to themselves as a right against themselves? But if God

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1319.

2) Staupitzen's writing "von der Liebe Gottes". See No. 62 at the end. - Christian Goldschmied is Christian Dornig, goldsmith and publisher.

works, there is no one who can turn it around. When he rests, no one can wake him up. Farewell and pray for me and for the truth of God, wherever it may be. Wittenberg, March 31, 1518.

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian.

No. 68.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of March 1518.)

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2374, annex, no. 1.

No. 69.

(Wittenberg.) (Shortly before Easter (April 4) 1518.) To

Spalatin.

Luther reports that the Bishop of Brandenburg released him from his promise.

Handwritten *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 233. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 3; by Löscher, vol. I, p. 843; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 75 (in November 1517) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 180. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 585 (1517).

His Spalatin 2c.

JEsus.

Hail! In short, everything you write, I will do. For the venerable bishop has answered and released me from my promise. Only I do not know whether I will be able to preach these three consecutive days, 3) but I will see; if not, then Amsdorf will step in as my assistant.

Brother Martin Eleutherius.

No. 70.

(Wittenberg.)

(After April 4, 1518.)

To Spalatin.

Luther sends a letter to the Elector, to which he expects an answer. Soon he will leave for Heidelberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 234. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 4; by Löscher, vol. II, 637; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 203 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 180. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 602.

3) This can only go to the Easter feast. After that, the time determination.

His Georg Spalatin in the castle at Wittenberg.

JEsus.

Hail! Behold, here is my letter, my dear Spalatin, which I have written to the most illustrious prince in response to your faithful reminder and out of necessity. It is now up to your faithfulness and concern that you show friendship and love, so that the most illustrious prince receives it as soon as possible, and that you inform me of it, if you should hear any answer to it. Farewell. Next Friday 1) I will go out, God willing.

Brother Martin Eleutherius.

No. 71.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early April 1518.)

To Joh. Sylvius Egranus.

Luther gives his verdict on the dispute Egranus had about St. Anne^ (See No. 54 and No. 66.).

This letter is first printed on the title back of the following writing: "*Apologetica responsio contra dogmata. que in .M. Egranu a calumniatoribus inuulgata sunt. E. R. 2) Impietas est ad impietatis crimen esse mutu.*" At the end: "*Impress: Wittenburgij Anno 1518.*" 4 leaves in 4. Printer: Joh. Grünenberg. In August of the same year, a reprint appeared in Basel by Pamphilus Gengenbach. Also printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 122; in Löscher, vol. II, p. 613; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 103; in the Weimar edition, vol. I, p. 315 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 181. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 592.

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian, ^wishes^ his Johann Sylvius Heil.

See, there you have my expert opinion on your doctrines, as you wanted, my dearest Sylvius. First of all, I like the fact that you subject everything to the judgment of the church, especially of your Ordinary 3) (as he is called). For even the truth must be spoken with fear in the Church of God. Secondly, I believe that everything is true, and I myself have read and taught almost [the same] for a long time, even though it is new and sharp, and therefore (as it is wont to happen) to the unlearned.

1) On April 9, Friday before Quasimodogeniti, Luther left Wittenberg for Heidelberg. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 4.

2) "E. R." == Erasmus Roterodamus.

3) This was Philip, the bishop of Naumburg-Zeitz and Freising.

obnoxious. Thus I would have done enough for a friend; you may see whether you have also done enough for the friends, much more for the enemies. For I fear that it might seem to the friends, that is, to the scholars, as if you had consulted a kind of Midas 4); the unscholars or enemies (of this I am certain) will judge you as if one heretic had consulted another and, as they say, one ass itches another. For this Martin has a much worse name among these people than Sylvius, both because of these common things and because of his own, which I believe you know. But just as the kind Savior Christ bore us exceedingly wretched sinners, and bears us to this day, so it behooves us also to bear those people, however much they may be our adversaries. For we must not despair of them, even as we ought not to be presumptuous of ourselves, being among one another bone of the same bone, and flesh of the same flesh [Gen 2:23]. Fare well.

No. 72.

Wittenberg.

April 15, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 418, no. 133.

No. 73.

Würzburg.

April 19, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 420, no. 135.

No. 74.

Erfurt.

May 9, 1518.

To Jodocus Trutfetter, professor in Erfurt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 410, no. 131.

No. 75.

Wittenberg.

May 18, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2392, annex, no. 7.

4) Midas, king in Phrygia, was chosen as arbitrator between Apollo and Pan to decide whether Apollo could play better on the zither or Pan could blow better on the shawm. Since he preferred the latter, Apollo made him grow donkey ears.

No. 75a.

Wittenberg.

May 19, 1518.

To Johann Eck.

Luther reproaches him for having attacked him so deceitfully with his obelisks.

From a copy in the Nuremberg City Library, No. 406, p. 2, No. 2, printed in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 1.

Martin Luther to the highly learned theologian and philosopher Johann Eck, Pro-Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, Canonics of the church at Eichstädt, a special one among his friends.

Several obelisks have come to me in which you have tried to destroy my theses on indulgences, and this is a testimony to your faithful friendship, which you freely offered me, yes, of evangelical love, by which we are commanded to admonish the brother before we accuse him. How could I, a simple man, believe or suspect that you would act backwards against me, since you have been so flattering against the brother? And thou also hast fulfilled the scripture [Ps. 28:3.], "He that speaketh kindly to his neighbor, and hath evil in his heart." I know you did not want such a thing to happen to you from me, but you did it and were able; you may see what your conscience tells you. I am very surprised at the audacity with which you alone can presume to judge my opinions before you know and understand them. This presumption is certainly a very faithful witness that you alone seem to be a theologian, and so alone that not only your opinion is to be preferred to all, but also everything that you have condemned, although not understood, is to be condemned because it does not please the corner. I beg you, let us at least live and rule by God. But lest I deal much with thee, because thou art altogether mad against me, behold, I have sent the asterisks 1) against thine obelisks unto thee, that thou mayest see and know thine ignorance and iniquity, in which, of course, I have been so

I do not want to publish them, but address them to you privately, so that I do not want to repay you for the evil you have done to me. I have written them only for²⁾, through whom I have received your obelisks, so that you receive the asterisks through him. Otherwise, if I had wanted to let them go out into the public, I would have written more carefully and appropriately or also in a firmer manner against you. If now still the confidence from your trivial things should stand firm with you, then do it and write; I will meet you with no less confidence. Then it may be that I will not spare you either, although, God knows, I would rather that you would get along again, and if you disliked something about me, would first act amicably with me, as you should have known was proper for a theologian. For what whore, who is a little angry, could not spew the same vituperations and disparagements that you have spewed against me? and still you do not regret this at all, that you also boast and seem to have done right. You have the choice; I will keep the love if you want. I will cheerfully accept your attack, because, as I see, you know nothing in theology except the trumpery of scholastic opinions. What you will accomplish against me, you will realize when you begin to prefer peace to war and love to raging. But the Lord give thee and me a good mind, and bid them both be well. Behold, I lay down my arms, even though I am wounded, not because I fear you, but because I fear God; according to this, the blame will not be on me if I am forced to defend myself publicly. But good words. Farewell. From Wittenberg, May 19, 1518.

No. 76.

Wittenberg.

May 30, 1518.

To Staupitz.

See Sk. Louiser Aug., Vol. X V, 414, No. 132.

2) Wenceslaus Link, to whom the asterisks are attributed.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 536. - From this passage it seems that this writing will have to be set almost simultaneously with our letter.

No. 77.

(Wittenberg.)

(May 30) 1518.

To Pope Leo X. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 400, no. 127.

No. 78.

Wittenberg.

June 4, 1518.

To Spalatin.

Luther writes about the request of Petrus Mosellanus for the Greek professorship in Wittenberg; about Übersandten's books, and about Tetzel's rebuttal, to which he wants to reply.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 10 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 29. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 71; in Löscher, vol. II, p. 616; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 122 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 202. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 593.

His Georg Spalatin, ducal librarian, his learned friend,
in Altenburg.

Jesus.

Hail! I beg you, my dear Spalatin, not to be displeased that I write either very late or very seldom. I am not sufficient for half of my business, which, I do not know through what fruitfulness of time, is constantly increasing contrary to expectation. Petrus Mosellanus has been with us, ready to accept the condition and the office of professor of the Greek language, and has asked me to write this to you in his name. Since I did not know whether anything had been traded between you and him in the meantime, I promised to write, and behold, I write. It will be up to you to proceed in this matter, as God has given you the knowledge and the ability.

Among my things from the chapter, this booklet also came with me, which you instructed me to hand over. Among so many thoughts I forgot to whom it should be handed over. I offered it to everyone I knew, but no one could be found. If I can still deliver it through the subordinate brothers of our order, let me know and it will be done.

I sent you two books the other day, but incomplete, which discuss theology in un

serer German language contain. 1) I send the remaining sheets (*duerniones*); if, in addition, something should still be missing, then write. For the whole is ten sheets 2) strong. Fare well and pray for me. My proofs 3) are under the press.

Johann Tetzel has published against my German Sermon 4) likewise a German booklet, an excellent witness and herald of his ignorance, to which I will add light, 5) so that it may be known by all how it is constituted, not how he himself regard his booklet zero. Fare well again. All in our Wittenberg monastery, in the greatest haste, on the day after the Feast of Corpus Christi [June 4] 1518. Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian.

I send kind regards to all the courtiers, especially to those on whose behalf you greeted me the other day.

No. 79.

Wittenberg.

June 4, 1518.

To Joh. Lang.

Luther asks for a carpenter from the Erfurt monastery. He sends a book, talks about Tetzel's rebuttal and requests several books for Längs Bruder.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* V 399, fol. 427. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 72; in Löscher, vol. II, p. 616; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 124 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 206. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 595.

To the venerable and worthy father Johann Lang,
future (*designato*) Doctor of Sacred Theology,
Augustinian Vicar of the Hermits of Thuringia at
Erfurt, his superior.

Jesus.

Hail! We are waiting, Reverend Father, and we are waiting with pain for you to bring to us the brother carpenter whom, as you know, the Venerable Father Vicarius has promised us.

1) "A German Theologia." See St. Louis edition, Vol. XIV, 182.

2) *duernio* is the name of a folio sheet of two sheets. Folded in quarto, therefore, four sheets. Forty quarto sheets is the thickness of this book.

3) The Explanations of the Theses on Indulgences. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 100.

4) "On Indulgences and Grace." Tetzel's refutation of it is found in the St. Louis edition, Vol. X VIII, 274.

5) This was done by Luther's "Freedom of the Sermon, Concerning Papal Indulgences and Grace. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 296.

considering that we have neither seats nor benches in any part of the monastery, and your convent can more easily suffer a delay than ours, especially since it will soon return to you after completing a little work.

By the way, I am sending here a book, 1) which is a true silen of Alcibiades, which I give to you, dear father; if you want to have more of it, then you should know that you have to procure it on Greek credit 2). Against my German Sermon, that Tetzl has published his antics, against whom I too am again preparing my barrel; God grant that it may not become a little jar. Farewell and pray for me. From Wittenberg. I wanted you to get your brother George the Quintilian and the text of Aristotle; if he also had Pliny, perhaps it would not hurt. On the day after the Feast of Corpus Christi [June 4] 1518.

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian.

Our Prior Adam asks, 3) that you get this booklet together with the sermon into the hands of the wife of the Count of Stolberg, who is staying in Kreuzberg.

No. 80.

Wittenberg.

15, June 1518.

To Scheurl.

Luther writes about his and Carlstadt's dispute with Eck, which could still be settled through Scheurl's mediation if Eck did not reply to the asterisks given only privately and did not answer Carlstadt too sharply.

The original is in the Scheurl family archive at Nuremberg. Printed in Eh. G. Schwarz' program, Altorf, p. 12; in Schütze, Bh. II, p. 22; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 45; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 125 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 208. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 596.

1) "A German Theologia." - A "Silen of Alcibiades," according to the *adagia* of Erasmus, is a thing that at first sight seems small and ridiculous, but on closer acquaintance is worthy of admiration. Artists used to have in their workshops larger containers, representing the figure of Silen, in which they kept the exceedingly beautiful pictorial works they had made. Alcibiades used this comparison in his own way, since he wanted to indicate that Socrates contained more hidden in himself than his appearance promised.

2) *Graeca fide*, that is, for cash money. The Greeks did not give credit.

3) Adam Ulrich, from Langensalza, 1510 prior in Cologne, 1517 in Nordhausen, 1518 in Wittenberg. (Kolde, "Die Deutsche Angustinercongregation," p. 257.)

To the highly learned Doctor Christoph Scheurl, well-versed in both laws, the comforting guardian (*Paraclete*) of the Nuremberg community, his in Christ exceedingly honest friend.

JEsus.

Hail! What you ask for our Eck, my dearest Christoph, would not have been necessary in any way, since you are such a great friend to me, if the matter had still stood, and he himself had preceded you by his letters. For it has also increased my suspicion that Eck's heart is estranged from me, that he, after having given me such frightening names, 4) although this was written privately, has sent me nothing, neither a letter nor a word. But since our Carlstadt's "defense sentences" 5) (*problemata*) have already been published, admittedly without my will and knowledge, I know no good advice as to what both should do. I know that we love this man's intellectual gifts and admire his erudition; and I am aware and testify that what has happened was done with sadness rather than out of anger or spite. As for me, I have written this letter to him, which, as you see, is quite friendly and full of kind words against him. Not only for your sake, but also because of his free confession, I am quite conciliatory, because he writes that he, though not me, dislikes the fact that this incident has happened either through foreign malice or spite. Therefore, in this matter at least you have power over me, and he has it too. Only one thing will be incumbent on you, that you take care that he does not answer our Carlstadt too harshly, and that he considers that he was first to blame for the fact that this evil occurred among friends. For I believe that there is no need for him to answer me, since I have given my asterisk privately.

4) In the obelisks. See Letter No. 66, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, Annex, No. 42.

5) "Carlstadt's 405 Defences for the Holy Scriptures" 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 590. See the introduction there, p. 34k f.

6) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 536.

if he does not feel like it. 1) But if he prefers to respond, I am prepared for both, although I would prefer peace. Act, therefore, in such a way that we may know that you suffer with us, that this affliction is of the devil's making, but also rejoice that it is overcome and satisfied by the mercy of Christ. Fare well. I have also written to you before, but I see that the letter has not yet arrived. Wittenberg, on the day of Vitus and Modestus [June 15] 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 81.

(Rome.)

Second half of June²⁾ 1518.

Silvester Primas to Luther.

Letter to the dialogue of Silvester Prierias.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 312.

No. 82.

Wittenberg.

July 10, 1518.

To Wenceslaus Link. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2376, annex, no. 2.

The Erl. Briefw., Vol. II, p. 536, brings the following corrigendum in the misprint list for this brief: "Vol. I, p. 211, line 34, instead of *Fuit* read *Fiat*." This "Correctur" is a wrong Conjectur. Aurifaber, who is the source for all editions here, reads *Fuit*, which also corresponds to the context. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2377, s 3, line 8 f.

No. 83.

Wittenberg.

August 8, 1518.

To Spalatin in Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 430, no. 147.

No. 84.

(Wittenberg.)

(Around August 10, 1518.)

On New Year's Eve Prierias.

Letter and conclusion of Luther's answer to Prierias's dialogue.

See St. Louis ed. vol. XVIII, 344 and 411.

1) Eck followed this hint, therefore Luther did not print the asterisks either. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 23d.

2) On the time determination, see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI II, Introduction, p. 17. The Erl. Briefw. has: -(First months 1518.)"

No. 85.

Wittenberg.

August 21, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 432, no. 148.

No. 86.

Wittenberg.

August 31, 1518.

To Spalatin.

Luther reports that the sermon on the ban had already been printed when Spalatin's letter arrived. About Melanchthon's inaugural address upon assuming his office. He sends his answer from the dialogue of Silvester Prierias.

The original is located in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 33. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 77b; in Löscher, vol. II, p. 623; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 134 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 220. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 598.

To the highly learned and finely educated Georg Spalatin, librarian of the Duke of Saxony, his faithful friend in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! Before your letter came, my dear Spalatin, the Sermon on the Banishment 3) had already been published, but in such modesty, and supported with such firm proofs of truth, that I cherish the hope that it will not only not be disapproved of by the lovers of truth, but will be received with complete favor, even by those whom tyranny itself delights; so gloriously have I raised that holy power, yet without flattery, but not without necessity. For I have taught nothing in it that they themselves have not taught and do not teach.

What you write and remember about our Philip Melanchthon, you shall not doubt that it has been done and shall be done. He gave a speech on the fourth day after he came, which was highly learned and completely without fault, with such great applause and admiration from everyone that you now no longer need to be concerned about the way in which you might recommend him to us. We turned our opinion and our sight away from his stature and his person very soon, and wish in the matter itself

3) St. Louiser. See also the introduction there, pp. 39 f.

to him happiness and admire him, and say thanks to the most noble prince and also to your service. But it is more important to see to it that you can best recommend him to our prince for his studies. I certainly do not desire any other teacher for Greek, as long as he remains healthy. There is only one thing I fear, that he, because he is so delicate, may not bear the way of life of our region well, then, because I hear that he has been hired for a too meager salary, so much so that the already boasting Leipzigers hope to take him away from us as soon as possible. For he was also coveted by them before he came to us. I have the suspicion, and many others with me, that Mr. Pfeffinger, as is his way, wanted to prove himself an all too faithful steward of the prince's purse in this matter as well.

Therefore, my dear Spalatin, to speak freely, that is, with my best friend, see to it that you do not despise his person and his [youthful] age; he is a man worthy of all honor. For I would not want us and our university to be guilty of such tremendously rude behavior, from which our enviers could make a quite respectable fairy tale of us.

I send my quite farcical and completely off-the-cuff written dalliances against Silvester, my quite woodsy (*syvestrem*) and boorish sophist, which I poured out in two days. For he did not seem worthy to me that for his sake I should put the power of my mind and the effort of study into such trivial and (as mau says) *bullaceous* conclusions for nothing.

Let my things be in your command, I thank God and you. Farewell and love me in Christ. August 31, 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

D. Andreas Carlstadt is engaged in an external fight against Eck's defense, 1) and as far as I can grasp, Eck has done nothing by his defense but show the place where he can best be beaten.

No. 87.

(Wittenberg.)

1. September 1518.

To Staupitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2394, annex, no. 8.

No. 88.

Wittenberg.

September 2, 1518.

To Spalatin in Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2397, annex, no. 9.

No. 89.

Basel.

September 4, 1518.

Wolfgang Fabricius Capito to Luther.

Erasmus' verdict on Luther's Theses on Indulgences; exhortation to extreme caution against the impending dangers; how Luther should answer Prierias to his dialogue; Erasmus' verdict on Egranus' writing; von Eck's writing Wider Carlstadt.

Printed in the Abraham Scultetus *Annul. Evang. renovati Decas prima*, p. 27 and in des Cel. Hasaeus *Bibliotheca [Bremensis] Historico-Philologico-Theologica* (1719), p. 920. Partially in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth.*, lib. I, p. 176, aM. In Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 228 after the two prints cited above.

Hail! In my last letter I answered your love from Strasbourg by adding Erasmus' judgment about you, namely how honorable, how sincerely he admires your disputation on indulgences. In the meantime, I have seen your sermon on repentance²⁾, and the other on pardons, 3) both of which fight with flying colors against the traditional way of our time. I have been beside myself with fear for the safety of my friend, since you present your chest so unprotected to the dense hosts of the enemy, even though you appear to be exceedingly well armed with weapons of truth. But you will, I fear very much, be fought with far different [weapons], and there is danger that the cause will be carried out by force. If thou wilt therefore condescend to lend thine ears to him who counsels thee out of a faithful heart, I admonish thee as one who has experienced that thou hast brought the cause of Sertorius 4) to the dei

2) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1220. (Instead of 1517, the year 1518 is to be placed.)

3) *de condonationibus*. This is probably the "Sermon on Indulgences and Grace". St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 270.

4) Sertorius, follower of Marius^h and good general, when Sulla prevailed, fled to Spain and fought bravely for a long time until he was deceitfully killed by Perpenna.

1) By his defense against Eck's Monomachy, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 632. See also the introduction there, p. 25.

lie. Believe me, piece by piece, you will bring about In these days I have received the booklet of what you could not even have shaken with all your Silvester de Prierio from Rome, which he has published strength. As you see, they have a castle fortified on quite ludicrously against your theses of indulgences all sides. Surrounded by a triple rampart, they snore, (*venias*). If he is to be answered, I would like it to be as it is said, out of range (*extra tela*): from the papal done in careful speech, and that you present a true prestige, that is, from the prestige of the general image of Christ from the Gospels. The origin and church, from the power of the tyrants, and from the progress of religion, the custom of the ancients, the obstinate concord of all the schools. Truly, you will not cause of the ingrained error, and the changed decrees easily ever break this exceedingly thick triple rope of of the popes and even of the conciliarities you may the evil spirit. It is necessary for an Alexander to relate with explicit indication, so that the speech may confidently untie the Gordian knots with the sword; it acquire faith through the senses, as drawn from the is difficult for this to be done by reason or rationality. source of truth. Then you may more often ridicule the The simplicity of the godly depends on the beckoning individual nonsenses than treat them seriously. and counterbeckoning of the imaginary church. Carefully refrain from injuring the pope; rather, cast off Tyranny takes away the courage of the more astute. all spite against that man as an insolent flatterer, as Furthermore, we theologians, who sell to all a greater one who raises things unworthy of the papal dignity holiness and knowledge of Christ, surrender Christ to only for the sake of the belly; you oppose open our hope, gather up all the filth of religion, and under intrigues; you strive to cut off the occasion for evil. the pretense of godliness take care of our best. Everywhere, as the occasion may bring when giving Therefore, lest this excellent endeavor be destroyed, the answer, you may bequeath the approaches, so that may you, I beseech you, prevent any pretense by he can only strike again in vain. See, where I, forgetting which you can more quickly pin the reader's neck myself, am carried away by the heat of friendship, that before he thinks he is being followed.

I, like a teacher, prescribe laws to you! But forgive this, In this way, the apostles did nothing suddenly, whatever it may be, to him who is concerned for you in nothing so openly; everywhere they preserved a every way. You have more than one Theseus, 3) delicate subtlety. For through what hidden passages Andreas Carlstadt, Georg Spalatin, Johann Egranus does Paul enter in the letter to the Romans, what does and Philipp Melanchthon, the wonderfully gifted man; if he not do in order to gain favor with them? He says you will cultivate Rath with these, you will publish something, he hides it again, he leads in, he leads out nothing that could be shaken or that would be weak. again, he shows the rich supply from afar, and then Where does my much talk drive me! But it shall only he hides it again, and he weighs his speech in every serve to testify my sincere affection for you.

detail so that either hatred or displeasure does not Erasmus praises Egranu's booklet extraordinarily: arise. The Acts of the Apostles are rich in examples how powerfully it presents, how straight it goes to the of this kind. Thus St. Paul [Acts 23:6] responds in the goal, how clearly it proves. He wanted it to be published uproar like one who seeks excuses; he does not say, again in Basel, 4) which he would not have read without "I speak nothing against the law," but, "I am accused displeasure if it had been printed here first. Johann Eck because of the resurrection," while in the meantime wrote against Andreas Carlstadt. 5) You will not dispute he gives an account with wonderful cleverness in his before cheap judges; try as much as you can to make speech that he has observed the law. For great things us safe. I answer Eck in a private letter with great are surely accomplished in crooked ways. How I wish freedom. For this that you always kept open a window from which you could escape, even if only troubled with a disputation.

2)

1) Instead of: *decorem et* in Erl. Briefw. we have adopted the reading of Scultetus: *decoram*.

2) From the foregoing it is exceedingly clear what a different spirit Capito has than Luther!

3) Theseus is said to have assisted many extremely brave men in their battles.

4) This is the edition of Gengenbach in Basel mentioned in No. 71.

5) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 25.

For the sake of the mass (nundinas), I am given letters every day that have to be written at night. I wish God that they would be as useful as I wish with all my heart to greet every dear friend with my words, to be commanded, as it were, by name. Farewell. Basel, September 4, 1518.

The one you know.

No. 90 .

Augsburg.

September 5, 1518.

Spalatin to Luther.

This letter is the answer to No. 85 (Vol. XV, 430). About Cajetan's and others' attitude toward Luther; he urges confidence, thanks for the "explanations" sent, whose dissemination is taken care of; expresses disapproval of the dissemination of the theses of the excommunication (foisted on Luther) and writes about Staupitz's concerns about Luther.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth. A 399*, fol. 276. Printed in Burkhardt, Briefwechsel, p. 11 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 231.

To his venerable father in Christ, Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian, Doctor of Theology.

Good health! I have no doubt, my dearest Doctor Martin, that soon after the departure of Magister Johann, your colleague from Nuremberg, you received the letter of our most noble Prince and thus also mine. Cardinal Cajetan, if he does not deceive the prince as well as me, is not so hostile to you that he should make such a great offence against you to the emperor and the great ones of the Holy Roman Empire. For since he recently spoke confidentially and much with our most noble prince, who had gone to him, this gave me great hope that he would be much more lenient and tolerant in your cause than I feared. For although I believe that many, I do not know what, have done against you, I do not know, but rather hope that God will graciously assist you and destroy all the counsel of the adversaries, however hostile and various and dangerous things they may have in mind against you. I also have no doubt that, God willing, like the prince, you will also escape this danger from the dignitatis. In my opinion, you have offered yourself lawfully enough to have your cause recognized in an unsuspecting place before unsuspecting judges. A heretic

calls you only the Tetzelian rabble (Tetzeliastri), that is, the people who do not understand anything about all fine arts and sciences. The most noble prince refuses a rescript, as you have requested it, for such a reason that even you could not blame. For I believe that there will be no lack of a way to protect your name and your welfare. You, therefore, be confident in the trust of God and your clear conscience. However much the shortness of time may press, however other things may hinder, it may be that he will overcome all difficulties. Therefore, have a theological courage.

For the "explanation" of your theses on indulgences, I thank you eternally. For it pleases me extraordinarily such a learned gift. Therefore, I will see to it that several copies given to very learned men make your opinion on this matter better known than that you could justly be brought into such great spite. Five days ago I sent a copy received from a friend as a gift to the Cardinal of Sion, Mr. Matthew 1) of the title St. Pudentiană, who is staying with the Swiss and is a very learned and righteous man. He is, as I hear from those who returned from the man within a few days, extraordinarily devoted to you. Christoph Langenmantel is very devoted to you, but so are many others of whom you might not suspect this. I cannot say, however, how much evil, how much spitefulness the sentences from the ban 2) seem to have brought you. I cannot be surprised enough that they were sent here from there, and all the more so because (I write what I have seen) an exceedingly bitter mockery against Roman avarice had been attached to them. For that which has been sent hither has been delivered into the hands of both apostolic legates. I fear that it has been sent to Rome and has done you tremendous harm. But God will help His own in due time. However, be careful not to irritate those wasps even more, either in preaching or in disputing or in public teaching. For I know that if you only avoid the danger 3) that the future way to

1) Schinner. Instead of. *Seducensi* in the text is to be read *Sedunensi*, and immediately following instead of: *H. S. Potentiana* to read: *tit. S. Pudentianae*, because since 1511 he was Cardinal-priest of this title.

2) They had been foisted on Luther. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 39 d f.

3) Instead of *perculi* we have assumed *periculo*.

The teaching will be both salutary and already and very good. In the meantime, be well with yours, yes, with all of ours, to the very best. Greetings from Mr. Pfeffinger, B[ernhard] Hirschfeld and all other friends. In a hurry. At Augsburg, on the Sunday after the birthday of St. Aegidius [Sept. 5] 1518.

You have the venerable father Johann Staupitz as one who is very concerned for your life, 1) as well as all the others, and others who are exceedingly watchful for your welfare, your good name and your dignity.
Georg Spalatin.

No. 91.

Salzburg.

September 14, 1518.

Staupitz to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 2412, annex, no. 15 b.

No. 92.

(Wittenberg.)

September 16, 1518.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2410, annex, no. 15a.

No. 92a.

Ingolstadt.

September 20, 1518.

Johann Eck to Luther.

(Regest.)

Response to No. 75 a. Luther judges in his own cause. Luther accuses him of immodest behavior, while the most important men give him the testimony of modesty. He would answer Luther's verdict in the next letter, since the messenger was hurrying. He does not completely reject Luther's answer to the Dialogus of Silvester Prierias, but he does not approve of it in its entirety. Carlstadt is preparing a new war against him, but he is as little afraid of him as an elephant is of a mouse. He wishes that the quarrel in writings between them would come to an end, so that the study of theology would be strengthened and flourish.

From a copy in the Nuremberg City Library, . No. 406, p. 12, No. 7, printed in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 3.

No. 93.

(Nuremberg.)

(October 3 or 4, 1518.)

To the Wittenberg friends. (?)

(Fragment.)

Pusillanimous people try to dissuade Luther from the trip to Augsburg, but he remains firm.

1) Compare Staupitzen's letter to Spalatin of Sept. 7, 1518. St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 551.

Printed in *Chr. Eberh. Weismanni introductio in memorabilia ecclesiastica historiae sacrae Novi Testamenti etc.. Halae Magdeburgicae 1745. partis primae, p. 1465*; in Seidemann, "Lutherbriefe," Dresden 1859, p. 1 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 238.

I have found quite a few fainthearted people in my cause,²⁾ so that they also began to tempt me not to go to Augsburg. But I remain firm. May the will of the Lord be done. Even at Augsburg, even in the midst of his enemies, Jesus Christ reigns.... Let Christ live, let Martin die, and let every sinner die, as it is written. Let the God of my salvation be exalted. Be at ease and persevere, because one must be rejected either by men or by God. But God is true, but man is a liar.

No. 94.

Augsburg.

October 10, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2412, annex, no. 16.

No. 95.

Augsburg.

October 11, 1518.

To Melancthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 554, no. 189.

No. 96.

Augsburg.

October 14, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2416, annex, no. 17.

No. 97.

Augsburg.

October 14, 1518.

To Carlstadt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 565, no. 199.

No. 98.

Augsburg.

October 14, 1518.

To the Cardinal Thomas Cajetan.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 571, no. 203.

2) Compare Myconius' report, St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 553, no. 188.

No. 99 .

Augsburg. October 17, 1518.

To Cajetan.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 589, no. 209.

No. 100 .

Augsburg. October 18, 1518.

To Cajetan.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 592, no., 210.

No. 101.

Augsburg. October 25, 1518.

Cajetan to the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 634, no. 237.

No. 102.

Wittenberg. October 31, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2408, annex, no. 14.

No. 103.

(Rom.) Beginning of November 1) 1518.

Silvester Primas to Luther.

(Replica's attribution.)

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 412.

No. 104.

Eilenburg. November 5, 1518,

To Spalatin.

Spalatin had ordered Luthern to Eilenburg, but had not come himself. Luther asked, if he would still come, to give news to the prior Zeschau in Grimma.

The original is in the Anhaltische Gesamtarchiv. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 4; by *Löscher*, vol. II, p. 634; by *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 167. German by *Walch*, vol. XXI, 603.

To his Georg Spalatin, the extremely honest and highly learned friend.

JEsus.

Hail! You have deceived me, my dear Spalatin, or I have understood you nothing.

1) For the date, see the St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 18b; the Erl. Briefw. places the writing: "First half of September 1518."

2) *non* is missing in the original.

Last night I came to Eilenburg on your word, and you did not come, while they say you are staying in Grimma. If you will come today, I ask you to report this to the prior of our monastery in Grimma, Wolfgang Zeschau, if he wants to negotiate with me, because it is said that he has been looking for me in the past days. Fare well in the Lord. Eilenburg from the house of the bear (*Ursi*), on the day before Leonhard [Nov. 5] 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 105.

Wittenberg. November 12, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2420, annex, no. 19.

No. 106.

(Wittenberg.) 13, November 1518.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks for game for the doctor's feast promised by the Elector to Johann Frosch of Augsburg .

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 5; by *Löscher*, vol. II, p. 635; by *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 170 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 279. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 603 f.

His Georg Spalatin zu Altenburg 2c, who was extremely favorable to him.

M. Spalatin "zu Handen".

JEsus.

Hail! We have tried, my dear Spalatin, that the doctor's banquet of the father Johann Frosch could be brought about at some citizen's house, but we fear that we are trying in vain. Therefore, so that we do not let the man, who is most worthy of honor, go without honor, we have turned our eyes to our monastery, and will rather provide the meal with our burden, of course with the reservation of the prince's promise. For we are in truth poor, and very many, so that we cannot do it for nothing. Now we ask you to see to it that the prince provides us with game.

3) See No. 102 (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2410, § 5).

pret be supplied on Thursday, rather on Wednesday [Nov. 17]. If this cannot be done, let it be done on the next following Monday [Nov. 22]. And what is deemed good in this matter, write back by this messenger as soon as possible, lest we incur expense in vain. Fare well in Christ. Saturday after Martinmas [Nov. 13] 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

Beware lest you err in the appointed day. Thursday, I say, will be the day of the meal, if you can procure venison; but if not, on the following Monday; therefore, the meat must be at hand either on Saturday or on Sunday.

No. 107.

(Wittenberg.)

15. November 1518.

To D. Johann Eck.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 809, no. 359.

No. 108.

Wittenberg.

November 19, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2418, annex, no. 18.

No. 109.

Wittenberg.

November 19, 1518.

To the Elector Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 637, no. 238.

No. 110.

Wittenberg.

November 22, 1518.

To Melanchthon.

Luther, as dean of the theological faculty, had conferred his doctorate on Joh. Frosch, and Melanchthon had stayed away from the doctor's banquet held at noon. Now, on the same day, Luther invited him to dinner and asked him to bring D. Veit (Warbeck) and Joh. Schwertfeger with him.

To Philipp Melanchthon, "Schwarzerd", the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, German, but never barbarian.

Hail! Today you have (which the Muse and Apollo may forgive you for) despised both me and the new (*novellum*, as it is called) Doctor. Now, although this matter was not entirely mine, I have forgiven you; but because you do not appear at this hour before Doctor Andreas Carlstadt and Licentiate Amsdorf, but especially before the Rector, not even the Greek (*Graecitas*) will be able to excuse you, let alone Martin, that "little brother", as Cajetan says. ²⁾ The new doctor believes that he (as he likes to joke) is held in extremely low esteem as a barbarian full of Greeks. You see what you do, for I myself have promised that you will certainly come at this hour. You will do me a service if you come; but I would very much like you to bring D. Veit ³⁾ and Johann Schwertfeger with you. For that evening I will be the host, to whom they are very well known, indeed, very dear friends. They shall come with you according to your judgment and advice, but primarily at my command (if otherwise that little brother still counts for something). Farewell.

The little brother Martin Eleutherios.

No. 111.

(Wittenberg.)

November 25, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2427, annex, no. 22.

No. 112 .

Wittenberg.

November 25, 1518.

To Christoph Langenmantel in Augsburg.

Luther reports his happy return home and says thanks for the love shown to him. About Cajetan's letter to the Elector and Luther's answer to it, as well as about the state of his affairs, the golden rose 2c.

From the Cyprian collection at Gotha, printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 24; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 14; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 171 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 301.

1) Bartholomäus Bernhardi von Feldkirchen.

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 637, § 15.

3) According to Seidemann - De Wette, vol. VI, 702, this D. Veit is: Warbeck; but *ibid.* p.703, according to De Wette, vol. I, p. 171, "Winsheim" is retained. The latter can here

Handwritten in the Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek and the original. Printed in the "Neuen literarischen Anzeiger", Munich 1806, No. 9, Sp. 143; in Kurz and Weissenbach, "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur" 2c. 1846, vol. I, p. 428; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 6 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 305.

To the man of proven faithfulness, Mr. Christoph Langenmantel, Abbey Lord, 1) his Lord, dearly beloved in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! I have come home safe and sound, my dear Christoph, by God's grace. But the services of your peculiar kindness and godliness, which you have so abundantly rendered me unworthy? have made the opinion of you and your name an exceedingly pleasant and lovely odor among our people. For I have, as is fair, praised your faithfulness and that of Doctor Auer²⁾, but in doing so I did not want to glorify you, but only to praise the example of such great faithfulness to the outsiders. By the way, the Lord Jesus, who has given you to think, to will and to do this, will acknowledge and approve his works in you. Pure loyalty and sincere friendship is indeed a rare bird. Recently, the Lord Legate wrote to our prince, 3) accusing me of having left fraudulently, and expressing his displeasure at my having been accepted by an escort letter.

He condemns everything I have done, but most of all that I have not recanted my invectives, especially concerning indulgences, and that I have not spared the holiness of the pope, saying that it abuses the Scriptures. In the end he gives the advice that he should send me to Rome or expel me from his lands, so that he does not add a stain to his honor because of a (so he says) very little brother. For this is what the Jews did to Christ before Pilate, wanting to be believed before they brought an accusation with named crimes. So he, too, said: "Believe me, Your Serene Highness, I speak out of certain knowledge, not out of uncertain delusion. I will keep the rule of Jesus Christ. 4) I understand this as the rule of the wounded Christ, because he seeks nothing but to wound the truth. The golden rose sent by the pope (as the rumor went) to our prince is nowhere, nor has the prince learned anything about the same. I see that the Romans have made a firm resolution to condemn me. I, in turn, have made up my mind not to give way. So I await the church punishments. The Lord will be a counselor and a helper for me. When they have killed me, they will not pursue the flea that was killed (1 Sam. 24:15). But I have answered the letter of the Lord Legate, 5) the copy of which the Prince had sent to me, and wanted the Legate to see meixie answer, which should be attached to his letter. And now my *Acta Augustana* 6) will be published, because the Prince has advised against its publication. Other things you will learn fully from the worthy father Prior Johann Frosch, who has recently been awarded (*insignito*). It remains to know the awards

He was born in 1501 and inscribed only in 1523 (*Alb.* p. 119). - Schwertfeger, professor of law, later helped to produce the signatures to the pictures of the "Passionals". See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 192 f. He died on May 10, 1524.

1) Luther calls here Langenmantel a *Canonicus*, Seiffert on the other hand in his genealogical tables of the family of Langenmantel, plate 2, a Carmelite at St. Anna, which is confirmed by Gasser, *Annal. August.* is confirmed. Others make him, probably by confusion with his father Georg, who was nine times mayor of Augsburg, a Rathsherrn.

2) The appeal left behind by Luther on his departure from Augsburg, St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 594, was written with the help of D. Auer; see the introduction there, Col. 595.

3) No. 101, St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 634. This letter arrived at the Electoral Court only on November 19, 1518, and was answered by the Elector on Dec. 8. Dec. *Ibid.* Col. 654.

4) The following words, which we have blocked out, are in brackets in the original, which are often used to emphasize something. In the Erlangen correspondence, it is not clear whether these and the following are Cajetan's or Luther's words.

5) By the letter to the Elector Frederick, No. 109 (Vol. XV, 637).

6) The *Acta Augustana* are found in the 15th volume of our edition, No. 176.177. 200. 224. 225 and 226. For the correct order of these pieces, see No. 176.

to learn. 1) I wish most earnestly that Doctor Johann Auer may be well in God, and as a grateful one I commend myself to him. Sincerely greetings from D. Andreas Carlstadt, Nicolaus Amsdorf, Otto Beckmanu and all acquaintances. May you also be well in Christ, who will keep you for eternity, just as He has kept you in time. I greet the noble, and truly noble, Johann Schenk through your mouth. Wittenberg, on the day of St. Catherine [Nov. 25] 1518. Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 113.

Wittenberg. .

December 2, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 687, no. 270.

No. 114

(Altenburg.)

December 8, 1518.

Elector Frederick of Saxony to Cajetan. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XV, 654, No. 241.

No. 115.

(Wittenberg.)

December 9, 1618.

To Spalatin.

About a change in the Wittenberg curriculum.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 122b; in Löscher, vol. II, p. 640; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 190 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 312. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 605.

To his extremely dear Georg Spalatin, the protector of studies and the liberal arts.

JEsus.

Hail! We, the Rector and I, have agreed, my dear Georg, that it seems good with regard to the lectures, that not only the Thomistic² Physics, which Magister Gunkel is now leaving, falls, and the text

1) The words *Signa supersunt cognoscenda* are somewhat obscure; however, the meaning seems to us to be: Let Froesch tell you how it happened with his doctorate.

2) In the Interpretation of the Ten Commandments, St. Louis Edition, Vol. III, 1331, Luther lists four kinds of interpreters of Aristotle's books, namely the Thomists, the Scotists, the Albertists, and the Modernists. The two

We are of the opinion that the Scotist philosophy and logic together with the text of physics and logic are sufficient until the chair of the Scotist sect, which teaches Magister Premsel of Torgau, falls, so that this Magister lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* instead, since he is well versed in the fine sciences. For we think that the Scotistic philosophy and logic together with the text of physics and logic are sufficient until the chair of the Scotist sect, which is just as useless and unfortunate for good minds, falls away, if in some way the names of the divisions are finally completely destroyed, and pure philosophy and theology and all subjects are drawn from their sources. We want to hear your advice in this matter. Farewell. On the day after the Conception [of Mary] [9 December] 1518.

Brother Martin Eleutherius.

No. 116.

(Wittenberg.)

December 9, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2433, annex, no. 26.

No. 117.

(Wittenberg.)

II December 1518.

To Link.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 2429, annex, no. 24.

No. 118.

(Wittenberg.)

December 13, 1518.

To Staupitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2428, annex, no. 23.

No. 119.

Wittenberg.

December 14, 1518.

To Joh. Reuchlin.

Luther wished Reuchlin luck for the happy consequences of his dispute, through which many in Germany had been awakened to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Now he followed him in the dispute, although with less strength. At Melancthon's instigation, he wrote to him.

The first ones had remained in the study plan at Wittenberg. Now, in this letter, Luther advises to abandon also the Thomistic way of explanation and to keep only temporarily the Scotistic one besides the simple textual explanation of Aristotle, the *textualis lectio*.

Manuscript in *Cod. First printing in Illustrium virorum epistolae hebraicae, graecae et latinae ad Ioannem Reuchlin, Phorcensem etc.*, printed at Hagenau by Thomas Aushelm in May 1519. Also (from the autograph) in Löscher, vol. II, p. 643; in *Maj, vita Reuchlini*, p. 223; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 47; in *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 196 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 320. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 606.

Martin Luther, Augustinian, to Johann Reuchlin of Pforzheim.

The Lord be with you, exceedingly brave man! I wish you happiness for the mercy of God that is with you, most learned and worthy man, through which you have finally prevailed and stopped the mouths of lies [Ps. 63, 12]. You have indeed been an instrument of divine counsel, which, as it was unknown to you, was highly desirable to all those who are zealous for pure theology; so much more was done by God than seemed to be done by you. I was one of those who wished to be with you, but no opportunity presented itself; yet with my prayers and wishes I have always been present with you. But what was denied to the companion at that time has now been given to the successor in the most abundant way. The teeth of this Behemoth 1) are attacking me (Job 40, 10), if they could in any way wipe out the disgrace they have suffered from you. I also meet them, though with far less gifts and powers of learning than you met them with and threw them down, but with no less confidence of heart. They refuse to fight with me, they refuse to answer, but set out against me with pure force and violence. But Christ lives, and I can lose nothing because I have nothing. Not a few of the horns of these bulls have been broken through your steadfastness. For it was through you that the Lord worked, so that the tyrant, the sophists, finally learned to resist the right studies of theology more cautiously and more gently, and Germany began to breathe again through the teaching of the Scriptures, which, alas, had not only been suppressed but also eradicated for so many hundred years. This beginning of the very beautiful studies did not have to be

1) Compare Vol. XV, 612 f., § 2. Similarly Vol. VIII, 1729.

But just as God destroyed the greatest mountain of all, Christ, to the dust of death, but from this dust so many great mountains grew up, so you too would have borne little fruit if you had not been killed and turned to dust, from which so many great ones in the sacred sciences are now rising. And the prayer of the groaning church has been heard [Ps. 12:2]: "Help, O Lord, the saints have decreased, and the faithful are few among the children of men," for the worst among the children of men have been exalted to the majesty of God.

But see, am I not impertinent that I speak to you so confidentially, without an honorable preface? But this is due to my extremely servile disposition towards you, which is also very close to you, both through the remembrance of you and through the reading and contemplation of your books. In addition to this, what has also moved me to finally write that our Philipp Melanchthon, 2) an admirable person, indeed, who has almost nothing that does not go beyond a human being, and yet is very familiar and close friends with me, has demanded this letter to you par excellence, and vouches that you will certainly not take it badly, but will also recognize with gratitude whatever I blather to you. I wanted you to attribute to him what you want to attribute to him; I only wanted to testify to my completely sincere feelings toward you through this letter. Farewell and be happy in the Lord, who in truth is a teacher to be revered. Wittenberg, the day after Lucia [Dec. 14] 1518. 3)

No. 120.

Wittenberg.

December 20, 1518.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2432, annex, no. 25.

2) The latter was a relative of Reuchlin.

3) Reuchlin, who was always far from the cause of the Reformation, even, several years later, harshly opposed to it, did not answer this letter. Only once did he greet Luther through Melanchthon in a letter of Sept. 12, 1519. (Karl Krafft and Wilhelm Krafft, *Briefe und Documente*, p. 14, where the Bries is erroneously dated Sept. 13. Compare Hutten's letter to Reuchlin of 22 Feb. 1521).

No. 121 .

Nuremberg.

December 20, 1518.

Scheurl to Luther.

On the news of Luther's appeal, Scheurl gives some examples of earlier appeals; expresses his joy that Luther has resumed his preaching activities; reports the arrival of Pfeffinger and Miltitz and the latter's attitude against Luther. He exhorts him to act thoughtfully and not to trust in the King of France; exhortation to peace, which Miltitz will offer him. Request to write something to Hieronymus Ebner and to send his Sermon vom Leiden Christi.

Handwritten in *Cod. Scheurl. C*, fol. 184 (220) d. Printed in Scheurl's Briefbuch, vol. II, p. 70 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. I, p. 325.

To Martin Luther. 1)

The other day, after I had received the very sad news that you had bid farewell to the people,²⁾ appealed to a concilium, fled helplessly, abandoned by all protection: then I suffered with many good people, but also remembered that in Antonius, 3) Title 22, Cap. 1, § 3, Barbadorius, for his Florentines, turned his face towards the image of God 4), had appealed to God from the present Pope Gregory XI. to God, approximately with these words: God, we, the envoys of the Florentine people, appeal to you and your equity from this unreasonable judgment of your governor: You, who cannot be deceived nor influenced by anger, who do not love the servitude of nations, but freedom, and hate tyrants and lusts, will come to the aid of the Florentine people, who defend their freedom, and will graciously assist them as a protector. And what can make even more impression: in Baptista Fulgosis, 5) "Of memorable speeches and deeds", book 1, under the title: of miraculous things, in the chapter of the knight of Jeru

1) Scheurl sent this letter as an insert of a letter written on Dec. 19 to Otto Beckmann.

2) See vol. XV, no. 269. 270 and *ibid.* annex, no. 26. - The appeal vol. XV, no. 243.

3) Antonius, called Antoninus because of his small figure, of Florence, born 1389, Dominican, 1445 Archbishop of Florence, died 1459, canonized by Hadrian VI in 1523. The passage cited here is in his *Chronicorum, P. III. (ed. Lugd. 1586, fol. 832)*. - Donatus Barbadorius was a famous jurist and town clerk of Florence. The matter took place in Avignon in 1376.

4) That is, the Crucifix.

5) also called Fregoso, Campofregoso, was doge of his hometown Genoa in 1478, was deposed in 1483 and expelled to Frejus, where he died.

salemer (*Hiero[solymitani]*) order, I read that a Neapolitan man of war, a Templar, in Bordeaux (*Burdegala*), which is a city of the Basques, being condemned to death by fire, and seeing in a window Clement V and Philip the Fair, exclaimed: You most cruel tyrant Clement, since there is no one left to me among mortals to whom I can appeal for the severe death penalty with which you unlawfully impose on me, I appeal to the righteous judge Christ who redeemed us, before whose judgment seat I call you, together with King Philip, who has advised such a great evil that you both appear before him within a year, where I will present my case, and justice will be administered without any ill will, - and in the appointed time, Clement died suddenly, and not long after, Philip was also carried off by death. This is what those writings report.

But after a few days we heard with immense pleasure (for we love you dearly and want you to be well) that you were well, and heard from letters that you were preaching again, and, as is your way, had preached extremely salutary also about the conception [of Mary] 6) and on December 15 we unanimously read your Acta, also the word 7) "I appeal" in large letters. On December 15, we unanimously read your Acta, also the 7) word "I appeal" in large letters, but I am unwilling about the slowness of mine in sending them.

Meanwhile, Carl von Miltitz, apostolic chamber clerk, came to us with Pfeffinger. We got to know the man five years ago, so we have spent these two days and a large part of the night with him very confidentially. All conversation concerned Luthern alone; hear in a few words the short epitome of it. Carl is a Meissen knight, a German. He is a human being; he thinks that nothing that concerns human beings is foreign to him. He will not dispute except about one thing: that one must not contradict the pope, but rather obey him. He does not disapprove of the disputations, the theses, the explanations as vehemently as the German sermon on indulgences, 8) by which he is not to be contradicted.

6) December 8. The sermon has not been preserved.

7) *cancellatum*. To this the Erl. Briefw. has the note: "*cancellare*, actually to cross out a writing with grids (X) to make it invalid". It seems to us that the word (*cancellatus* here cannot have the meaning "crossed out", "crossed out", but rather: highlighted).

8) Sermon on Indulgences and Grace, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 270.

He says that Caspar of Ancona, a learned man, after reading the Sermon of Repentance 1), which is also translated, approved more of the invention in you. He says that Caspar of Ancona, a learned man, after reading the Sermon on Penance 1), which is also translated, approved more of the invention in you than of scholarship. He says that he gave news of the "ringing penny"²⁾ to the pope, who indignantly exclaimed: *O ribaldo! o porcaccio!* [and he also rebuked Silvester Prierias for writing so childish; it did not take three days to consider this, but three months, *ha dato uno bono rabuffo fr hat ihm einen guten Wischer gegeben*], that I use his words, and the man is held up to ridicule. He claims that after your reply was received on the fifth or sixth day 3) of November, Pope Leo issued a decree explaining the *unigenitus* to Cardinal St. Sixti, and he will publish the same with you in both languages (*utroque sermone* == Latin and German), and that he left the rose and a sack full of graces, which further postpone the Jubilee 2c., at Augsburg, and wants to inquire into the Prince's mind. He does not deny that he is an apostolic commissioner (*Imandarius*) in this dispute, equipped with written orders, but he goes to the Prince not as a commissarius, but as the private man of Miltitz, at the request and promise of Pfeffinger, whether perhaps an agreement can be reached, which in my opinion he can hope for sooner than if the rose and the letters of grace were at hand. I have read the letters of Leo X. and the Vice-Chancellor to Pfeffinger 5) in which they recommend Carl [von Miltitz] to the man so that this weed may be eradicated; I have read the Prince Frederick's own handwritten letter in which he orders Pfeffinger to turn to the Emperor and ask him to

that he write for you to the pope; in which he praises you and the large number of students; that it would be shameful for him to send you away unheard, since you are willing to be instructed and corrected. Pfeffinger says that the pope must be obeyed; you would easily have a bishopric or some other dignity if you only recanted. The pope could not suffer this; during the whole pontificate there had been nothing more worrying; he had promised his own the cardinalate for Luther if they could bring about the recantation. But I have not seen this letter, but I have contradicted that you would recant for the sake of the pope; but you would do it voluntarily, but in vain, if you were only taught otherwise. What Tetzl preaches we often repeat; about the souls granted to the nuns and the men of war Carl is indignant beyond measure; he would write it to the pope, if only it could be proven by witnesses. He is troubled, displeased and bothered by many disputations, since he praises you to the pope.

It only remains, excellent man, that you diligently take care of your cause by foreseeing the future, as it were, from a vantage point, that you do not act recklessly, that you do not act in a careless manner, that you take care, that you are content, that you do not despise, that you do not reject the peace that is offered to your house. Consider: Where would you be able to go if the prince left you? Many do not trust the French very much; Carl considers it certain that King Francis would not stand by you for three days 7) if the pope contradicts. The Emperor also agrees with him, who, I am told, advises you to obey the Pope. Pfeffinger says that he has gone many thousand steps for your sake; he will return in a month at the latest; the legate will not return for your sake alone, he follows the emperor; he spends 1200 gold florins a month. However great the power of truth and the Gospel, I doubt whether any prince will finally fight with his danger. How much to trust in this, your royal seer [Ps. 118, 9.] gives information about. Have the Emperor and the Frenchman given the Cardinals, who have fallen away [from the Pope], the occasion to assemble a Concilium 8) and given orders for it? Is it then

1) Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1210, there erroneously with the year 1517 instead of: 1518. That here not, as the Erl. Briefw. thinks, is the "Sermon on the Sacrament of Penance," see Weim. Vol. II, p. 709 f.

2) in the 27th indulgence thesis. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 74.

3) In the text: *quinta vel sexta decima Novembris*, which cannot be far from correct, since Leo's new Decretale is dated November 9. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 631. Instead of *decima* we have assumed [*mensis*].

4) Luther's Response to the Dialogue of Prierias, Vol. XVIII, 344.

5) See documents No. 251 and 252 in the 15th volume.

6) See Vol. XV, 665, No. 247.

7) The Erl. Briefw. has by a set comma *triduo* referred to the pope.

8) This goes back to the Concilium of Pisa in 1511.

that, although he had received great money, remained on the side of Julius? And 1) the Cardinal Sanctae Crucis,²⁾ when he returned and wanted to recant, testified to this: even if he believed that he had not erred, he still acknowledged an error if an upset had resulted from it.

If thou desirest to be heard, that is fair; but with those ignorant of the law, *in the* written reports (*in notoriis*) it is not necessary to proceed according to order, where the perverse order is the highest order, and the "to make known and to know" (*declarare notorium*) is with the mighty, because the law is in arms. Your conscience moves you to obey the Scriptures more than the pope; but to many it seems that it is given to the pope to interpret the Scriptures, and everything must be done prudently and wisely, consideration must be given to order, for nothing is more detestable to our governor than worry. If the princes refuse thee, what wilt thou do? You have shown enough what you are capable of: Rome fears you! A wise man has always kept himself in such a way that he sent himself into the time; the rest can be saved for a more occasional time. I like this word: It is more praiseworthy to yield with gain than to conquer with harm. What I have written with a sincere heart, venerable father, I ask a friend to interpret in the best possible way, for it is in no way intended as if I wanted you to do something unworthy, shameful, disgraceful, but only to seek with the utmost diligence some honorable means by which the pope and you would be satisfied. And I do not doubt that this can be found, in view of the obedience to which one must return, that aggravation is to be avoided, that the pope who declares such is to be honored, and that effort is to be expended so that the minds of the prince, the courtiers, the people [are] not alienated from you. There are people who consider the appeal all too hopeful. One must strive that Carl does not leave indignantly, but rather that your and the university's cause becomes one, that they recommend you again, that the abuses of the opponents and all that is yours be brought to the pope either through an orator or procurator.

so that the matter is discussed longer and kept in abeyance, whether it could perhaps be settled, so that the lightning is not necessary, which he [Miltitz] has in his hands; as I said, he is a man, he is good and kind, he does not praise the legate; he wanted him to be there, believing that an undeserving Carl would be sent to you by God: In such a kind way he praises everything; he will not dispute; the man must be dealt with kindly, lovingly, politely, if his heart can be softened, and I have no doubt that this will happen.

Your dear friend Hieron greets you from the bottom of his heart. Ebner, who has a share in all your fortunes; if you love us, write something to Ebner, who is the governing mayor of the city this month, privately, about how things stand with you, also about the affairs of war, about the government of the community, about the administration of the *magistracy*. I also ask you to finally send me the sermon on the suffering of the Lord, 4) which you promised and which I desire with all my heart. I am told that Pfeffinger goes first, Carl will follow after a few days. Farewell, highly famous man, and love me as you do, love me, and forgive my coarse, yet sincere pen. I have faithfully sent your letter to Basel. If I can be of use to you, use me as a brother, for you will find me exceedingly willing. Greetings to our Otto and our Melanchthon. Nuremberg, 20 December 18.

Venerable Father, your most devoted
C[hristoph] S[cheurl], Doctor.

No. 122.

(Wittenberg.)

December 21, 1518.

To Spalatin.

Luther answered the question whether the Turkish war could be approved and advised according to the Holy Scriptures. First, one should overcome the internal enemies; the Pope was doing worse than the Turk. He wants to wait in Wittenberg for the outbreak of the Roman fury. From the sermon held in Weimar.

The original is in *Cod. Goth.* 122; manuscript in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 296. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 126b; in Löscher, vol. II, 645; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 199 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 332. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 608.

1) Here we have followed the reading of the Codex: *Et*, which is changed in the editions in *Ad*.

2) Cardinal of the title of St. Crucis was Bernhardin Carvajal, the soul of the Pisan Council; declared unworthy of the purple by Julius II at the Lateran Council, reinstated to his dignity by Leo X in 1513.

3) Instead of *immania* we have assumed in *manu*.

4) St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 1342.

His best friend, Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, but I will consult the legal experts on the appeal in all places.
his master. The sermon at Weimar, 1) which you desire, I have

Hail! If I understand you correctly, my dear Spalatin, completely forgotten, only barely one rag is left of it; this you ask whether I can protect and advise a war campaign is that I am sure that I have acted the gospel against the against the Turks from the Holy Scriptures. If it is that it is hypocrites and those who deal with their own not undertaken for the sake of money, but out of a true righteousness (*justitiariorum*) (as I am wont to act zeal for godliness, then I confess to you that I cannot everything), of whom I know at your court one particularly promise this, but that I can promise the opposite in outstanding; but although I do not name him, you also abundance. I recently published a sermon on the same know him. For nothing is more harmful to the great and matter at the request of a friend, which I know has come powerful than this kind of people, who, although they have into the hands of the Brandenburg heroes (for whose learned absolutely nothing, nevertheless teach sake, I assume, it was desired by me at the time), where everything, even some clergy of the angels. I wanted to I acted so that such a war would not be undertaken in any counteract this intention with all due care. This much I way. I am still of this opinion, unless I change my mind know. However, I will make an effort, because my through better evidence. Erasmus is of the same opinion memory still holds something further, and will send it as in many places, as you know better than I do. I believe soon as possible; but listen! on condition that you do not that if we are to fight with the Turks, we must first begin also laugh at me as an unlearned master craftsman, just with ourselves. We wage carnal wars abroad in vain as as some have also laughed at me there, because I would long as we are overcome by spiritual wars at home. not have spoken anything about the angels²⁾. For this I

Then, because neither in the old nor in the new have carefully kept in my memory, according to the saying testament no war has been waged with human forces that good deeds are very easily forgotten, and that we other than always with an unhappy and ignominious keep insults exceedingly firmly in our memory. For I am outcome; but if something has gone out well, then it has of the earth and know only Christ crucified, and even this been waged from heaven, as I could prove exceedingly not sufficiently,³⁾ those are from heaven and perhaps abundantly. But since the Roman court nowadays know the glorified Christ. Therefore you should not expect surpasses the tyranny of all the Turks (with such great anything from me about the angels. Farewell. On the day abominations it fights against Christ and His Church), and of St. Thomas [21 Dec.] 1518.

and the clergy is sunk in the depths of covetousness, ambition and indulgence, and the appearance of the Church everywhere is very miserable, there is no hope for a good war or a happy victory. God (as far as I can see) is fighting against us; he should first be overcome by tears, by pure prayers, by holy life and pure faith. But of this elsewhere. I will undoubtedly stay in Wittenberg and wait to see what the unfortunate Roman entity brings with it, although I hope that they will not rush into their fury for fear of their evil conscience. About the

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 123 .

Nuremberg.

December 22, 1518. 4)

Scheurl to Luther.

Miltitz came with peaceful intentions, Luther also had to do something, at least change the harsh letter to the legate Cajetan. The Cardinal was not staying in Germany because of Luther's cause, but because of the

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 1768.

2) The sermon was preached on Michaelmas.

3) In all Latin editions a punctuation mark is missing here. Only Walch has a punctum here correctly.

4) This date results from the position of the letter in the Codex.

preceding Imperial Diet. Luther may act with humility and seek the intercession of the university.

Handwritten in *Cod. Scheurl*. 6, fol. 188 (224) d. Printed in Scheurl's Briefbuch, vol. II, p. 75 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 335.

To Martin Luther.

My Carl [Miltitz] assures us that he has of course demanded the rose for three years, and that this task has been assigned to him. He fei not legate, but commissarius alone, but with the order that he use the council of the legate. Forty *brevia* had been left [by him] at Augsburg for the rulers of Germany, by which they are ordered to render assistance against the unarmed; the helpful hosts will be blessed, those who resist will be eternally damned. He will not make use of these; he will do, as far as it can be done, what pleases the prince; he comes as a private citizen, not as a judge, but as a friend, but to inquire what is the prince's decision, what is Martin's opinion, what is the favor of all. 1) He would report all this to the legate and to the pope; in ten years the apostolic see has not had a more difficult, frightening, anxious and humiliating 2) matter. You must do something, at least make up for the very vehement letter to the Cardinal; he is unwilling about the Vicarius [Staupitz] and your departure [from Augsburg, without welcoming him, as if you had him for your best. I have excused this; he admits that you should not have returned if you had not gone into yourself. The Cardinal says that he is not staying in Germany for the sake of this matter, but is waiting for the assembly of princes which will take place at Worms or Frankfurt about Easter, and the Emperor has made plans to come to Augsburg for Epiphany. In my opinion, the legate from Linz will also follow. He says he must meet with you; he will confer with you in the friendliest manner, there is nothing to fear. Since this is certain, we do not yet have to fear the thunderbolts, and not everything must be easily believed, but [everything] must be handled with the greatest humility and the greatest effort must be made that you may be heard, so that the matter may be settled,

1) That is, whom they are favorably disposed toward, whether your pope or Luther.

2) In the manuscript: *reges humiliatos*. The conjecture of the letterbook is: *res humilantes*; we have assumed *magis humiliantosem*.

that the university and the superiors (*consules*) recommend you, you will be a son of the Church, you will do everything you have to do and can do with God. I do not doubt that God will give His grace, who has never abandoned those who fear Him. Again, be well.

No. 124.

Nuremberg.

I. January 1519.

Scheurl to Luther.

Scheurl urges caution in responding to the Prierias' reply, especially in dealing with the question of the Pope's authority. The Ebner family sends a consecrated casel to the monastery in Wittenberg. Recommendation of two young Nurembergers. Request for the sending of one of Luther's writings.

Handwritten in *Cod. Scheurl*. C, fol. 193 (229). Printed in Scheurl's Briefbuch, vol. II, p. 81 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 338.

To the Lord Martin Luther.

Hail! I have no doubt that you read the letter I recently gave to Pfeffinger for you, venerable Father, 3) in the same spirit as we wrote it, that is, my friendly, faithful, devoted and completely sincere one. Meanwhile, I would have sent the replica 4) of the New Year's Eve, if Wenceslaus [link] had not preceded our service. I would like you to go to the port. Of indulgences the talk began; [now is] the spiteful disputation of the pope's violence, the judges are suspicious. He who postpones, does not cancel. Enough has been shredded in danger. Believe me, in a short time there will be another and more convenient time to discuss these things. I do not doubt that you will answer against the Prierias in the most humble way, so that we will be seen as people who seek what is JEsu, not what is ours; but what does the sow teach the goddess of wisdom? But consider also your order, and I ask you to carefully guard yourself against reproaches, to despise nothing; show this to the fatherland and the community. If the Trent, Bernhard Clesius, 5) becomes Commissarius, I think, no suspicion is to be entertained. He is a learned and good man in the law, and after the

3) This is the letter of December 20, 1518, No. 121.

4) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 412.

5) In the manuscript: (*Gleser*. Bernhard Clesius (de Clos, also Glesius) from Tyrol, councillor of Maximilian I and promoted by him to Bishop of Trento in 1514, later one of the more important councillors of Carl V, Cardinal in 1530. He died in 1539.

who had been our fellow student for a long time, was finally appointed our successor in the Bologna Syndicate. Through the letters of certain people I have learned that Adrian and Urbino, deprived of the cardinalate, the priesthood and the dukedom, have fled to the Turks with a large amount of gold and have fallen away. Ebner and his men are sending your monastery a consecrated casel, which you can use for worship; if we once make trouble [for you], we will send greater things. Meanwhile he [Ebner] commands you his nephew Conrad Volckamer, 2) and also I Joh. Tücher, the son; see to it that we can consider them both safe. For the head of the family, Mr. Hieronymus Ebner, is extraordinarily devoted to you. He holds Martin so dear that he considers your fate to be his, so that those who send him yours send him the most pleasant. We therefore expect your comments on Paul, [your] flattery against Rome, 3) at least a private gift, and also letters from you. I wish in the name of the wife, of the son, who has the same name as the father, and in the name of all of us, that it may go well with you in Christ Jesus. Nuremberg, January 1, 19, C[hristoph] S[cheurl], D.

No. 125.

(Altenburg.)

(January 4 or 5, 1519.)

Luther's transcript for the negotiations with Miltitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 691, no. 276.

No. 126.

(Altenburg.)

(January 5 or 6, 1519.)

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 696, no. 279.

1) Adrian Casteleschi, named after his birthplace Corneto ; since 1503 Cardinal tit. 8t. He let In 1517, he joined the conspiracy of Cardinal Petrucci against the life of Leo X, received a pardon, but was sentenced to a fine of 10,000 thalers and fled from Rome; where to? is uncertain. - The "one of Urbino" is Francis Maria della Rovers, Lord of Sinigaglia and Duke of Urbino, nephew of Julius II.

2) The same was the son of Ebner's sister, Margaretha.

3) This could be the answer to Prieria's replica that Luther was expecting, which, as we see above, Scheurl knew had reached Luther's hands through Wenceslaus Link.

No. 127.

(Altenburg.)

(January 6 or 7, 1519.)

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 698, no. 280.

No. 128.

Leipzig.

January 7, 1519. 4)

To Spalatin.

Luther sends him the replica of the Prieria, but soon asks for it back because he only has this one copy.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 233. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 3; by *Löscher*, vol. II, p. 597; by *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 209 (in all these prints under the year 1518) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 344. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 586 (also 1518).

His Spalatin, priest of Christ, librarian to the Prince of Saxony.

JEsus.

Hail! The note you asked for, my dear Spalatin, is not with me; I will see if it is at Wittenberg and send it. By the way, I am sending the new larvae of Silvester 5) from Rome, which I have now received through the Nurembergers. As soon as you have read them, send them back to Wittenberg immediately, so that I, as the friends advise, either answer or remain silent. I have only this one copy. Farewell. Leipzig, January seventh. 6) Martin Eleutherius.

No. 128a.

Leipzig.

January 7, 1519.

To Johann Eck. 7)

Luther informs him that the theological faculty at Leipzig has refused permission for the disputation. He expects him to prove that even the

4) On this timing, see St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 18 b f. and p. 17, note 2.

5) The Replica, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 412.

6) The original has no year. Löscher correctly names the replica in his table of contents, but nevertheless places the letter in the year 1518. Despite the *novas larvas*, De Wette is under the misapprehension that this is the *Dialogus*.

7) Eck mentions this letter in his *Disputatio et excusatio etc.*, St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 818 f. Until now it was thought to be lost, compare Seidemann, Leipziger Disputation, p. 26. According to this, l. c. Col. 813, note 6 to be corrected.

Luther argues that the foundations in his "Explanations" are not valid because he relies solely on Tauler, whom the church does not know. Luther takes Tauler's side.

According to a copy in the Nuremberg City Library, No. 406, p. 7, No. 4, printed in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. V, p. 4.

Martin Luther to Johann Eck, one of the first philosophers and theologians, the famous man, pro-chancellor at Ingolstadt, his lord and superior.

We have tried many times, my dear Eck, that the Leipzig gentlemen would like to grant us the permission you write about, but they simply refuse, claiming that it is not in their power to perform this service in this matter, but that this decision is up to the ordinaries. For this is how the Dean of Theology answered my letter; hence it is that this disputation (as I fear) will be thwarted if you do not have another council. By the way, I expect, and indeed very eagerly, what you promise [darzuthun] that you have found that in my "explanations" 1) even my fundamentals are useless. For you wonder that I have preferred the one Tauler, you say: "I do not know whom," your Thomas, to Bonaventure, to Alexander 2) 2c. and it seems ridiculous to you that I demand that this one of you be accepted with me, who, moreover, is unknown to the church, while I have rejected so many men. But I beg you to read him through before you declare him a dreamer, unless you too, through the lukewarm habit of doing trivial things, are one of those exceedingly clever people who call the pope, the bishops, or the teachers of the universities the church, and immediately declare everything that may be unknown to them to be unknown to the church, although I wonder who may have told you that he is unknown to the church. But you are the church, everything is known to you! Do you not see, 3) how you presume on such things, which you have not considered, and make them

you are in the habit of condemning? Therefore, if you want to admonish me, I ask you to apply sharpness of judgment and carefully consider every detail. Consider that I knew very well that he was unknown to your church, since I said that I did not have him in the public schools, nor was he written in Latin; then, in what way I preferred him to the scholastics, namely that I learned more from this one than from all the others. How wisely you have passed by these words of mine 4)! And yet I do not know what thunderbolts you had finally promised by attacking my unlearnedness, as if I had not read or known yours either, but you at least knew yours; of mine, however, you say: "I do not know whom. But now, that you may know whom? 5) Read first, lest you be found an unrighteous judge, condemning that which you do not know. And so that I do not demand what is beyond your powers, I do not wish that you, with the help of all and every one of your scholastics, write even one sermon equal to that man's; I do not demand that, because I am sure that this is impossible for you. But for this alone I urge you: use all the powers of your intellect with all the fullness of your scholastic erudition, and all that you are and have, whether you can understand one or the other of his sermons correctly. Then we will believe you that that man is a dreamer, but you alone are a waking man, or at least one who slumbers with open eyes. I am writing this, my dear Eck, because I do not want you to take the trouble to admonish me in vain, but to put into action something that cannot be overturned by me and that drives me to change my mind, that is, something worthy of your talent and effort, so that we both do not spend our time in a bad way. Farewell, my dear Eck. At Leipzig, January 7, 1519.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 100.

2) Alexander of Haies (*Alesius*), died 1245.

3) Instead of *vides neque soleas*, we have assumed *videsne quae* or *videsne quam*.

4) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 150.

5) We have placed the comma after *quem*. The Erlangen correspondence reads: *ut non nescias, quem legas prius etc.*

6) Instead of *egaet* we have assumed *urgeat*.

No. 129 .

Wittenberg.

January 10, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther reports that a young man suitable for the Hebrew professorship has arrived in Wittenberg and asks for Spalatin's advice. He wishes to have back some writings and the letter of the Elector to the legate.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 22 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 46. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 137 k; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 952 (8 Jan.); in De Wette, vol. I, p. 209 (11 Jan.) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 346. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 614 (wrong: Tuesday instead of: Monday).

To the worthy man, the highly famous protector,
Georg Spalatin, in the Lord Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! I came to Wittenberg and found a man who wants to teach Hebrew (he is almost still a youth) and is quite learned. 1) For at the hour when I arrived, he immediately delivered a Latin speech decorated with Hebrew, and he pleased [us], and therefore it seemed good to us that if that old man 2) ever brings about his resignation, this one will be accepted in his place, and his resignation will be permitted. Perhaps the Lord also takes care of our university and deliberates without us. Therefore, answer as soon as possible what seems good to the most noble prince.

You also want to send back Silvester's forest ignorance, and add your advice whether I should strike again; also the dialogue of Lucian, which was sent to you from Leipzig. But listen! I have forgotten the copy of the letter, both in Latin and in German, which the most noble prince wrote to the legate 3) and left it at Altenburg in your house; I need it urgently. I have learned that the German letter is with many, but with the highest praise and admiration.

1) Bartholomäus Caesar from Forchheim near Bamberg. He did not come to Wittenberg.

2) Böschenstein. He had first recommended Caesar, but had suddenly turned into the opposite, since he did not want to leave Wittenberg.

3) No. 114.

4) Spalatin's apartment as a canon in Altenburg was under the castle. There Luther negotiated with Miltitz.

for the prince; all of them raise extraordinarily the good head and the extremely fine chest of the prince. For the letter is not only made known to Amsdorf from my copy, but also from yours, which you lent to D. Hieronymus at Jena 5). Farewell. Wittenberg, about an hour after I came home, on Monday after Epiphany [Jan. 10] 1519.
Martin Eleutherius.

No. 130 .

(Wittenberg.)

January 13, 1519.

To Scheurl.

Luther writes that he himself would like to see the dispute ended, but it is not possible because the adversaries seduce by force. He would not answer Prierias; he had reached a peaceful agreement with Miltitz.

The original is in the Scheurl family archive. Printed by Schwarz in his program, Altorf 1741, p. 13; by Schütze, vol. II, p. 25; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 49; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 211 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 348. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 615.

To the highly experienced and extremely learned man
in law, Doctor Christoph Scheurl, the Nuremberg
commonwealth's advocate, his very faithful [friend]
in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I have stolen this hour from myself and my business; I am writing at last, lest, with so many letters from you, I should appear ungrateful, and as if I never wished to answer. Now I thank you most sincerely for the advice of your real and true friendship and for your concern for me. But I would gladly have an end to this unrest if the same could be seen in the adversaries. For they have set themselves (as I see) to bring the matter to an end not with kindness but only with violence and noise. Hence it is that from day to day they stir up greater things and toil in vain. For by force they will never be subdued, that I know.

5) There, the Elector and Duke John of Saxony held a meeting with others, as D. Schurf, Spalatin 2c., in order to give your legate a final answer regarding the requested help for the Turks. See No. 117 (St. Louis edition, vol. XV, appendix, No. 24).

enough. Through kindness, I know, it would have an end. To Silvester's antics, if they originate otherwise from Silvester, it does not seem at all worthwhile for us to respond, for they are childish and effeminate and nothing other than lamentations of his pain. With Carl [Miltitz] I have agreed most amicably, 1) first, that this matter be completely covered with silence on both sides; second, that by order of the pope some bishop of Germany report the erroneous articles to me, which I should revoke. But if God does not intervene, nothing will happen, especially if they should begin to press me with that new decree 2) which I have not yet seen; but I have heard that it speaks of a complete authority [of the Pope], without any confirmation of Scripture or the Canons, which I certainly cannot grant to anyone, not even to the oldest decree. Who knows what God has set before Himself to bring forth from these monstrosities. I, as much as there is in me, am not afraid of it, nor do I wish the matter to be dragged out. There are still many things that can set the Roman swamp in motion, which I would like to suppress, if they allow it. But if God does not want them to allow it, then let the will of the Lord be done. To Ebner's patrons I wish from the bottom of my heart good health and say thanks for the casel received. I hope that your Nuremberg [young people] will correspond to your wishes in the best possible way, since they are both under the best teachers and attend the most select lectures. Fare well in the Lord, and cast your care also for me upon the Lord, that you may not be too anxious for me. January 13, 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 131.

(Wittenberg.)

January 14, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2385, annex, no. 5.

1) See No. 127 (St. Louis edition, Vol. XV, 698, No. 280).

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 626, no. 234.

No. 132.

(Leipzig.)

January 18, 1519.

Dungersheim to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 462.

No. 133.

Wittenberg.

After January 18, 1519.

To Hieronymus Dungersheim.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 470.

No. 134.

(Wittenberg.)

January 19, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 708, no. 284.

No. 135.

(Wittenberg.) On or after January 19, 1519. To the Elector

Frederick of Saxony. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1726, no. 536.

No. 136.

(Wittenberg.)

January 20, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Intercede for Peter Elen as he seeks a parish position.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 237. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 6; by *Löscher*, vol. III, p. 954; by *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 213 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 370. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 644.

To George the Divider,³⁾ the one initiated into truth, his [friend] sincerely to be loved in Christ.

JEsu s.

Hail! Overcome, I pray thee, even thou the impetuous attempts of men. For this is how God has ordered us, so that we are forced to be of the greatest service to the impetuous. There is here a measuring pope, who has been

3) This means: "von Spalt", because Georg Burkhardt (Burckardt) called himself after his birthplace Spalt an der Rezat iü Mittelfrauken Spalatin. In the original there is xxxxxxxx (after analogy of the nominative xxxxxxxx). De Wette and the Erl. Briefw. have changed this to xxxxxxxx.

Most noble prince the small priestly position, which is now vacant "in Peltz" 1); Peter Elen has asked that I address the prince in his name. But you alone are a shore to me, and, to speak with Homer, a sandbank in the inhospitable sea. Therefore, whatever foam and mischief this sea of mine brings me, I hurl at you alone. I know the man well enough, but I have not wanted to press so hard as to heap trouble upon trouble. You will do what God will give you. Be well. On the day before the feast of St. Agnes, virgin and martyr [20 Jan].

Martin Eleutherius.

No. 137.

(Wittenberg.)

January 24, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends Spalatin an instruction on how to confess. His view of the so-called memorial at Mass. About letters from Miltitz. Melancthon teaches Hebrew. Luther asks for help in collecting the interest for the monastery.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 23 and in *Cod. Jen. a.*, fol. 47. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 138 d; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 955; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 214 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 371. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 618.

To His exceedingly dear Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant and priest, His superior and preferable in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! I send what you have wanted, yes, what I have been able to, about the employment of the confession. 2) You see what I have accomplished. I also enclose a small disputation about which we are still in dispute. But how completely true I consider it, you will see in all that, where it is brought with the ecclesiastical affairs by the frogs of Egypt, yes rather by the Egyptians.

But that you desire a form to celebrate the (so-called) memorial in the mass:

I beg you, do not let these trifles trouble you. Pray for those whom the Lord will give you, and keep your mind free in these matters. This matter is not so great that it would be necessary to bind the spirit of freedom anew by decrees and statutes; the mass of the already abundant, all too much, mighty statutes is sufficient.

I have not yet seen any of Carl's [von Miltitz's] last letters; perhaps you were wrongly informed that he had written two letters to me. Our Philip teaches the Hebrew sciences, as with greater fidelity, so also with greater fruit than that John, 3) the apostate, that is, the runaway. Man's faithfulness and diligence are so great that he hardly allows himself any time.

I would finally like to know what I can write back from you for Herr Sigismund von Chlumma.

And finally, to remember us, although I do this only reluctantly, Christoph Bressen, our interest man in Motterwitz, who lives under the Leisniger Amt, has long since failed to pay us the interest owed. For the past year he has not yet fully paid, and now in the new year the later interest is piling up on top of the earlier. I have spared the man so that I would not bring him into disfavor with the most illustrious prince, but the extraordinary danger in which both the matter and we stand forces me to trouble the prince again. Therefore I ask you to do something for us in this matter. The sum of the interest owed to us, both taken together, amounts to 120 florins, and we are poor, as you know, and, what is worse, we have many debts. Help us, therefore, but in such a way that the prince's mind, as much as it is possible, is not upset against the man. I know that the debt will be attributed to us, which we have sold, but we again attribute it to God, since he has taught us to care little for temporal things and to act in good faith. According to the flesh we have been foolish, but perhaps God has revealed His wisdom in this way.

3) Böschenstein. Luther's verdict on him can be found in his letter to Joh. Lang of April 13, 1519.

1) "Peltz" - Beltitz, Belzig, 5[^] German miles southwest of Potsdam. - *Alb. x.* 24 (winter term 1507): *Petrus Elen de Beltitz, dioc. Brandenburg.*

2) The "short instruction on how to confess. St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 2158.

as he is wonderful in all his works, holy with the saints, perverse with the perverse. Be well and answer. On the day before St. Paul's (conversion) (Jan. 24), of the chosen armor in Christ our Savior, 1519.

Martin Eleutherios.

No. 138.

(Leipzig.)

(End of January ? 1519.)

Dungersheim to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 472.

No. 139.

Wittenberg. End of January or beginning of February 1519.

To Andreas Carlstadt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 810, no. 361.

No. 140.

(Wittenberg.)

2. February 1519.

To Joh. Sylvius Egranus.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2440, annex, no. 30.

No. 141.

(Wittenberg.)

3. February 1519.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2467, annex, no. 43.

No. 142.

(Wittenberg.)'

February 7, 1519.

To Spalatin.

About changes in the curriculum of the university and an increase in Melancthon's salary. About Eck's disputation note, in which his hostile behavior against him was shown, and that it could become serious against Rome.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A No. 24 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 48. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 142; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 958; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 221 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 411. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 620.

To the esteemed Georg Spalatin, his best friend who is highly esteemed in the Lord. JESUS.

Hail! That we are concerned for our educational institution, and you, my dear Spalatin, with Ge

I hope that you will suffer not only with equanimity, but also with a grateful mind. We repeat, however, what we said the other day 1) about the abolition of such lectures, which take up good hours without benefit, and the introduction of better ones, especially of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the increase of the salary for our Philip, by giving up a lecture on physics, and that the salary for this be added to his salary, which we believe we have mentioned to you. 2) Now, so that the matter does not grow cold, or (as mau likes to say) become old iron (*in spongium cadat*), we ask you to let what the Lord has begun through you also be carried out through you, so that an unfortunate fate does not intervene and frustrate your godly wish.

By the way, our corner, the little fame animal,³⁾ has published a note, 4) in which he wants to dispute against Carlstadt after Easter in Leipzig. And since the man, in his inconsistent, crooked way of acting, wants to make up for his already lukewarm spite against me, he hurls himself against me and my writings: he names one as his opponent, with whom he wants to argue, but he attacks another, who has to deal with this matter. I dislike the so cowardly hypocrisy of this man, that is why I have published a rebuttal against him, as you will see in this print 5). Perhaps Eck will be the cause that this matter, which has so far only been treated playfully, will finally be treated seriously, and the Roman tyranny will be unfortunate. Fare well in the Lord, 1519, the day after Dorothea [Feb. 7].

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

1) In Letter No. 115.

2) Already on Dec. 8, 1518, Carlstadt had asked Spalatin for a salary supplement of 20 florins for Melancthon.

3) *animalculum gloriae*. Compare Vol. XV, 2442, § 5 at the end.

4) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 26.

5) This is Luther's letter to Carlstadt, No. 139, to which twelve counter-theses by Luther were attached. See Vol. XV, 810 f.

No. 143

(Wittenberg.)

February 12, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2390, annex, no. 6.

No. 144.

(Wittenberg.)

(February 12, 1519.)

To Spalatin.

Probably enclosure to the previous letter. See St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 258. on the locations, Erl. Briefw., vol. I, 414 to be added....

No. 145.

Basel.

February 14, 1519.

Joh. Frobenius to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1374, no. 425.

No. 146.

Basel.

February 18, 1519.

Capito to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 689, no. 272.

No. 146a.

Wittenberg.

February 18, 1519.

To Johann Eck.

Luther says that it is now proven by public evidence that Eck's friendship was a pretense. He points out Eck's ambiguous behavior, that the latter, while pretending to want to dispute with Carlstadt about penance, is rather raging against Luther about indulgences. He asks him to determine the date of the disputation.

According to a copy in the Nuremberg City Library, No. 406, p. 1, No. 1 in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 6.

Martin Luther, Augustinian at Wittenberg, wishes the highly learned theologian Johann Eck, Pro-Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, his superior in Christ,

Hail and that he finally ceases to seduce the Christian people! I am sorry, dear Eck, that finally, through such obvious evidence, your friendship towards me is found to be a hypocritical one. You boast that you seek the glory of God, the truth, the salvation of souls, the growth of faith, and you teach about indulgences, the abatement of the truth, and the redemption of the faith.

of faith, salvation and the glory of God. Your head is so nailed up and your brain so clouded that, as the apostle says [1 Tim. 1:7], you neither understand what you say nor what you say, and (that I may use your logic) you do not even know how to pronounce the predicate of the subject. Either hatred against me or the desire for fame has pushed you into this blindness. Therefore, you must ascribe the fact that you are now called a loutish man and a sophist in the whole world to your intemperate behavior, not to me, who was so concerned about you that I first suppressed my asterisms for your sake and made an effort to reconcile [you] with Carlstadt. You, as a fighter for the [indulgence] graces, pay for all this quite nicely, and since you want to dispute with Carlstadt about penance, you rage against me about indulgences, that is, about the remission of penance, and take things completely opposite to the matter. You may think what kind of man might do such things! By the way, I want you to fix the day for the disputation, or indicate it, if you want me to fix it. Everything else at the disputation. Farewell. Wittenberg, February 18, 1519.

No. 147.

Leipzig.

February 19, 1519.

The University of Leipzig to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 836, no. 367.

No. 148.

Wittenberg.

February 19, 1519.

To Duke George of Saxony.

Luther asks that he be admitted to the Leipzig disputation.

From the original in the Dresden Main State Archives in J. K. Seidemann's Thomas Münzer. Dresden und Leipzig 1842. 8., p. 159; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 10 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, second supplement, p. I.

1) Instead of *intemeritati*, which gives no sense, we have adopted *intemperiei*.

2) In the transcript: *Obeliscos*.

3) In the manuscript, there is an "illegible word here: *mistes? misces?*" We have assumed *miles*.

To the noble, highborn prince and lord, Lord George,
Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia,
Margrave of Meissen 2c., my gracious lord and
patron.

JEsus.

My submissive prayers and humble wishes are
always before Eurn F. G.. Sublime, highborn prince,
gracious lord! The worthy Doctor Johannes Eckius writes
how he is planning to hold a disputation at Leipzig in E.
F. G. University. F. G. University against the worthy
Doctor Andream Carlstadt and graciously grant it.

But because Doctor Johannes Eckius calls out to
dispute against Doctor Carlstaden, and yet the same
article, little challenged, falls into my position with all
seriousness, it will behoove me to receive the unarmed
giant and to represent my position or to let myself be
taught the better. Therefore, my humble prayer to E. F. G.
is that E. F. G. will graciously grant such a disputation
for the sake of truth. For the worthy gentlemen of the
university have written to me, as they promised Doctor
Joh. Eckio, which I had heard from him earlier. But that
they credit me with having let my disputation go out
before I asked E. F. G. for it, happened out of confidence,
E. F. G., and hoped that E. F. G. would not deny it to me,
especially if they had already promised Doctor Eckio, as
he boasts. Please, E. F. G. will graciously forgive and
pardon me for this. God will mercifully save and keep E.
F. G., amen. Given at Wittenberg, on the 19th day of
Februarii 1519.

E. F. G.

Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian
Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian
Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian
Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian
Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian
Augustinian.

No 149.

Ingolstadt. February 19, 1519.

Joh. Eck to Luther.

See St. Louiser Augsburg, vol. XV, 842, no. 372.

No. 150.

Wittenberg. February 20, 1519.

To Staupitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2442, annex, no. 31.

No. 151.

Wittenberg. February 20, 1519.

To Scheurl.

About a dialogue between Pope Julius and the apostle
Peter; about Eck's open hostility. Recommendation of Ulrich
Pinder; of the undertakings of the Swabian League against Ulrich
of Württemberg.

Printed in Schwarz' Programm, Altorf 1741, p. 14; in Schütze,
vol. II, p. 27; in Strobel-Ranner, p. 51; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 230
and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 432. German in Walch,
vol. XXI, 622.

To the highly learned and knowledgeable jurist,
Doctor Christoph Scheurl of Nuremberg, his very
dear patron.

JEsus.

Hail! I accuse myself sufficiently, best Doctor, that I,
so often greeted by you, nevertheless write to you only
rarely, but again I excuse myself with the fact that I am
prevented by so many, almost monsters of business.
The very learned dialogue between Julius and Peter 1)
was exceedingly pleasant to me. It contains indeed much
fruit, if it is read with seriousness. I am sorry that it is not
known in Rome; I would almost like to wish for its
publication, since it does not reveal the abominations of
the Roman court at first, but confirms those that have
been known everywhere for a long time, unfortunately,
so that even through such antics the Roman great ones
would be reminded of their tyranny and exceedingly
ungodly sacrilege, which they see being practiced
throughout the world.

Our corner, which has hitherto hidden its nonsense
against me quite nicely, has finally revealed it. See what
it means for

1) Luther (St. Louis edition, vol. I, 1618, § 5) considers
Erasmus to be the author, as does Mathesius (St. Louis edition,
p. 12), also Scheurl (Briefbuch, vol. II, p. 42), but Erasmus rejects
the authorship from himself. *Bindseil, Colloquia, tom. II, p. 115*,
gives the title thus: *Iulius. Dialogus viri cuiuspiam eruditissimi*,
festiuus, sane ac elegans, quomodo Iulius II. P. M. post mortem
coeli fores pulsando, ab ianitore illo D. Petro, intromitti nequiverit:
quamquam dum uiueret sanctissimi, atque adeo sanctitatis
nomine appellatus totque bellis feliciter gestis praeclarus,
dominum coeli futurupa se esse sperarit. Inter- locutores. Iulius.
Genius. D. Petrus. Lector, risum cohibe. 3-1/2 sheets. Small
octavo, no year. According to the Erl. Briefw., *F[ausit] A[ndrelini]*
F[oroliuensis] Poetae Regii libellus de obitu Iulii P. M. is meant.
Are both the same writing? Compare also Tischreden, cap. 27, s
4. St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 846.

is a human being. But God, who is in the midst of the gods, knows what he wants to bring out of this heavy trade (*tragoedia*). In this matter we will not be of service to each other in anything, neither Eck to himself, nor I to myself. It seems to me that God's counsel is being carried out here. I have often said that I have been playing so far, now we will finally get serious against the Roman pope and the Roman arrogance.

I recommend our Ulrich Pinder, an extraordinarily righteous and learned man, to you most earnestly. For your own sake, because he is your compatriot, you will also recommend him to the senators, whether their lordships might deign to invest him with any office. We hear that the great men of the Swabian Confederation have set out against the Württemberg prince. This is a beginning of trouble. May God not punish us in anger, but chastise us in mercy, amen. Greet all of our people. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, February 20, 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 152 .

Wittenberg.

February 20, 1519.

To Wilibald Pirkheimer in Nuremberg.

Luther recommends Ulrich Pinder to him; comments on Eck, likewise on the Basel printing of his writings, in which Prierias is mocked.

From the original first printed by *Theod. Frid. Freytag, virorum doctorum epistolae selectae etc.. Lips.* 1831, p. 18; in *De Wette-Seidemann*, vol. VI, p. 12 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, Vol. I, p. 435.

To the in every way highly respected man, Mr.

Wilibald Pirkheimer, 1) Patrician, Nuremberg Councilor, Doctor, his highly revered patron.

JEsus.

Hail! I have sent my trifles to you, highly learned man.

2) Now, while

1) Wilibald Pirkheimer, from an old Nuremberg Patrician family, born in Eichstedt on Dec. 5, 1470, was a city councilor from 1504 to 1522 and frequently represented Nuremberg at the Imperial Diet. His house was the center of Nuremberg scholars. Initially enthusiastic about the Reformation, he later withdrew from it more and more for selfish reasons. He died as a private citizen on Dec. 22, 1530.

2) Freytag (in Dorpat) assumes the "instruction on several articles, which are imposed and attributed to him by his patrons", St. Louis edition, Vol. XV, 699.

I have answered too slowly before, I will write first. My love and intimate acquaintance with Ulrich Pinder, a righteous, honorable and also learned man, has driven me to recommend him diligently to you, worthy Lord, since he needs an office and your kindness. If he deserves to be given an income or a small priesthood in your excellent senate, I ask and beg for it, if you are able to do something; but you are able to do a lot. But I ask first for me, that after your kindness you bear this my impetuous behavior with equanimity; then for him, because man is worthy of the favor and service of a good man.

By the way, I received the tendril 3) of my exceedingly lovely corner with great thanks. I send again what I opposed to him. As you can see, the matter is directed against the holy canons, that is, against the unholy corruptions of holy scripture, which I have long desired, but have not dared to advance of my own free will. The Lord draws me, and I do not follow unwillingly. If the Roman court has suffered over the dying indulgence, what will it do when (God willing) the decrees give up their ghost? Not that I will raise a cry of victory before victory, trusting in my powers, but that I will place my confidence in the mercy of God, who is angry against human statutes. I will maintain and confess the authority and majesty of the pope, but I will not suffer the corruptions of the holy scriptures.

I believe that you have seen my trifles printed at Basel, which are decorated with such great wit and learned noses for New Year's Eve that they are beginning to please me, too. So much indeed have those very good alchemists made gold out of copper. These jokes will increase the torment of the Roman flatterers. They call the Silvester exceedingly wittily the cook (*magirum*) of the palace instead of *Magistrum palatii*, by a so lovely as well as learned [print-]

3) The disputation theses of Eck. Luther sent his counter-theses, which were attached to the letter to Carlstadt (Vol. XV, 810).

I believe that he, too, has written something that is more similar to a cook than to a theologian. Greetings from Philip, for I believe that he also wrote. 1) Farewell. Wittenberg, February 20, 1519.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 153.

Wittenberg.

Feb. 23, 1519.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony, together with the Rector and the Professors of the University:

About improvements in the curriculum of the university; about Melanchthon's salary increase and request for a printer.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, pag. 124, ZZ. The same has no personal signatures, but is provided with Luther's larger seal. Printed in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, second supplement, p. V ff, no. 832, and in De Wette-Seidemaun, vol. VI, p. 13.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Fridrichen, Duke of Saxony 2c, our most gracious lord.

Most Serene, Highborn Elector! Your Lord is preceded by our prayers to God with submissive and obedient service. Most gracious Lord! After we have so manifoldly found out and daily experienced E. C. G.'s great favor and inclination towards this laudable E. C. G. University, and having always shown a kind patron and father, we are comfortingly moved and caused with all confidence to give E. C. G. what we want. C. G. what may be of more use, praise and honor to the named E. C. G. University, hoping to show E. C. G. a submissive favor, obedient service. There is a Thomistic lecture, namely in Physica, which itzo Magister Johannes Gunckel reads, which we consider good to do away with completely as an unnecessary one, so that the same Magister Johannes Gunckel reads textum Aristotelis for the completed lecture, at her pay, as our Rector Magister Bartholomäus Bernhardt read it until now. And that the pay of the completed lection would be given to Magister Philippo

1) Melanchthon did not write to Pirkheimer until the following day, and that was a Greek letter. See *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 67.

for the sake of his faithful, surpassing diligence. For although he did not seek this and he is highly famed in E. C. G.'s favor and grace, it should nevertheless behoove us to apply and present such his diligence gratefully to E. C. G., so that he may honor us beyond measure and praise the university far and wide. Above this is another Lection Thomistica in Logica, which is read by Magister Jacobus Premßel for 20 Flor. Pay. It would be our wish that such wages and hours would be fruitfully spent and that the same lecture would be transformed into *Ovidium Metamorphoseon libr. 2*), so that there would be enough of the Scotistic and textual Logica and Physica, and the youth would not be overloaded with so many of the same lecture and prevented from improving, especially since there are so few auditors and students. We present all of this only in E. C. G.'s concern and pleasure, since we also find some of the university not entirely inclined to it. It is also considered good by many that we have an honest printer here in Wittenberg, for this should not be of little benefit to the university and to E. C. G.. C. G. honor. The text of Aristotle and other lectures could be promoted with it, which otherwise, without books, might not be so comprehensible and useful. God wants E. churf. G. to live long and save blessedly, Amen.

Datum Wittenberg, Wednesday after Cathedra Petri [23 Feb], *Anno Dni* 1519.

Under my Martini Luther Doctoris Pittschafft.

E. C. G.

subservient chaplain and servants.

Mgr. Bartholomäus Bernhardt, Rector.

M. Martinus Luther.

M. Andreas Carolstadt. D. Petrus

Burchhart. M. Nicolaus Amsdorf.

No. 154.

(Wittenberg.)

(February? 1519.)

To Dungsheim.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 498.

2) In the Erl. Edition: "*Metamorphoseon*, 1) angesehen", but correctly placed in the Erl. Briefw. after Seidemann.

No. 155.

(Altenburg.) Probably at the end of February 1519.

To Pope Leo X.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 705, no. 283.

No. 156.

Dresden.

March 4, 1519.

Duke George of Saxony to Luther.

Answer to No. 148: If Luther unites with Eck because of the disputation and applies again to Duke George, he wants to be heard with a gracious answer.

From the Canzleiconcept in the Dresden Hauptstaatsarchiv printed in Joh. K. Seidemann, *die Leipziger Disputation im Jahre 1519* (Dresden und Leipzig 1843), p. 129, Beilage 21, and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. I, p. 145. We give the text according to Seidemann.

George au Doctorem Martinum Lutther.

Dear scholar, dear, devout one! We have received your letter regarding the disputation that Doctor Egkio and Karlstadt are to hold at our university in Leypzig, together with your apology, all the contents of which we have read out, and after the aforementioned Doctor Egkke indicated to us by letter that he had come to an agreement with Doctor Kärllstat regarding such a disputation and requested that it be held in Leypzig, we have not wished to refuse him such a request. If you do not agree to dispute with each other and make further requests to us, we will then listen to you as much as is appropriate and due to us, with our wise gracious reply, and let you take the matter before us. We do not wish to hold this against you in response to your letter. Given at Dresten on the Friday of *Adriani Martyris* [March 4], Anno etc. xix.

No. 157.

(Wittenberg.)

March 5, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2445, annex, no. 32.

No. 158.

Wittenberg.

March 13, 1519.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 720, no. 296.

No. 159.

Wittenberg.

March 13, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks that Melanchthon be relieved of certain lectures that were unnecessary anyway. He apologizes for not being able to work on the Lord's Prayer in Latin because of his busy schedule. He is busy editing the Epistle to the Galatians and is studying the papal decrees because of the upcoming disputation. Finally, all kinds of news.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 49. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 155; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 966; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 238 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 448. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 624.

To the worthy man, Christ's priest, Mr. Georg Spalatin, ducal Saxon secretary, his [friend] in the Lord.
JEsus.

Hail! It will go beyond the strength of our Philip, my dear Spalatin, to occupy himself with so many lessons, since he is already more than overburdened. For even if you think that one day should be read after the other, nevertheless the mind must be occupied with so many worries. Moreover, Aristotle's physics is a completely useless subject for any age; the whole book is a kind of argument about a trivial matter and about a merely assumed material. The rhetorical exercise is of no use, unless you want to see an example of rhetorical shouting, as if someone wanted to exercise his head and art over the dung or another trivial matter. The wrath of God has willed that the human race should be occupied for so many centuries with these antics, and quite misunderstood ones at that. I know the book inside and out, since I have already interpreted it twice privately to my brothers, leaving aside the glosses. Yes, we think that it should be read only for the sake that Ulan would finally (and soon) stop reading it, since it would be far more useful to read some speech exercise of Beroaldus 2) himself;

1) The people who are in favor of reading *nihili* with the editions, against *nihil* of the original and of the manuscript.

2) Philippus Beroaldus the Elder, born in Bologna in 1453, died there in 1505, taught eloquence in Parma, Milan and Paris.

In it, there is no science of natural things at all. His metaphysics and his book "Of the Soul" are of the same ilk. It is therefore unreasonable that such a head [as Melanchthon] should occupy himself with such dung of trivial things; it is better to read it misunderstood (only to have gone through it) than understood.

I send the letter of Eck, 1) the boastful and already certain of triumph in the Olympic Games. Johann Frobenius sent us my small writings, printed by him, with a letter; if you want to see them, I will send them.

I cannot do the Lord's Prayer 2) in Latin because I am busy with so much work. Every day in the evening I recite the commandments and the Lord's Prayer to the children and the simple, then I preach; now I also address Paul to the Galatians (for printing,³) besides the prescribed prayers 4) and lections. I certainly do not have time enough, let alone superfluous. I have a sermon in mind "on the contemplation of the passion of Christ", 5) but I do not know if I will have so much leisure left to write it down; however, I will make an effort.

I also go through the decrees of the popes for my disputation, and (I say it into your ear) I do not know whether the pope is not the antichrist or his apostle, so miserably (that is the truth) Christ is corrupted by him and crucified in decrees. It torments me extraordinarily that the people of Christ are so deceived by the pretense of the laws and the name of Christ. I want to share with you my remarks about the decrees, so that you may also see what it means to give laws by setting aside the Scriptures, for the purpose of usurping the reign of power, to say nothing of other works that are quite similar to those of the Antichrist.

1) Eck's letter is No. 149; Frobenius' No. 145.

2) Interpretation in German of the Lord's Prayer for the Simple Laity, St. Louis Edition, Vol. VII, 752.

3) See the first note to Luther's "shorter interpretation of the epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians," St. Louis ed. vol. VIII, 1352.

4) By *orationes ceremoniales* will probably be understood the *horae canonicae*, hardly what Walch offers, "public speeches".

5) St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 574.

The Roman court is pouring out the same kind of things. For me, the help and support for the holy scripture grows from day to day.

Our Erasmus has published a way and instruction for the study of the holy scripture; this Frobenius has sent us. Send back the letter of Frobenius, the Ecks, and others.

The Rector also wishes to be excused from his lecture so that he can take care of his household (which, when he is absent, is in danger) and the office of a shepherd.⁶

Christoph Bressen, our interest man, has not yet shown himself, neither in deed nor word. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, Sunday Invocavit [March 13] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 160.

(Leipzig.)

(March? 1519.)

Dungersheim to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 502.

No. 16 1.

(Wittenberg.)

(March? 1519.)

To Dungersheim.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 528.

No. 162 .

Wittenberg.

March 27, 1519.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 206.

No. 163.

Wittenberg.

March 28, 1519.

To Erasmus.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1582.

No. 164.

Rome.

March 29, 1519.

Pope Leo X to Luther.

Citation of Luther that he personally appears in Rome to recant according to his promise given to Miltitz.

6) Bartholomäus Bernhardt was appointed pastor in Kemberg in December 1518. See No. 117.

Printed in the "Fortgesetzten Sammlung von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachen" 2c. (Innocent News), 1742, p. 134; in Fr. Siegm. Keil's "Des seligen Zeugen Gottes, D. Martin Luthers, merkwürdige Lebensumstände" 2c. Leipzig 1764, vol. 1, p. 82, § 31; in Joh. Theod. Lingke, "D. Martin Luthers merkwürdige Reisegesichte" 2c. Leipzig 1769, p. 337 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. I, p. 491.

To the beloved son of Martin Luther, of the Order of the Hermit Brothers of St. Augustine and professor of theology.

Leo Pabst X.

Beloved son, greetings and apostolic blessings! It has pleased us most highly to hear from the letters of the beloved son Carl Miltitz, our Nuncio, who is seconded to the beloved son, the noble man Frederick, Duke of Saxony, that what has been less properly written or orally said by you, was not written or said with the intention and intent that you should offend us or the apostolic see and the holy Roman church in anything, but that you, irritated by a certain monk who was sent by our beloved son Albrecht, Cardinal - priest of the title of St. Chrysogoni, for the proclamation of certain indulgences, to answer the same, 1) and you, by pursuing him too vehemently, had gone further than you would have wished, had transgressed the bounds of respectability and truth, and, having considered this carefully, had regretted and lamented with exceedingly bitter pain what had happened 2) and you were ready to recant everything also by writings, and to denounce your error to the princes and others to whom your writings have reached, that you would refrain from the same things in the future, and that you would also have recanted everything before that legate of ours, if you had not feared³⁾ that this legate would be too favorable to the said monk, who, as you claim, was the cause of your error, against you and would want to proceed very harshly against you. Considering then that the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak, and that in the heat of anger many things are brought forward which must thereafter be set right on better reflection, we give thanks to the Almighty God, who has condescended to enlighten your heart and also to take care that the faithful of Christ, in these things which concern the salvation of souls, trusting in

1) It seems to us that instead of *respondens* it must be read: *responderes*, otherwise *ut* would float in the air.

2) Instead of *tactum* we would like to read *factum*. 3) Instead of *timuisse* we have assumed *timuisses*.

Your reputation and doctrine could be drawn into such grave and pernicious errors: and therefore we, who represent him on earth, who does not want the death of the sinner, but that he should convert and live, admit your excuses in a fatherly spirit, and after the benevolence which we bestow on all men learned in any science, and especially in the holy Scriptures, we desire to see and hear you personally, so that you may safely and freely make the recantation before us, Christ's governors, which you have shied away from making before our legate. Therefore, after receiving this letter 4) you may set out on your journey and come to us without delay. We hope, however, that with all hatred aside and with a reconciled mind, not even in some passion, but only filled with the Holy Spirit and fortified by love, you will so consider the praise of Almighty God that we may rejoice that you have been an obedient son, but you may rejoice that you have found in us a godly and gracious father. Given in our Villa Magliana (*Manliana*), under the Fisherman's Ring, on the 29th day of March 1519, of our Pabbacy in the seventh year.

Jo. Sadoletus..

No. 165.

(After February 24, 1519.)

(Wittenberg.)

To Spalatin.

. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 835, no. 366.

No. 166.

(After February 24, 1519.)

(Wittenberg.)

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 831, no. 365.

No. 167.

April 5, 1519.

Wittenberg.

To Spalatin.

Luther reports that Bressen has paid the interest; writes that he wants to despise "the very gross inconsistencies of Cajetan"; sends new books.

4) This letter never reached Luther's hands. It must have been caused by exaggerated reports that Miltitz, full of good hopes, had sent to Rome in January. But as things were quite different at the time of the arrival of this letter than he had thought, he withheld it (Köstlin, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p. 146 f.).

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A, No. 27 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 52. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 168b; by Löscher, BLd. III, p. 968; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 252 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 8. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 626.

To his extremely dear Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, canon of Altenburg.
JEsus.

Hail! Since I had already delivered the letter dealing with Christoph Bressen to be brought to you, my dear Spalatin, he came himself almost at the same hour and paid us. Therefore, we thank you for your service and your advice. By the way, I have decided to despise these very gross Cajetan inconsistencies, since our Wenceslaus writes to me from Nuremberg that they are ridiculed by the common people as well as by the nobles. Then they serve me not a little with their tremendously great imprudence, in that they do not know what they are talking about or against.

I am sending the Sermon 1) and the Lord's Prayer. Erasmus' "Way of Theology" is not with me, Egranus at Zwickau needs it and will send it back soon. I have postponed writing again because the sermon was not yet finished. Farewell. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Lätare [April 5] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 167a.

Wittenberg. April 5, 1519.

To Johann Eck.

Luther informs him that Duke George has made his consent to Luther's disputation conditional on his coming to an understanding with Eck, and asks him to give the prince the relevant news. The university had already given its consent.

From a copy in the Nuremberg City Library, No. 406, p. 10, No. 5, printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 7.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian, to the theologian and philosopher, the excellent and noble Johann Eck, Canonicus zu Eichstädt, Prokanzler zu Ingolstadt.

I write again, dear Eck, namely for this reason that the most illustrious prince, Her

1) On the contemplation of the Passion of Christ, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 574. - The interpretation in German of the Lord's Prayer, 2c., vol.

George of Saxony, has answered me,²⁾ he wants to give me a full answer to my request,³⁾ in which I asked that I be allowed to fight with you in Leipzig, if only he would be assured that I had united with you in this, because he had received letters from you concerning Carlstadt, but not about me. Since Carlstadt rightly detests your deceitful plots and perhaps will not stoop to fight with you, because you also feared this, since you experienced his strength in his answer, - but because you have so deceived the prince by fighting another than you attacked, it will now behoove you to inform either the prince or me whether it is so pleasing to you, so that we no longer leave the prince's mind in suspense. Therefore, make an effort that I receive your letter as soon as possible, through which I will receive a complete answer, 4) because I have the consent of the university in writing. Farewell and finally become a theologian out of a sophist. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Lätare [April 5] 1519.

No. 168.

Wittenberg. April 13, 1519.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2468, annex, no. 44.

No. 169.

Wittenberg. April 28, 1519.

To Duke George of Saxony.

Luther again asks for admission to the disputation.

From the original in the Dresden Main State Archives in J. K. Seidemann's Thomas Münzer, p. 159 f.; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 15 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, second supplement, p. II.

2) No. 156.

3) No. 148.

4) Eck did not answer this letter, so Luther wrote twice more to Duke George (No. 169 and 179) and finally received the answer on May 23 (No. 182): if Luther had united with Eck, he should be allowed to participate in the disputation.

To the noble, highborn prince and lord, Lord George,
Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia,
Margrave of Meissen 2c., my gracious lord and
patron.

JEsus.

My poor prayer and good fortune are always at the
service of your princely graces. Highborn, noble Prince,
gracious Lord! I have received E. F. G.'s next letter and
gracious reply and have informed him according to
Doctor Johanni Eck E. F. G.'s opinion. F. G.'s opinion and
have been waiting for his answer. Since the same named
Doctor Joh. Eck now in an outgoing note not only appeals
to both of us, Doctor Carlstadt and me, but also defies us
with horrible words and perhaps already sings a little
song about us, how then I think I have reached E. F. G.,
then to E. F. G. as before is my humble prayer that E. F.
G. will graciously grant me to hold the same disputation.
Also, since the matter has made my life difficult and
caused me much enmity, I ask for God's sake that E. F.
G. provide us with E. F. G.'s safe conduct to and from,
since I must therefore dare not to tempt God by human
ordinary help, I am always humbly indebted to E. F. G.
before God with my poor prayer. Given at Wittenberg, on
Thursday in Easter [April 28] 1519.

E. F. G.

The subordinate chaplain D. Martinus
Luther, Augustinian at Wittenberg.

No. 170.

Coblenz.

May 3, 1519.

Miltitz to Luther.

See St. Louiser Allsgabe, vol. XV, 724, no. 299.

No. 171.

Coblenz.

May 3, 1519.

Miltitz to Spalatin.

See St. Louiser Allsgabe, Vol. XV, 733, No. 305. - Z>I the
locations is to be added: Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 21. The original is
in *Cod. Goth.* V, 336, No. 8.

No. 172.

Coblenz.

May 3, 1519.

Miltitz to the Elector Friedrich of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 730, no. 304.

No. 173.

Dresden.

May 7, 1519.

Duke George of Saxony to Luther.

Answer to No. 169: Duke George leaves it at his earlier
decision that Luther should first communicate with Eck.

From the Canzleiconcept in the main state archives in
Dresden in Seidemann, Leipziger Disputation, p. 129 and in Erl.
Briefw., vol. II, p. 27.

Dignified, dear, dear devotee! We have read all the
contents of your letter once again, and since, as you
have to consider, where you want to dispute with
Doctor Eckii, the same Doctor Eckii's will and full word
must also be present, we have previously informed
you in response to your letter that you should unite
with him, and if we requested from you and him to
make room for such a disputation, that we would
show ourselves against you with an unrefuted
answer, we will leave it at the same answer
afterwards, that we do not want to have restrained
you to your letter. Given at Dresden, Saturday after
Quasimodogeniti [May 7] Anno 19.

No. 174.

Wittenberg.

May 8, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther uses Melchior Lotther to establish a new printing press
in Wittenberg. On the establishment of the theological lectures.
Recommendation of a book by Staupitz. Intercession for a
woman from Feldheim.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv.
Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 28 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 52.
Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 164; in Löschner, vol. III, p. 971; in
De Wette, vol. I, p. 257 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 28. German
in Walck, vol. XXI, 627 f.

His in the Lord exceedingly dear Georg Spalatin,
Christ's priest and faithful servant 2c.

JEsus.

Hail! Melchior Lotther has come, provided with very
good matrices of the letters which he received from
Frobenius, and ready to work at

to establish a printing workshop for us, if our most noble prince will deign to give his consent to it, as we have also previously indicated to his Serene Highness. Now we ask you for your service, that you give your advice and help to the common cause; to us it is an adornment, especially for our university, then we believe that it is also a benefit for the audience, especially because Philip is there, who wants to spread the Greek writings faithfully and in large quantities.

Incidentally, we are now dealing with the theological lectures that are to be given, and see nothing else yet than that they alone (as before) are to understand the texts of the individual, 1) because we do not have the confidence that any candidate of theology 2) will soon be able so much that he can interpret either the Bible or a church father; then, in the course of time, it will not seem inconsistent that this should happen, when, after theology has taken root and the books have been multiplied, the matter can be more happily promoted.

For our Schar 3) about the preparation for dying, Staupitzen's German booklet "von der Nachfolge des Sterbens Christi" would not be useless, in which he (according to his gift) has also treated the matter better than I can hope that it can be treated by me until I get more leisure, 4).

The Frau (Domina) von Feldheim has also asked me to work faithfully with you so that you would carefully present her case to Herr Pfeffinger; she complains that she is miserably abandoned, and I do not know what kind of hardship Johann Löser (*Lossor*) is suffering. You do what you know how to do. Be well. At Wittenberg, 1519) on Misericordias Domini [May 8].

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

1) The *compleat*, which according to the reading of the Erl. Briefw., we cannot make sense of it, and have therefore assumed *compleant* with the other editions.

2) Does this mean young teachers at the university, as M. Gunkel and M. Premsel (No. 115 and 153)?

3) On Schar, see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2447, note 3.

4) In November 1519, Luther sent through Spalatin to Schar his "Sermon von der Bereitung zum Sterben," see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, annex, no. 46.

No. 175.

(Wittenberg.)

(Around mid-May 1519.)

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Luther asks for permission to build a building for his monastery, and for a black and a white robe for himself.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 398. fol. Printed in De Wette, vol. I, p. 283 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 9. - We have set the time determination according to De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 579, note 2 and Burkhardt, p. 20.

For the attention of my most gracious lord, Duke Friedrich, Elector of Saxony 2c.

JEsus.

Most Serene Prince, Most Gracious Lord! We are forced by necessity to build a room, we have humbly asked the lords of the council of Wittenberg to grant us the right to build the moat from the moors, but our request is not answered. Therefore, we ask that the F. F. G. graciously grant us this emergency building favor and foliage, waiting that the F. F. G. graciously answer, we deserve against God.

I also ask that E. F. G. buy me this Leipzig fair, which is a white and black cap. E. F. G. owes me the black cap, but I humbly request the white one. For two or three years ago E. F. G. promised me one, which has not yet been given to me, although Pfeffinger talked to me willingly, and yet perhaps for business reasons, or, as one blames him, money is slowly running out, moved, that I had to procure another one from necessity, and thus satisfied, until here E. F. G. promise spared. On this need I now still humbly ask, if the Psalter 5) deserves a black cap, E. F. G. will also let the apostle earn a white cap, and also ask, not to be left by the Pfeffinger but 2c.

E. F. G. willing subjects Capellan D. Martinus, Augustinian at Wittenberg.

5) "The Psalter" is "Luther's work on the first 22 Psalms", which he dedicated to the Elector. The Apostle" is "Luther's shorter interpretation of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians," vol. VIII, 1352.

No. 176.

Wittenberg.

May 15, 1519.

To the Franciscans at Jüterbock.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1362. To the locations given there should be added: Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 36.

No. 177.

(Wittenberg.)

May 16, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2446, appendix, no. 33. - The following supplement is attached to this letter in all editions given there, only separated from it by Löscher, namely vol. III, p. 950 and by Walch, vol. XXI, 631,3 who, however, acknowledges its affiliation to the letter. He has overlooked there that it is already included in the old edition, vol. X, 1882 ff. Aurifaber reports that this writing was found in the library of Johann Grau, pastor at Weimar. It is also found in Welker, *Altes aus allen Theilen der Geschichte* 2c., Chemnitz 1765, p. 570 and in the Erlangen edition, *opp. var. arg.*, vol. III, p. 385. Handwritten in the Zwickau Rathsschulbibliothek. - Although this supplement is already found in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1608 ff, we leave a new translation here according to the Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 46.

Enclosure.**Way of life of the priests.**

Cap. 1. about the moderate eating and drinking of the priests.

As it may be about the breakfast, the supper must be scanty and short, as also Horace 2) says: A short supper delights, and a nap in the grass near a brook. Likewise Sirach 31 [v. 24. Vulg.]: "A moderate man has a sound sleep; he sleeps till morning, and his soul shall be refreshed with 3) the same." Therefore it is rightly said in Proverbs, "Merry evening parties bring dull mornings. Yes, the telling of tales (*fabellae*) and the frequent drinking in the evening causes a spoiled stomach and a confused head, which in the morning is full of all the troubles, mucus and excretion. This is an extraordinary hindrance to the office of a

1) *de prandio*. The *prandium* was taken at 9 o'clock in the morning, the evening meal (*coena*) at 5 o'clock. See Köstlin, M. Luther, vol. II, p. 678 *ad* p. 507. Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 380 f.

2) *Horat. Epist., lib. I, 14, v. 34.*

3) Only the Erl. Briefw. has the correct reading: *cum*, the other editions: *non*.

priest, both in praying and in saying mass. Therefore, be seriously mindful to be vigilant here against this very general evil, because you cannot spoil the evening without also spoiling the morning and the whole of the following day, either completely or almost. Believe the one who has experienced it; if you do not want to believe the one who has experienced it, you will experience and believe it yourself one day.

Cap. 2 Of the study of the priests.

In the evening, by all means take something from the holy scriptures to bed with you in your heart, so that you, as it were ruminating like a pure animal, may gently fall asleep; but it need not be much, but rather a little, well thought out and understood, which you can find again, as it were, as a remnant of the evening when you get up in the morning. Likewise, in all study of the Scriptures you must despair entirely of your own understanding and work, but with fear and humility you must ask for understanding from God. Therefore, when you go to the Bible, first lift up your eyes and heart to Christ, imploring grace in a short sigh. Do this often while reading, saying or thinking: "Grant, O Lord, that I may understand this too, and even more that I may do it. But beware in every way that you do not wish to study the Scriptures for the sake of knowing and understanding (for I do not believe that you are so crudely conceived as to seek honor or gain or glory), nor that you wish to teach others. Let your thoughts be well guarded, for vain honor may be secretly hidden here; but seek nothing at all but the honor of God, so that you may have such a mind: "Behold, my Lord Jesus, if this study is not for your glory, I pray that you will not let me understand even one syllable; but give me as much as seems good to you for your glory in me, a poor sinner.

Cap. 3. of intimate contact.

Even a rarely occurring and at the same time short confidential contact is good for a priest. For that saying is very true:

Friends steal time. 1) If friends are thieves of time, what are strangers and unknown people or those less close to you? But in this you will need the highest prudence, so that you do not, by avoiding living with people too much, fall into the company of evil spirits; again, if you get involved with them too much, you will be trampled by sows. Therefore, if God calls you (if it should be necessary to serve, to counsel, to talk with your neighbor, either because of his salvation or some other need, and you have been required to do so), then no law or rule of any kind that you have made must hold you back, for every law must give way to love, even that of praying and saying mass; but if you are not called, do not get involved with anyone, lest you begin to want to win the world and suffer harm to your soul [Matth. 16, 26].

Cap. 4. on prayer.

Remember that you are celebrating as a priest, that is, as a common and public servant; and therefore you must pray not so much for yourself as for all. Therefore, you must pray fervently not so much for yourself as for all people²⁾, especially and above all for the superiors of the Church, namely the bishops and rulers, because their salvation is the salvation of us all.

Cap. 5: On the celebration of mass.

You will not always be able to say mass, but in order to become able, you must sometimes do it, even if you are not able. You will do this if you remember that you have to sacrifice not for yourself, but for the sake of others who are in sin, for countless needs of Christians. Therefore, what you would not do for yourself, you must do for others; and only do not begin to have the confidence at times that you have appeared to be skilled.

Cap. 6: The whole of life.

As Tobias [Cap. 4:20.] taught his son that he should ask of the LORD that he should

Despair of yourself, and pray that he will guide your steps according to his word, because, as Jeremiah says, "I know," he says, "that man's doings are not in his power, and it is not in anyone's power how he walks or how he directs his course. Above all, act with the utmost gentleness toward sinners. For this is necessary for a priest, that he despise no one, but consider his sins and misery as yours, as you see that Christ did to us. Fare well in the Lord, and if you ask for more, I will gladly be at your service if I can.

No. 178.

(Wittenberg.)

May 16, 1519.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2447, annex, no. 34.

No. 179.

Wittenberg.

May 16, 1519.

To Duke George of Saxony.

Luther asks for admission to the disputation for the third time.

From the original in the Main State Archives at Dresden in J. K. Seidemann's Thomas Münzer, p. 160; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 16 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, second supplement, p. III.

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord George, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious lord and patron.

JEsus.

My poor submissive prayer is always before E. F. G.. Gracious, highborn Prince and Lord! I humbly ask, for God's sake, that E. F. G. not forgive me for writing again. It causes me E. F. G.'s next answer in writing, which almost saddens and horrifies me; for I fear or think that I have forfeited something against E. F. G. and have earned an ungracious lord, which I am unaware of and completely sorry for.

1) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1874.

2) Here we have assumed *omnibus* after weather instead of: *ovibus*.

For since E. F. G. has promised Doctor Ecken to hold the disputation without 1) some request from Doctor Andreä Carlstadii or his consent, and does not want to grant me this without 1) Doctor Ecken's letter, he nevertheless summons me to the disputation in writing, testifies to it clearly in a printed public note, and also requires me to disputation at Leipzig, as I previously wrote to E. F. G. and I wrote to Doctor Ecken according to E. F. G.'s first letter. F. G., and I, according to E. F. G.'s first writing, wrote Doctor Ecken. I no longer know how to obtain this from E. F. G. and can think of nothing else than that I am in disgrace. Now, my most gracious lord, I know well that before me and after me the world has remained and will remain without my dispute, and that I have not forced myself to do so, but have been urged to do so by Doctor Eck, but I ask for God's sake that E. F. G. will graciously explain or forgive me for what I have been guilty of, for I am willing to deny it. I cannot force Doctor Eck to write such a letter to E. F. G. for my sake, but I will write another one and ask him to do so. E. F. G. will graciously forgive me for all that God has blessedly commanded him. At Wittenberg, on Monday after Jubilate [May 16] 1519.

E. F. G.

lord capellan

Doctor Martinus Luther, Aug. at Wittenberg.

No. 180.

Wittenberg.

May 17, 1519.

To Carl von Miltitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 727, no. 302.

No. 181.

(Wittenberg.)

May 22, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther expresses his approval of a letter from Erasmus to the Elector, asks for a decision on the appointment of a professor of Hebrew, and reports the increase in the number of students in Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 29 and in *Cod. Jen. a.* fol.56. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 178b; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 977; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 277 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 56. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 634.

To the worthy man Georg Spalatin, the priest of Christ, his superior and patron to be highly honored in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I like the letter of Erasmus 2) quite extraordinarily, also ours, only one thing I would like, namely that my name is not only not mentioned in it, but also not sung about, especially by such a great man. I know myself very well, at least in this piece.

By the way, before you leave, I ask you to let us know what the attitude of the most noble prince is regarding the Hebrew professor. Johann Cellarius von Kunstadt, who taught Hebrew at Heidelberg, was with us and will return soon; he testified by the publication of a grammatical booklet (which I believe you have seen) that he understands something in this matter; he promised us everything: what he could, he would faithfully teach (he is now in Leipzig and is waiting for our letters), when he has received the news that he is to be provided with a decent salary by our most noble prince. 3) Therefore, answer very soon, and at the same time send back the letter of Duke George.

A large number of students 4) come here, and indeed excellent ones; yes, the well-known Nuremberg licentiate has come, a man of advanced age, preacher of the hospital and of Sanct Sebaldus, 5) and our city cannot hold almost all of them for lack of housing. Other things at another time. Farewell. On Sunday Cantate [May 22] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

2) An den Churfürsten Friedrich zu Sachsen, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1588.

3) Johann Cellarius did not come to Wittenberg because he was on Eck's side at the Leipzig disputation. He soon turned to the Reformation, first became a Zwinglian in Switzerland, later a strict Lutheran in Frankfurt a. M., and died as superintendent in Dresden in 1542.

4) The number of inscribers was in 1517: 232; 1519: 458; next year 579 (Köstlin, M. Luther [3.],

5) Johann Herholt, inscribed May 26, 1519.

1) In the manuscript: "an" == without.

No. 182.

Dresden.

May 23, 1519.

Duke George of Saxony to Luther.

Answer to No. 179: When Luther will have united with Eck about the disputation, it should be allowed.

From the concept in the Dresden archive printed in Seidemann, "Die Leipziger Disputation," p. 129 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. II, p. 59.

Worthy, dear devotee! We have read all the contents of your letter, which you sent to us again for the sake of the conceded disputation, and know of no disfavor that we should have borne or apprehended toward you. It is true that all sorts of things have happened to us, of which we would not have been unwilling to speak to you, but we want to leave such things until you come to us. So we are not a little surprised, since you have previously let us hear that it is not good to discuss these matters, and the doctors of the Faculty of Holy Scripture at Leipzig have also taught us that they refuse to allow such discussions, which is why you are now pressing so hard. And it is true that we have not been requested by Doctor Carlstadt either, but Doctor Eck has announced in his letter that he is uniting with him for the sake of the announced disputation. If this also happens here, so that you agree with each other and ascribe it to us, as you are now, as we understand from your letter, in work (inheritance), we want to show ourselves, according to our most recent letters, with an unquestionable answer against you and have it heard. We have not wished to respond to your letter in this way. Given at Dresden, Monday after Cantate [May 23] Anno 19.

No. 183.

Wittenberg.

May 24, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks for his and Carlstadt's theses to be sent to Nuremberg or to Eck himself. About Aesticampianus' lectures and the increase of students. Apology to Schart for delaying the promised writing. In the postscript, news that Trutfetter has died.

The original of the letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 239. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 5; by Löscher, vol. III, p. 978; by De Wette, vol. I p. 278 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 60. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 636.

The original of the postscript is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 239. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 10; by Löscher, vol. III, p. 996; by Seckendorf, *Hist Luth., lib. I*, p. 21 u; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 373 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 60. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 654. All editions except Erl. Briefw. have added this postscript to the letter to Spalatin of Dec. 7, 1519, which, as the Erl. Briefw. says, cannot take place because of the different folding. To which letter the postscript belongs is left undecided, but for several reasons it is to be placed in this time. Because not much is at stake in the correct determination of the time of this postscript, we have followed the Erl. Briefw. in this.

His Spalatin, the servant of Christ and his Lord, who is exceedingly dear in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! As you promised me the other day, my dearest Georg, that you could and would arrange for letters to be sent somewhere, we now ask that you have these disputations of mine and Carlstadt's sent to Nuremberg or rather to Eck himself, depending on what seems best to you. I believe that everything else has reached you. I am surprised that D. Johann Aesticampianus 2) would rather read about Jerome's Jovinian than about Pliny. Whether you have done something in this, we also wish to know. The number of students is increasing greatly, like an overflowing water. Fare well in Christ. Tell Schart to bear for a little while the slowness of Martin, who is more than three times too busy. Wittenberg, 1519, on Tuesday after Cantate [May 24].

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

At this hour I have heard from the father-in-law of the painter Lucas that Doctor Jodocus von Eisenach has departed from the living at Erfurt. I fear that I, too, was a cause of the hastening of his death; so much distress arose in his mind, as it is said, from my unholy and sacrilegious conduct, through which, which was unbelievable to him, scholastic theology was despised. The Lord have mercy on his soul, amen.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 714 and 718.

2) On Aesticampianus, see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 396, note.

3) The father-in-law of Lucas Cranach was Jodocus Brengbier from Gotha, who, as Lindau, "Cranach", 1883, p. 23 says, was visiting Wittenberg at that time.

No. 184.

(Wittenberg.)

May 30, 1519.

To Martin Glaser, Augustinian priory at Ramsau.

Luther apologizes for his silence and for a borrowed horse; he wants Glaser to visit him, talks about the Leipzig disputation, about his lectures on the Psalms, about the printing of his interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians. He talks about the hatred of his enemies and the burning of his portrait in Rome; about the condition of the monastery and the slander of a Franciscan monk.

Handwritten in *Cod. Gothan.* 1048, fol. 81. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 28; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 279 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 62.

To the venerable Father Martin Glaser, 13) Baccalaureus of sacred theology, prior of the hermits at Ramsau, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Hail! You have every right to be surprised, or even unwilling, my venerable father, that I have not written to you yet. But although I do not lack excuses, I rather want to acknowledge my guilt. For in regard to your horse?, 2) I hope you will be merciful to me Aermsten through the mediation of the venerable father Vicarius. You undoubtedly gave it to GOtte, not to me. God would have us see you here again; I have heard with joy from the venerable Father Vicarius that this will happen. I believe that you know everything about my future Leipzig disputation and about my other affairs. I am now reading anew on the Psalter, and the teaching institution is flourishing extraordinarily. The city is full of students. Rome is hot to my ruin, and I am cold to her ridicule. I am told that a paper Martin was publicly burned, cursed and condemned to death in Campo Flore. I await their fury. The epistle

1) Glaser from Nuremberg was inscribed in Wittenberg in 1506; later conventual in the Augustinian monastery in Nuremberg until its dissolution in 1524; then pastor in Kraftshof near Nuremberg. - Ramsau in the diocese of Freisingen, in the county of Haag.

2) One will have to think of a horse borrowed for Luther's ride from Augsburg to Monheim, October 20, 1518. Kolde, Augustinercongregation, p. 322, note 2.

to the Galatians is now being prepared in print, you will see it soon.

By the way, we are doing well and living in peace; indeed, we are less poor than before. Our [prior] Helt governs very well and builds, but [only] the kitchen, because he still takes care of the belly, after that he will also take care of the head.

I have read what you wrote to me earlier about the chatterer, the Minorite, 3) but I am used to such spitefulness. The whole world is shaking and is in motion, both in body and in spirit. What will happen, God knows. We suspect bloodshed and wars. God have mercy on us. Be at ease in Him and pray for me, the poor. On the day after Vocem Jucunditatis [30 May] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 185.

Löwm.

May 30, 1519.

Erasmus to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1586.

No. 186.

Wittenberg.

June 6, 1519.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 2474, annex, no. 45.

No. 187.

Leipzig.

June 26, July 4, and 14, 1519.

Contract between Eck, Carlstadt and Luther for the Leipzig Disputation.

Regulation of the disputation and recording of the same by notaries, prohibition of the publication of the acts before the judgement of the universities had taken place. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 858 f., the introduction to No. 377.

Printed in Seidemann, Leipziger Disputation, p. 137, supplement 28, without citation of the source, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 71.

On Sunday after *Corporis Christi* [26 Jun] Anno 2c. 19 is by the highly respected, strict and worthy, Mr. Johann Kochel, Doctor,

3) De Wette has in the introduction to this letter: "Bernhard" [Dappen]. Luther's dispute with the Franciscans at Jüterbock falls into this period. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, Einl., p. 42 f.

Chancellor, Georgen von Widebach, Amtmann allhier zu Leipzig, Rentmeister, as princely decreed councillors, and Rector, Magistri and Doctores of this laudable university, between the worthy and highly respected, Mr. Johann Eckio and Mr. Andrea Karlostadt, doctors of the Holy Scriptures, the following agreement of disputation half decided and established:

Namely, Doctor Eckius shall first oppose Doctoris Karlstadt's *conclusiones*, as much as he will ascribe them to him the evening before, and then Doctor Karlstadt shall respond; and the following day Doctor Karlstadt shall oppose Doctoris Eck's *conclusiones*, as he will also ascribe them to him the evening before, and then Doctor Eckius shall respond; and thus proceed further, one day at a time, until the end of the disputation. Such disputations, as *argumenta* and *solutiones* of both parts, shall be written out by four notaries and collated against each other at the end of the *disputation*, also a copy of the same shall be given to each part, but in such a way that such *disputations* and the same copy shall not be brought into print or otherwise publicized, unless both parts of a judge are united and the same ruling is publicized and opened thereon.

Likewise, both parts are to unite before their departure from the judge, and the copies are to be deposited with the Rentmeister here.

The following is agreed and approved between Doctor Johann Eckio and Doctor Martino Luther during the disputation:

Doctor Johannes Eck and Doctor Martin Luther have half compromised and approved their disputation, as previously Doctor Eckius and Doctor Karlstadt have approved and compromised, and to perform the special injuries. However, Doctor Martinus reserved his appeal, which he had previously raised, as much as he had the right to do, and did not want to drop it, nor did he want the acts of this dispute to be sent to the papal court, for reasons that moved him to recognize it. If in this disputation there should be any mistake between the doctors concerned, they shall be instructed by the lords so ordered. Actum Monday Udalrici [July 4]. Anno ut *supra*.

When it was previously indicated that the doctores concerned should unite for the sake of their disputation, they did so in the following manner, namely: Doctor Johannes Eck and Doctor Martinus Luther were admitted to the two universities of Paris and Erfurt, but Doctor Eckius and Doctor Karlstadt were admitted to the University of Erfurt.

and whether more faculties than the *Doctores Theologiae* and *Canonum* should recognize such their contribution, shall be placed in my gracious Lord, Duke Georgen of Saxony 2c.,'s favor, and his F. G. may send such Acta to them; and have further extracted that for such recognition the fathers of the two orders *Augustinensium* and *Praedicatorum* at Erfurt shall not be used. In witness whereof we the said three Doctors have signed ourselves with our own hands at the bottom of this writing. Done at Leipzig (Leyptzk), Thursday after *Margarethae virginis* [July 14] Anno 2c. 1519.

I, Johann von Eck, Doctor 2c., confess with this handwriting of my own that I have consented to the above articles as they are recorded here, that I have also accepted them, and that I will live and follow them faithfully as is proper and right. Actum at Leipzig, July 14, 1519.

I, Endres Bodenstein, Doctor 2c., confess with this handwriting that I, as reported above, granted and vowed to keep and live duly also in the future. *Dat. uts.*

And I, Doctor Martinus Luther, also confess with this my handwriting like the previous doctors. *Dat. uts.*

No. 188.

Leipzig.

July 15, 1519.

Notes. 1)

The reasons why Luther insisted that all faculties of the universities to be elected should decide on the Leipzig disputation.

From the handwritten transcript in the Dresden Main State Archives in J. K. Seidemann's Thomas Münzer, p. 161; in De Wette-Seidemaun, vol. VI, p. 18 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, second naked entry, p. V.

The reason why I have mentioned the entire universities and not only the Faculty of Theology.

First, that by divine grace the young people are more skilled than the old. The first is that by divine grace, through the multiplication of many good books, the young people are more skilled than the old, having walked in their books alone.

1) Caesar Pflug sent this note to Duke George on July 15, together with a counter-note from Eck, from which he gave this decision on July 16: "We cannot judge that those who do not understand this matter should decide on the disputation that has taken place, but that this should be done more wisely and more cheaply by those who have the authority and power to do so, and who also have a thorough and good understanding. (Seidemann, Leipz. Disp., p. 150.)

Secondly, that this matter, newly thought of, is contrary to those who have been theologians so far.

Third, that the times are such that, according to divine order, everything that shines and appears is suspect in all classes. Third, that the times are such that, according to the divine order, everything that shines and appears is suspect in all classes, and almost come to the point that those are not theologians who think they are theologians, and the scholars are the perverse, the clergy secular, and the like.

Fourth, that Doctor Eck in his disputation has taken all pains to make me and my matter hateful and to denigrate me, but to denigrate himself and his matter to the greatest extent, which, as it is read, does him no little harm and is put off to me by the old theologians in particular, because the matter was considered to be against them. D. Martin Luther.

No. 1 89.

Prague.

July 16, 1519.

Johann Poduschka to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1370, no. 422.

No. 190 .

Prague.

July 17, 1519.

Wenceslaus Rosdalowsky to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1373, no. 423.

No. 191 .

(Wittenberg.)

July 20, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1162, no. 381.

No. 192 .

Leipzig.

July 22, 1519.

Joh. Eck to the Elector Friedrich of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1286, no. 413.

No. 193 .

Altenburg.

July 24, 1519.

Elector Friedrich of Saxony to Joh. Eck.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1289, no. 414.

No. 19 4

(Wittenberg.)

July 26, 1519.

To Joh. Lang.

Luther reports that he met Staupitzen and Link in Grimma. Von Eck's cry of triumph.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 399, fol. 129b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 184 b; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 979; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 289 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 97. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 637.

To the venerable and worthy father Johann Lang, Master of Holy Theology, Augustinian at Erfurt, this cooperative's vicar, 1) his superior in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! I met, venerable Father, in Grimma the venerable Father Vicar General, together with Magister Wenceslaus, who wanted to visit the monasteries, because the row hit him. And you did well to abstain from the visitation, because he said that it was now his duty. I fear that the prior will be deposed there.

We are daily awaiting the arrival of the venerable Father (*P[aternalitatis] suae*) from Dresden or Herzberg. He has ordered that I should show his arrival to you and to whom I could, which also dill do. Eck triumphs everywhere; he has moved from Duke George to Annaberg, 2) perhaps to bring the indulgence back on track there. Soon from other things; be well. On St. Anne's Day [July 26] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 195 .

Wittenberg.

July 31, 1519.

Carlstadt au den Churfürsten Friedrich zu Sachsen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1290, no. 415.

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, annex, no. 33, note 5.

2) So *ductus* is to be translated here, because Eck traveled there on July 25, while Duke George had already arrived there the day before.

No. 196.

(Nuremberg.)

(August 3, 1519.)

Scheurl to Luther.

He asks for new writings by Luther to be sent to him and praises Link as the only one who preaches Christ in Nuremberg.

Handwritten in the Scheurl family archive, *Cod. C.*, fol. 211 (247)b. Printed in Scheurl's Briefbuch, vol. II, p. 96 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 100.

To Doctor Martin Luther.

Hail! Only this one thing I indicate to you, venerable father, if you have to write or send something from your workshop to our common friends, you can safely hand it over to this messenger 1). But I want to have asked you that you write or send. And it pleased me Erasmus 2) that in Antwerp almost alone our prior preaches Christ. I will burst if anyone preaches Christ here except our Wenceslaus and some who follow him. I am glad that he is absent for a little while, because then the listeners can appreciate him and them more. If he is staying with you, let him return loaded with Martin's writings; you will also recommend us to our vicar and father if the opportunity presents itself. Our Ebner greets you and wishes you all the best. Farewell, venerable father. Date 2c 3)

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 284. Printed in *Buddeus*, v. 11; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 982; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 306 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 124. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 657.

To the worthy man, Christ's servant, Georg Spalatin, his [friend] to be highly honored in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I will do my best, my dear Spalatin, to try what you have requested about the contemplation of suffering, if I can, although it does not please me very much that a man should be bound to certain hours if there are not people to whom he may be of use. By the way, we all ask with each other that you hand over the copy of the Leipzig Disputation to this messenger; there is something for which we need it, as you will see in due time. We ask this in such a way that we do not doubt that you will do it. Be well and pray for me, a sinner overloaded with business. May the Lord keep us our prince. Amen. 4)

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 199.

Wittenberg.

August 18, 1519.

Luther and Carlstadt to the Elector Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1291, no. 416.

No. 197.

Wittenberg.

August 15, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1142, no. 380.

No. 198.

(Wittenberg.)

(Before August 18, 1519.)

To Spalatin.

On the establishment of a new endowment to commemorate the Passion of Christ in the collegiate church at Wittenberg (see Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 51). Request for the return of the copy of the Leipzig Disputation.

1) Instead of two in the manuscript, we have adopted the conjecture of the Erl. Briefw.: tuto.

2) In his letter of May 30, 1519; No. 185. - It seems to us that here the reading is corrupted: *mirumque placeat Erasmus*. Instead we have assumed: *mihi que placuit Erasmus*. - "Our prior" is Jakob Probst.

3) The time determination of this letter results from its position in the codex.

No. 200.

Wittenberg.

August 18, 1519.

Luther and Carlstadt to the Elector Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1306, no. 417.

No. 201.

Wittenberg.

August 18, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2487, annex, no. 54.

4) The original has no date. The time determination results from No. 200, in which the foundation is commemorated again.

No. 202 .

(Wittenberg.)

August 20, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther again writes about the customs at the intended endowment in memory of Christ's passion and excuses a vehement letter from Cartstadt in the Eckian matter.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. A*, No. 31 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 57. printed in Aurifaber. Vol. II, p. 2d; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 324 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 131. German in Müller, Staatscabinet, vol. I V, p. 193; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 29 and p. 5; also duplicated in Walch, vol. XXI, 6 and 638.

To his extremely dear Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant and priest, princely librarian and secretary, in Christ.

Jesus.

Hail! I hope, my dear Spalatin, that everything I have written to you has reached you or will reach you, for it has been handed over to the messenger. With regard to the arrangement of the contemplation of the Passion of Christ, nothing is more troublesome to me than that I see that these ceremonies tend to make people wonderfully hard, arid, and completely unfit for all things and for all power of a spiritual disposition. For trusting that they have murmured many words and passed the hours, they go safely, seldom shattered, still more seldom ardent, least of all in self-knowledge. And that I tell you my heart's opinion, I like the pay of this endowment and the purpose of this pay more than the endowment itself, because those who want to lie down on the holy scriptures should rightly be helped by everyone, since there is only one thing by which the church is either elevated or depressed, namely either the knowledge or the ignorance of the holy scriptures. Therefore, if it pleases you (as you write) that it be done weekly on a few days, and even on these not the whole day, but at some hours by day and by night, it pleases mix also, only that as few days and hours as possible be taken. For nothing is so much to be feared in the setting up of ceremonies as that (as the apostle [1 Thess. 5:19.] reminds us) the spirit may be subdued, and it will be better that, after hours, they should be performed.

The people who have passed in between do little in a single hour than if they complete everything one after the other without interruption; for in the former case they will be discontented, in the latter they will be lively, as much as the devil allows.

But as for the psalms, which ones they may take? perhaps those that most concern the person of the Lord in suffering, which must be chosen and divided up among the days and hours with the responsories, versicles and collects, as is the custom. And I do not know whether it would not be most beautiful that the hour of each suffering be added with the expressed nature of the suffering of that hour, as the chant contains: *Patris sapientia, veritas divina, Christus homo, etc.*, 1) wherewith the psalms should be concluded. The other you have seen or will see in other letters.

I have heard that Carlstadt has written something exceedingly harsh to you; you see that you spare the man, for he is challenged because of the water bladder of the Eckish boast and some others. Fare well in Christ. On Saturday after the Assumption [Aug. 20] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 203 .

(Leipzig.)

(Early September 1519.)

Dungersheim to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 528.

No. 204.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early September 1519.)

To Dungersheim.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 530.

No. 205.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early September 1519.)

To Petrus Lupinus of Radheim and Carlstadt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1352.

1) This is the German chant: "Christus, der uns selig macht"
2c.

No. 206.

(Wittenberg.) September 3. September 1519.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition. Vol. XV, 2449, annex, no. 35.

No. 207.

Wittenberg. September 22, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends (handwritten) *Tessaradeca's* consolation text (St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1816 ff.) for the sick Elector and asks Spalatin to translate it into German; likewise the shorter interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians. The writing against Emser is not yet finished. A rebuttal against Johann Rubeus in Leipzig will appear (see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1240, no. 398). Intercession for the bearer of the letter. The Franciscans in Jüterbock asked Luther to withhold his writing against them, but too late.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 32 and in *Cod. Jen. a.*, fol. 57. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 3; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 335 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 155. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 640.

To the worthy man Georg-Spalatin, the most illustrious court preacher and librarian, his [friend] in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! Finally, my dear Spalatin, my Tesfaradekas comes to you, slowly indeed, but even so barely escaped the storms of my many affairs; you may translate it freely and hand it over to our most noble prince, if it seems so good to you, of course together with the preface letter. 1) For the matter has begun to seem too small to me that it should be dedicated to such a great prince with a pompous dedication epistle; it shall be at your discretion.

At the same time, I am sending you my incomprehensible Galatians, seasoned with a lot of salt, which the Leipzig Lotther has sent you as a gift, as you can see. The Emser Bock is not yet ready.

You and the Schart will be satisfied, 2) as soon as I can catch my breath.

1) This passage proves that the next letter was sent to Spalatin at the same time as Tessaradeka's, and is not to be dated February 1520, as De Wette, Vol. I, p. 409 does.

2) Through the "Sermon on the Preparation for Dying"; see No. 174.

Something, I don't know what, will also come into being in praise of Rubeus 3).

This bearer of the letters asks that I write for him to the prince, so that he may be allowed to practice the art of baking with the Wittenbergers. For this (as I hear) the bakers forbid him, because he is the son of a man who is said to have once been a baker; so conscientious is the nobility of the craftsmen! But so that I do not fall heavily, I ask you to do this verbally (if you want) in my name.

But listen, what I would have almost transitions, the copy of the Tessaradekas I would like to see again, after it has done its service. For I myself also intend to console myself with these trifles, and the things I have gathered there are not always present to me either; also for the reason that they become richer for me through their contemplation. Farewell, and commend me to the prince. Wittenberg, on the day of St. Maurice [Sept. 22] 1519.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

The Provincial of the Minorites has sent quite respected brothers or fathers to me to settle my matter with the Jüterbockers, who now want to be punished and moved from their place. 4) I have granted them this: if they could ask the Lotther to Leipzig, or hold him harmless, then I wanted to erase my booklet 5) for their service. And this is now being done; I do not know what will be done.

No. 208.

(Wittenberg.) (September 22, 1519.) 6)

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1816.

3) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1240, no. 398, introduction.

4) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 44.

5) "Luthers Vertheidigung wider das böswillige Urtheil des Johann Eck," St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1370.

6) For the time determination, see the first note to No. 207.

No. 200.

Altenburg.

September 26, 1519.

Miltitz to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 749, no. 316.

No. 210.

Lochau.

September 30, 1519.

Prince Frederick to Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 750, no. 318.

No. 211.

(Wittenberg.)

September 30, 1519.

To Franz Günther at Jüterbock.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1418.

No. 212.

(Wittenberg.)

(September 1519.)

Luther to Dungersheim.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 530. - To the locations should be added: Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 162.

No. 213.

(Wittenberg.) ' (End of September 1519.)

To Hieronymus Emser.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1212.

No. 214.

Wittenberg.

October 1, 1519.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 751, no. 319.

No. 215.

(Wittenberg.)

3. October 1519.

To Staupitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2450, anhang, no. 36.

No. 216.

(Wittenberg?)

(10. [?] October 1519.)

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 752, no. 320.

No. 217.

Mühlberg.

October 10, 1519.

Miltitz to the Elector Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 753, no. 321.

No. 218.

Lochau.

12 October 1519.

Prince Frederick to Miltitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 754, no. 323.

No. 219.

Lochau.

12 October 1519.

Elector Frederick to Eck.

The Elector sends him the copy of Luther's and Carlstadt's letter (No. 199), the dispatch of which has been delayed.

Printed in: "Doctor Martin ludders Unterricht an Kurfürsten von Sachssen. disputation zu Leypszig belangent: vund D. Eckius briue. of the same," p. A 4 b. 6-1/2 sheets, 4. no place or year. Michel von Eck, Eck's cousin, is the editor. Then in the Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 191.

To the worthy and highly learned, our dear special one, Mr. Johann Ecke, Doctor 2c.

By the Grace of God Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector and Vicar 2c.

Our greeting before. Worthy, highly learned, dear special one! After you wrote to us before about the disputation in Leipzig of D. Martinus Luther and Doctor Andreas Carlstadt, whereupon we indicated to you in our answer that we wanted to let this reach those who had thought of it, as we did: so we give you to know that they wrote to us again before a good time, as you will hear from the copies enclosed. And we would have liked to send you this for a long time, but it remained due to several hindrances. We did not want to hold you back, because we are inclined to be gracious to you. Date at Lochau, on the 12th day of the month Octobris *Anno Domini* 1519 2c.

No. 220.

(Wittenberg.)

October 13, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2454, annex, no. 37.

No. 2 21.

Wittenberg.

October 14, 1519.

To Martin Seligmann.

In response to the question of how a Christian, especially a pastor, should behave in the face of the plague and other plagues, Luther replied that a weak person may flee, but a clergyman must remain with his congregation.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 213d; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 987; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 347 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 195. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 642.

To the priest and servant of Christ, Martin Seligmann, vicar in the valley of Mansfeld, his exceedingly dear [friend] in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! I have received your letter with your questions, my dear man, and I very much approve of what you firmly assert regarding brotherly love and bearing the scourge of God. And yet God would have all Christians be found to be such people as you describe them here. But what shall we do, if not all are able to do everything? Must not the weak be carried and taken up, as Rom. 15 [v. 1 and 14, 1] teaches? And what you say, "One bears another's burdens," seems to me to apply more to those against whom you have used it. Those are rather the weak who flee death, 2) than those who expect it. Moreover, famine and the sword are undoubtedly plagues of God as well as the plague, as is abundantly clear from the prophet. But we read in the first book of Moses [Cap. 12, 10.] that Abraham fled from the plague, likewise in the book of Ruth [Cap. 1, 1]. Furthermore, how often did not the saints flee from the sword? In Jeremiah [Cap. 35, 6-11], the children of Jonadab went to the city at the time of war, yet they had taken a vow not to live in any house.

Therefore, in my opinion, although all are to be exhorted to suffer the hand of the Lord valiantly, yet they need not be compelled, nor told that they sin; or if they should be told that they sin, they are to be borne as weak. Has not also

1) Instead of *portare in the* editions, the Vulgate will read *portate*.

2) Walch: "which flee to the mountain".

Did Christ carry the apostles when they were afraid to die and woke him up from sleep? [And he scolded Peter [Matth. 14, 31] because he was afraid to walk on the sea, but still he carried his weakness. Therefore, if the pestilence and any scourge of God must necessarily be borne, it also follows that it is not permitted to call upon the saints of God for bodily healings. Then we would also like to take away all physicians with all pharmacies, since it would not be permitted to seek an escape from the scourge of God or a remedy through them, since weakness would also be a scourge of God. For these things the divine goodness has provided for those who are weak in faith.

By the way, those who are perfect and desire death of their own free will have no need of these things. For even the church, when it prays against the plague, against lightning and thunderstorms, does not pray for the weak and tries to avert the scourges of wrath. She would pray badly, because it would not be allowed to flee, to drive away, and (if it is possible) to avoid the scourge of God. The brotherly love, however, which perseveres in these evils with others, is found in the perfect; it is very praiseworthy, and if it should be of use to the neighbor, it is also commanded. But then it is necessary if no one else could assist those dying of the plague who would like to serve the sick. For I am firmly convinced that a priest who is commanded to care for the sick may not flee or order a believer to take his place.

About this, read the extremely instructive letter of Augustine to Honoratus, which is in his legend, described by Possidonium 4), in the eleventh part, at the end. For he teaches that a shepherd must be with the sheep of Christ, and lay down his life for them [John 10:12], since he represents the state of the perfect. Therefore we, who are strong, should carry the weak [Rom. 15, 1.], and give them

3) The comma, which De Wette and the Erl. Briefw. have placed before *proximis*, should probably be placed after it.

4) Aurifaber and De Wette have the wrong reading *Possidano* instead of: *Possidano*.

give the liberty, though not a praiseworthy one, to flee and preserve their flesh. This I have recently [to say], which I pray you will take for the best, and greet the Lord Jonas, 1) the pastor; and all of you, I pray, will pray for me sinner. I also wish my relatives well,²⁾ the enemy barkers I despise. Farewell in Christ. Wittenberg, Friday after Dionysius [Oct. 14] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 222.

Dresden.

October 14, 1519.

Miltitz to the Elector Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 755, no. 324.

No. 223.

Wittenberg.

October 15, 1519.

Luther to the Elector Frederick.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 757, no. 325.

No. 224.

Wittenberg.

October 15, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2482, annex, no.50.

No. 225.

Wittenberg.

(15 [?] October 1519.)

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2478, annex, no. 48.

No. 226.

(Wittenberg.)

(Mid-October 1519.)

To Duchess Margaretha of Brunswick.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1230. - For the approximate timing, compare vol. XV, 2480, note 3.

No. 227.

(Wittenberg.)

October 16, 1519.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2481, annex, no. 49.

No. 228.

Bologna.

16 October 1519.

Crotus Rubianus 3) to Luther.

Crotus assures Luther of his old friendship from Erfurt. He had first heard of the dispute that had broken out through Jakob Fuchs, and then received some of Luther's writings against Rome from his brother Andreas, but he had had to keep them secret. About the impression that the Leipzig disputation had made in Italy; about the Roman conditions and the presumed success of Luther's action against the Roman tyranny. He encouraged him, whom God, like Paul, had cast down to earth by a lightning strike and chosen, to continue the struggle, but not by way of disputation, which was of no use.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth. B 20*, fol. 11 b. Printed in *Mieg, Monumenta pietatis* 1701, vol. II, p. 12; in *Böcking, opp. Hutteni*, vol. I, p. 309 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 204.

To the venerable Father Martin Luther, Augustinian, the learned and holy professor of theology, his oldest friend.

Hail! Two things, venerable Martin, who is exceedingly dear to me, keep my love for you firm, namely that in our youthful age at Erfurt we were in the closest acquaintance with the fine arts at the same time; this time forges the closest bonds of friendship among like-minded people; secondly, that we have you as such an excellent defender of right godliness, which you protect with the shield of Scripture as much as others, in the hope of gain, strive to overthrow it. Hence it is that I, who am so far away from you, talk to you more often, shake your hand more often, dream of you more often than those whom you have near you; for this I call our Hess 4) as a witness, who administers the office of an envoy for both of us with you; for it moves me, my dear Martin, it moves me the quarrel which the wretched Dominicans arouse in you, who are in contact with many at

3) His real name was Johann Jäger and he was from the village Dornheim near Arnstadt. He changed the name "Jäger" into *Crotus*, the name of the constellation of Sagittarius. Rubianus or Rubeanus he called himself after his birthplace, translating "thorn" by *rubus* (blackberry). He was born around 1480; as we see here, he soon fell in with the Reformation without being inwardly attached to it. Later, he took a firm stand against it when he entered the service of Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz in 1531. In a letter to Justus Menius of October 18, 1531, Luther calls him "an Epicurean who venomously persecutes us," and elsewhere: "Doctor Toad, plate licker of Mainz."

4) Johann Heß from Nuremberg, later in Breslau, was the bearer of this letter. Luther received it in December.

1) Jonas Kammerer or Kemmerer, pastor at the church of St. Georgii in Thal Mansfeld.

2) Walch translates the words: *carnem meam valere cupio*: "I will also be healthy in the flesh."

whose conspiracy is against your head. And if you had not been given by God to this corrupt time, so that the right of God would have protected you as a master of the Christian doctrine, we would have already given you the funeral oration. So great is the rage of those people who would rather have their doctrine approved than that of Christ; so great is Roman avarice that it invents a thousand kinds of poison and treachery if anything serves to profit. When I was still in Germany, 1) nothing had been heard of your Punic war; in the year after, Jakob Fuchs, 2) who is also your special patron, when he visited the thresholds of Peter out of a vow, first brought the news that the arms had been taken. But the first thing that came into our hands from this scholarly dispute was the dialogue of Silvester, the astute theologian, who uses mockery³⁾ and witticisms in a successful way, so that he wants to make your iron nose turn away, and truth flows into him, who defends the papal party, all by itself. 4) After this astute writing, Andreas Fuchs, 5) dean of Bamberg, sent us your explanations of the disputed theses, then the Augsburg treaty; 6) all of this has been eagerly read by us and, read by the hands of many learned people, we have also sent it to Rome, so that we suppress the false rumor spread about you by evil people. This had to be done secretly, so that it would come into the hands of the readers without the name of the sender, lest we bring disaster upon our heads through the ignorance in those places where the rule of the priests is terrible. For those are considered heretics who approve of your books in Rome, and those who bring them there bring them there with danger to their heads. For

Rome is intolerant, hopeful, and always afraid that truth might take something away from the things it holds through tyranny. After your disputation became known, those who wanted to judge most wisely among the theologians said that they were with you in heart, but with their mouths they were of a different opinion, not only because they feared the pope's power, but also because if his reputation were diminished, the existence of the Christian community would be shaken. How righteous this opinion is, they may see for themselves; I hold here that the Christian religion needs no false pretenses, and that he who speaks otherwise than he believes in his heart is not Christ's disciple, whose teaching commanded [Matt. 5:37], "Let your speech be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay." If the newer theologians, as well as the disputators, had stood as firmly in this opinion as they did on the Aristotelian decrees or those of the brazen sea, we would not have been forced to obey the will of the pope more than Christ's commandments, nor would you have been so weighed down in your argument by his reputation, nor could Rome have so changed the Catholic faith into another form, namely, into the form of him who, though he is a man, permits divine honors to be bestowed upon him by flatterers, with contempt for the form of him who, though he was God, uttered himself and assumed the form of a servant [Phil. 2, 6. f.]. It is a common speech in Rome, even of those who seem to be intelligent: this cannot be other than exceedingly Christian, what is good for the pope; yes, if you also oppose a hundred Pauls, yes, the whole Scripture; since he is the governor of Christ, who has the Holy Spirit for a leader, by whom he is governed. For there are some misunderstood passages of Scripture in common use, with which they immediately seek to shut the mouths of the gainsayers. What, therefore, will your disputation accomplish? What fruit can the holy Scriptures bring us after their reputation has been lost? Certainly none, unless princes and bishops consider it more sacred to protect God's words than to spend a great deal of gold for so many palliatives, indulgences, bulls, antics, good-for-nothing things, so that the holy fathers may feed their whores and scoundrels. Once, in the presence of a certain Magister noster, a wretched Dominican, I rebuked the excessive Roman licentiousness that oppressed the Christian people and stained their morals.

1) Crotus went to Italy in the early year of 1517.

2) Jakob von Fuchs, from a respected Franconian noble family, was a canon in Bamberg and Würzburg. His relatives were pupils of Crotus in Bologna. In the year 1523, Fuchs had a document issued to Bishop Conrad von Thüngen of Würzburg on behalf of Canonici Apel and Fischer, who were imprisoned because of their marriage, under the title: "Von dem verehelichten Stand der Geistlichen" ("On the married status of the clergy") 2c. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 258, note.

3) Instead of *scommatis*, Wohl *scommatibus* should be read.

4) Prierias used similar expressions in his letter to the pope. - St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 312 f.

5) The brother of Jakob Fuchs.

6) The Explanations of the Theses on Indulgences, vol. XVIII, 100; the *Acta Augustana*, vol. XV, no. 224 f.; no. 203 f.; no. 226; no. 176 f.

Divine will must not be inquired into. I answered him: "If one is allowed to defend the deeds of shame with divine providence, then one may cut them off much more sacredly by the power of the Scriptures, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God [Eph. 6:17], since the will of God is not known from anything else than from the testimony of the Scriptures, which has come forth from the mouth of the Most High. - This I say, my dear Martin, so that you may realize how little this applies to Rome when you say [Ps. 119, 129.]: "Your testimonies are wonderful, O Lord, therefore my soul holds them." For one has advanced so far in ungodliness that he who is called a good Christian or a good theologian is regarded as showered with the utmost contempt, but he who is greeted as a chamberlain or table companion of the pope is regarded as a lucky child, so that the pope occupies the first place in dignity, Christ the last. Here nothing is invented: When the king of the *sacrificial* monkeys (*Rex sacrificulus*) goes out, so many cardinals, so many protonotaries, so many bishops, so many legates, so many provosts, so many advocates pile up around him, as hungry birds gather around rotting corpses; Christ's supper 1) follows on some donkey in the last crowd, which the lewd women and the ravished boys form. I have recently been to Rome with our Hess; I have seen the old monuments, I have seen the harmful chair [Ps. 94, 20]; to have seen it is useful, to have seen it is annoying. There some (as they made themselves believe) astute people attacked me because of the indulgence and the power of the pope, as if I could or wanted to dispute about these things, especially at Rome. I protected myself by silence, only that I once jokingly answered a certain chatterer, who transferred the forgiveness of sins from the power of God into the hands of the pope, because Christ said to Peter [Matth. 16,19.]: "Everything you will solve on earth", that only the Lord leads into hell and out again [1 Sam. 2, 6]. Therefore you are not the victor, Martin, although you, armed with the protection of Scripture, have attacked the throat of the enemy with the sword of the Holy Spirit: with the Roman See, not with Scripture, stands the verdict of victory, for the latter, as your Silvester testifies, takes its credit from the former. But against this difficulty you are preserved unchanged.

Your appeal to the judgment seat of a general council, which is so completely fortified on every side with the protection of divine and human law, is very impressive, that it earns praise even from the opponents. But it is surprising how much gall it arouses in the Florentine party, which fears that after the right over the souls of the departed is gone, they will be deprived by a similar dispensation of the *palliæ*, the reservations, the bulls, the prerogatives, the very wide jurisdiction, and the other things to which the name of ecclesiastical liberty has been attached, namely, the nets for taking the money of the poor. Germany will be blind as long as it remains in its error, and as long as the scholars do not cry out publicly, do not write against the harmful customs which Rome sends us, and remind the uneducated poor people of the Roman deceit, that we, who have hitherto been so often deprived under the pretext of godliness by taxes for the *Pallias*, for confirmations, for war against the Turk, have now received cardinals in the midst of Germany to our greater burden; for what this innovation of the Florentines would give birth to, the outcome will soon reveal. I often call you, Martin, the father of the fatherland, who would be worthy of a golden statue and annual festivals, since you first dared to free the people of the Lord from harmful opinions and to assert the right godliness. Continue as you have begun, leave the example behind you for the descendants, for you do not do this without God's intervention; divine providence has had its purpose here, since on your return from your parents a bolt of lightning from heaven, as it were, threw you down to earth as a second Paul before the city of Erfurt, and drove you into the Augustinian enclosure, out of our fellowship, through your [for us] exceedingly sorrowful departure. After this time, although our intercourse was rare, my heart always remained yours, as you could have perceived from the letter that I sent to you in Augsburg last year, if it had been delivered. At that time, I sent you with the utmost diligence to Thomas Fuchs 3).

2) Leo X was a Florentine, and a large part of the ecclesiastical income went to his relatives.

3) Thomas von Fuchs, Imperial Governor at Regensburg, brother of Jakob and Andreas. Compare his letter to Luther of December 12, 1519, and Luther's reply to it on December 25.

1) The monstrance in which the consecrated host is enclosed.

A knight who is held in great esteem by the emperor. You have been made tired so far and have suffered much in your body and in your good reputation, but difficult things will not be accomplished without great effort. When the end of the troubles will be there, the memory will be sweet to you, and you will say

[Ps. 66:12: "I came in fire and water, but you carried me out and refreshed me. Then all Germany will turn its face to you, then it will hear the word of God from you with admiration. 1) But for the sake of your meekness, I beg you, henceforth, not to enter the battlefield of public disputation, especially against sacrilegious people; do you not know that the children say: "Against a talker, one must not fight with words? Disputation within your monastery with the pen, in all tranquility; the most accurate disputation is the one that is put on paper; the one that turns here and there with words lacks the right judgment and often distracts the disputant's mind from the truth, not to say that it is disgraceful for a theologian to get into a quarrel. As soon as the day of the dispute became known to us, we disliked the plan; for Bologna 2) knows Eck's way; Vienna also knows it well. But the matter went out for us, as Lang's and Melanchthon's letters testify. Farewell and keep me dear; I will not cease to love you. I will protect your honor here as far as it can be done with certainty. Forgive my hastily thrown down letter; I preferred to make many words with you and to write without care, rather than to carefully compose a short letter. I have hardly been able to look through it again. At Bologna, October 16, 1519.

Crotus Rubianus.

No. 229.

Lochau.

October 17, 1519.

Elector Friedrich of Saxony to Miltitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 758, no. 326.

No. 230 .

Bologna.

31 October 1519.

Crotus Rubianus to Luther.

Crotus reports that Eck in Rome, on his own testimony, is regarded as the victor in the Leipzig disputation; of a letter from Eck to Rome, in which he asks the pope to take serious action against Luther, Hütten and the humanistic studies; to force the universities of Paris and Erfurt to give their verdict on the Leipzig disputation; of the reward which Eck demands for his services, and of a new large book 3) of Prieria against Luther.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* L 20, fol. 11. printed in Mieg's *Monum. pietatis*, tom. II, p. 11; in Böcking, *opp. Hutten.* tom. I, p. 307 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 211.

Hail! Eck is celebrated in Rome as the victor in the Leipzig disputation: so much is his own testimony valid where the people are drawn by hope to the side on which they wanted to see the victory bend. I have resisted an overhaste of the verdict, so that Rome would not suffer again what it suffered shortly before, when it attributed the imperial dignity to the Frenchman 4) for certain, while our princes chose the Lord Carl. But let Rome have its judgment, if only that is certain, that not everything is just which it decides by its judgment. But it is foolishness to decide on the victory and to doubt it at the same time. Eck 5) sent a letter to Rome, which, apart from the pope and two theologians, only very few have seen; a certain physician, our friend, listened in unnoticed when it was read very secretly, and what he was able to retain in his memory during the reading, he communicated to me in brotherly good faith; I communicate this to you, Martin, under the same seal of secrecy, that you do not make it known, so that the physician remains unharmed. The letter was written in many chapters, which indicated the order of the Leipzig disputation, then also the way in which the pope had to proceed. Bishops have been appointed for your condemnation, with a certain number of [people] who are necessary for the judgment; the way in which it has been held with them has been indicated.

1) Instead of *audiat* we have assumed *audiet*.

2) Already on the day of his arrival in Bologna, July 7, 1515, Eck participated in a disputation of Joh. Faber and was accused of a false citation by the Dominicans. Eck did not answer for this.

3) not "from a letter," as the Erl. Briefw. states.

4) Francis I, King of France, was a contender for the German imperial throne. Carl V was elected on June 28, 1519.

5) Here in Latin it says *Hechius*, afterwards *Heckius*.

who have taught against the church, so that each one may serve as an example. You have been made hateful mainly for the sake of the Bohemian religion and because of your approval of the Hussite doctrine; the poets and those who have a passion for the fine sciences have been accused, but especially my Hütten, from whom some poems about the Florentine fraud 1) have been quoted; a complaint has been added about the danger threatening in the church through the Greek and Latin studies, which are increasing more and more from day to day; then the pope has been persistently admonished that he suffer no more delay in the great danger, and by threats force the school at Paris and ours at Erfurt to pronounce their judgment; 2) indeed, if he were to prolong the matter, he would soon lose Thuringia, Meissen, and the Mark, and soon after other regions whose peoples would want to enter heart and soul into your heretical opinion, as he calls it. The doctor has not kept other things, and I cannot tell you unknown things; you can take similar things from this and judge the matter for yourself; since it is not small, take it to heart, but keep quiet if you do not want to ruin me and the doctor. When I return to Germany next spring, I will give the middle finger to the false apostles, 3) who devour us and strike us in the face; here [in Italy] one must close one's eyes. Eck at first desired as a reward for his disputation the office of a heretic inquisitor in the precinct of three bishops; now he has changed his mind and is applying for a parish in Ingolstadt, but in the same letter he severely accuses the pope of not condemning the right of a certain person to this parish in his favor, since he suffers so much for the church. Greetings Carlstadt. In haste, at Bologna on the day of Quintinus (Vtj) [the 31st of October].

While I was in Rome these days, I don't know by what fate, your woodsy Silvester came here with his jokes and the brazen nose, who showed the Dominican brothers a rambling book 4) against you, not

1) Probably the *Epigrammata Hutteni ad Crot. Rub. de statu Romano ex urbe missa*.

2) about the Leipzig Disputation.

3) *digitum medium* == *digitum impudicum*, the sign of the highest contempt.

4) Because the book is called a "*prolixum*", we have no doubt that already here not from the Epitome alone, but from the great work of Prierias: *Errata et argumenta Martini Luteris reci*.

Thomas, but all of Christ and Paul, but I mean [for his benefit] useful and bad things. 5) You have rightly prayed for him not to miscarry; repeat the prayer and call the midwife (*Lucinam*). His belly is swollen and protrudes to the great sign of some monstrous birth. If it pleases you, we want to take it to the farthest islands soon after the birth, or leave it in the midst of the people for a short time. It is astonishing how I am happy to see new foundations about the church according to its essence, according to its power, according to its representation, 6) according to the accidental circumstances, according to the name, according to the participation. For what should the bursting belly produce but such monsters? I greet the subject; also the noble Eberhard von der Tann 7) wishes him the best welfare.

No. 231 .

(Wittenberg.)

(October? 8) 1519.)

To Spalatin.

. Luther sends him a handwritten copy of his Sermon on the Preparation for Dying.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 238. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 12; by Löschner, vol. III, p. 1002; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 385 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 216. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 658.

tata, etc., is the talk of the town. The letter of the same is dated: "*Rome. 1519. decima. Junii.*" At the beginning of the 15th chapter, fol. 212, Prierias says that at the time he received "Luther's explanation of the thirteenth thesis on the power of the pope," the work had been completed (with the exception of the 15th and 16th chapters) and had already been given to the printers to work on. Luther's aforementioned writing may have been received around the end of August or the beginning of September 1519. See our detailed report on this work of Prierias in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 19b f.

5) These words are almost untranslatable: *Christos et Paulos, puto Chrestos et Palos*. Böcking makes the remark to this passage: *Frigida hodie videtur annominatio: xxxxxxxx, utilis, commodus; xxxxxx, pravus, sive palus* == stake.

6) The three preceding expressions: *ecclesia essentialis, virtualis* and *repraesentativa* are used by Silvester in the dialogue; the three following ones: *accidentalialis, nominalis* and *participalis* are mockingly hung on him by Crotus.

7) In Latin *Erhardus von der Than*. Because this name is at the end, the Catholic theologian Wiedemann, "Eck", p. 149, note 15, makes him the writer of this letter and calls him "thau".

8) Since Luther sends the first copies of the Sermon to Spalatin on November 1, this letter is to be placed in October.

To his Spalatin in the castle. JEsus.

Hail! See, there you have the sermon on dying, which was written in haste, but which grew more under the haste than I expected, even though I did not include everything that occurred to me. For it is sober, 1) and retains more the sense of Scripture than the words, this I have done because I wanted it to be useful to the laity. By the way, send the copy back as soon as possible, because I will publish it, and if something should be added or changed, it will be done then. I have written almost all this day to get rid of the rut of your bustle. Farewell.

Brother M. Luther, Aug.

No. 232 .

(Wittenberg.)

1. November 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2476, annex, no. 46.

No. 233 .

Wittenberg.
1519.)

(Beginning of November

To corner.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1170, no. 383.

No. 234 .

(Wittenberg.)

November 7, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2477, annex, no. 47.

No. 235 .

Wittenberg.

November 7, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther wants to start the Postille; again about Adrian; explanations about the Leipzig disputation concerning the sweeping fire.

The original is in the *British Museum* in London. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a. fol. 207*. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 6; by *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 365 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 224. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 645.

To his extremely dear Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his superior.

JEsus.

Hail! I am about to set to work interpreting the Epistles and Evangelia, 2) admittedly very swamped with business, my dear Spalatin. I will send the other things I can.

You see what I have written about the Hebrew *Matthaeus Adrianus*; therefore do your duty, but soon, and send back his letter.

I know nothing about a saying of the preacher *Solomon* 3) about purgatory, and I have never heard of it. However, the "Heller" in *Matthew* [Cap. 5, 26], with which *Eck* also attacked me in *Leipzig*, applies just as much to Purgatory as to all other things. For what should it [the Heller] not signify to those people who would rather understand any arbitrary thing by it than understand it correctly? But even *Eck* has been clearly refuted by the text itself, first by the adverb "until," which, according to the usage of Scripture, does not fix the time, as those think, as *Matt. 1, 4) 25*.: "And knew her not until she bare her first son." See the *Erasmus* and *Jerome*. Secondly, because the words of Christ speak of such a one as is not willing to his adversary, that is, who has not obeyed the commandment of Christ, of whom also they themselves confess that he sins unto death. Therefore, that dungeon is hell, from which no one is released, while those alone send to purgatory those who have done everything and have been willing to their adversary. Therefore, this text is valid only against them, unless at the same time they say that the souls in purgatory 5) are separated in hatred and anger and discord with the adversary, which, I hope, not even their iron forehead can understand.

2) This is the Latin church postilla, which did not appear until March 1521.

3) In *Buddeus* and *De Wette*: *Ecclesiastici*, to which the latter correctly remarked: "Should mean *Ecclesiastis*." In the *Leipzig Disputation*, *Eck* had referred to *Eccles. 4:14* for Purgatory. See *St. Louis edition*, vol. XV, 1014. - *Walch* translates: "What the church is able to do about purgatory, I do not know" 2c.

4) In the editions: *Matth. II*.

5) Here it says *id est* superfluous.

1) *Walch*: "For he is a dry, miserable man who" 2c.

would like to dare. But Christ speaks of these, as even a child can understand. The passage of the apostle to the Corinthians [Cap. 3,13. ff.] was also forcibly snatched from the corner, even though he chatted that it was exceedingly clear for him. The words of Paul are clear, that the day of the Lord will prove the works of each one; this day (he says [v. 13. Vulg.] will be revealed in fire. Hence even a person without understanding sees that Paul's words speak of the Day of Judgment, when the world will perish by heat, and can only be drawn to Purgatory by force or by a figure (which proves nothing). The word of Christ in John [Cap. 15, 2] about the vine that is to be cleansed was drawn to purgatory by a certain Vincentius 1) as if there really was someone who had done violence to the Scriptures more often than this very Vincentius. If by the word "purify" the purgatory is understood everywhere, why²⁾ is it written Luc. 2, 22 [Vulg.]: "When the days of their 3) purification were fulfilled" ? And what should those rightly understand, to whom the words of Vincentius are articles of faith? There is still the very clear passage in the books of the Maccabees [2 Macc. 12,46.] left. But this book does not make articles of faith, nor is it held in high esteem by the Fathers; in particular, this second book has been rejected by St. Jerome in more than one place. In short, although I know that there is a purgatory among us, I do not know whether it is among all Christians. It is certain that no one is a heretic who does not believe that there is a purgatory, nor is it an article of faith, since the Greeks who do not believe it have never been considered heretics for that reason, except by the recent heretics (*apud haereticantissimos haereticantes*). And at the Basle Council they are to give an excellent account of their faith.

1) *Vincentius Bellovacensis* (a Dominican from Beauvais, educator of the sons of Louis IX of France, died 1264) in his *Speculum morale*. - It seems to us that there is a gap in the text before the following "as if".

2) Instead of *quia*, to give sense, we have adopted *quare*.

3) Instead of *sorum* in the editions, the Vulgate reads *eius*.

bens. 4) Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, Monday after Leonhard [Nov. 7] 1519.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 236.

Ingolstadt.

November 8, 1519.

Eck to the Elector Friedrich of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1308.

No. 237.

(Wittenberg.)

November 19, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Intercession for a widow (Walpurg Landmann) who had bequeathed her house to the canons in Wittenberg and wanted to revoke her will. From Emsers Wüthen.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 37; in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 63. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 217d; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 992; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 367 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. II, p. 261. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 650.

To his in Christ exceedingly dear Georg Spalatin, the servant of God to be highly honored in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I beg you, may the matter of this widow reach our most noble prince through you. I have negotiated with the Lord Dean 5) and some others that they should give her back her house, which she gave them by will. They answer me that it is (as it is called) a donation among the living, which does not seem to me to be so. She complains that she is needy, but they promise her 14 guilders a year for life to keep the house, and they all say that she could not manage such a large sum a year from the entire value of the house. Those, as I see, have one thing in mind, that the priests do not have houses and land. She, on the other hand, complains that she has recently widowed sisters elsewhere, whose lack she intends to alleviate when she gets the house back, and to revoke the will.

4) Already De Wette has added *reddidisse*.

5) Loren; Schlamau.

Her case is a godly one, and according to the gospel it would seem to me that it should be restored to her. The gentlemen, however, do not believe her, but that does not do me any good, mainly because one looks for a property or a place in this way. I fear that there is an evil eye looking out. You do the work of guilty love. For this also belongs to the way of living priestly 1) in all the place where you are. Fare well in Christ. Emser rages and finally spews out his fury 2) but nothing that serves the cause. 1519 on the day of St. Elizabeth [Nov 19].

Martin Luther.

No. 238.

(Wittenberg.)

November 20, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends him a piece of a work as a sample, which Spalatin is to follow in continuing it. About the remarks about the Leipzig theologians made at a dinner party; about Emser's rebuttal, to which Luther only wants to respond when Eck's has also appeared.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. V, No. 30* and in *Cod. Jen. a, fol. 56*. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 218; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 993; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 369 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. II, p. 263. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 651.

To the good and learned man Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his exceedingly dear [friend] in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! I send you, my dear Spalatin, the work 3) One Sunday as a sample, since you, after your greater experience in the fine (*humanis*) sciences, can more appropriately and skillfully designate (*signare*) the passages in the remaining [pieces] from my collection.

1) Compare No. 177.

2) Namely the writing: "Emsers Behauptung seines Bocks von der Lutherschen Jagd" (*A venatione Luteriana Aegocerotis assertio. Emser*), See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 39 b.

3) This "work" is summarized by the Erl. Briefw. "as a sample of the church postilion the treatment of a Sunday"; De Wette says: "probably a sermon". Neither seems permissible to us according to what Luther further adds. It is perhaps to be referred to the "Tessaradekas," which was intended for the Elector and was then in Spalatin's hands.

Of course, I will not be able to do both, since I am extremely busy, or I will involve Philip in this task, so that he too will at least show his zeal to the prince.

Doctor Breitenbach 4) and Mr. Heinrich Schleinitz honored me with their table company and showed their great friendliness towards me; I did not know the people before. We talked about nothing but the Leipzig theologians, on whom the latter did not seem to think much. I learned a funny saying: When someone (he said) sees such a theologian, he sees the seven deadly sins, namely to this honor we big-bellied sophists have brought our theological profession among the common people. And indeed, this word seems to me to be true. For what shines out in all 5) such people but the belly, the purse and the splendor. For what else should one enumerate the spitefulness, the anger and the unchastity with the most unbearable sloth? God have mercy on us.

Emser pours out his fury,⁶⁾ but in such a way that he confirms my letter. I am sorry that such coarse, obtuse and tasteless boasters are involved in this trade. If I were not restrained by consideration for my name, indeed, by the fear of Christ, - I have not yet had one who has presented me with a more fruitful material to write about, - in how unworthy a manner could I make a mockery of this mole, perhaps also of the Leipzigers. But I will remain silent and wait for Eck, 7) so that I can also answer this liar and taunter (if the matter entails otherwise).

I am also sending the letter that I received yesterday from the Oberland, from which you will see how things are going there; if you have it

4) Georg von Breitenbach, a lawyer in Leipzig, was later used by Duke Georg against Luther. - Heinrich von Schleinitz zum Sathan, Duke George's chief marshal.

5) We think that instead of *nobis* it should be read: *omnibus* or *hominibus*.

6) See the previous letter. - The "letter" will mean "Luther's addition to Emser's Bock". St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1212.

7) Namely, "Eck's answer for Hieronymus Emser against Luther's mad hunt. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 910. Compare *ibid*.

Send it back when you have read it. Farewell, and take care of my intercession for Philip, as you promised, although it is against his will. On the day before the sacrifice 1) [Mary] [20 Nov.] 1519.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 239 .

(Wittenberg.)

(Before November 29, 1519.) ²⁾

To Spalatin.

On the arrangement of school lessons and the writers to be read.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 11. Printed by Buddeus, p. 8; by Löschner, vol. III, p. 954; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 384 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 265. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 648.

To his Georg Spalatin, his [friend] to be highly honored in Christo in love.

Hail! First, how much to give to my judgment, you may see; it will go beyond the forces, if only one teacher of the school (*paedagogio*) is to be presented. Secondly, if Quintilian and Aristotle "of the living beings" cannot be read at the same time, it is far better to leave Aristotle of the living beings in place; then Pliny will easily replace him. Quintilian, however, is the only one who can make very good young men, even men. I ask that you above all not let this one go, whether Fach or Heß 3) have the subject of teaching, only that he be one of the subjects of teaching. I prefer Quintilian to almost all writers, because he instructs as well as teaches eloquence, that is, he teaches in the best way with words and things. The other is well ordered. Be well.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

1) *Praesentationis [Mariae]* is the sacrifice of Mary, that is, the day on which Mary is said to have vowed chastity. Walch offers: "The holy evening of the light mass" [*Purificationis*; Feb. 2].

2) This undated letter will have to be placed with the *Erl. Briefw.* to this time, because Melanchthon asks in a letter to Spalatin of November 29 for acceleration of the matters mentioned here. See *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 127.

3) Eisermann, also called Montanns.

No. 240.

(Wittenberg.)

November 29, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther is convinced that Spalatin did not take on the task set for him; thanks him for a gift from the Elector; von Eck's petty printed matter. The Sermon vom Sacrament is in print. About the visit of the Count of Isenburg and about the title of the German Tesseradekas.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.*, No. 38 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 63. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 218b; in Löschner, vol. III, p. 994; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 368 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 266. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 653.

To his [friend] in Christ, Georg Spalatin, the servant of God, the priest, the good and learned man.

JESus.

Hail! You have quite nicely shifted the task of 4) designating the places back to me, which I had turned to you; you have won. By the way, I thank you for the princely gift. I have long since read in print the antics written by the Leipzigers to Eck. 5)

In print is the Sermon of the Sacrament,⁶⁾ which makes a lot of words.

It pleases me that Philip was commanded by the prince to wear what was given to him.

The Count of Isenburg 7) (*Eysenberg*) of the German House, who had brought these warriors, has been with me night and day, and has proven himself to be very kind; he has instructed me to greet you in his name. He had come here to see me. But listen how politely the Witten

4) See No. 236.

5) From a letter of Adelman from Augsburg to Pirkheimer of August 26, 1519, we see that these are letters of the Leipzigers to Eck, which he first carried around in all the inns and barbers' parlors and then had printed.

6) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 426.

7) Count Wilhelm von Isenburg, Commander of the Teutonic Knights at Cologne, had served the Order in Prussia for decades, and now in his old age returned to his homeland, where he, as an old man of probably seventy years, worked in the years 1525-1529 with writings for the Protestant cause. - The words: "who had brought about these men of war" are probably to be understood from the fact that he had brought the Teutonic lords in Prussia to the Gospel. - Walch translates: *Domus Theuthonicae* by: "from the Thuringian house".

berger gatekeeper is. Drunkenly, he had closed the gate at five o'clock. The count, who came late, asked in the name of the abbot of Zinna, 1) to be let in, since he had asked in vain in his own name. But the latter, or rather his beer, said: "The Abbot of Zinna has never given me a gift²⁾ ." In short, he was forced to descend with two noblemen in an innkeeper's pile in front of the upper gate. I did not want this story to remain hidden from you, so that you too would have something to boast about with us from this fine conduct. Fare well and pray for me. For as far as the title of the Tesseradekas is concerned, I do not care how you shape it, only that it has nothing of presumption about it, since the matter itself seems to me to be very small. 1519 on the day before St. Andrew's Day [Nov. 29].

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 241.

Wittenberg.

December 3, 1519.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2486, annex, no. 53.

No. 242.

(Wittenberg.)

December 7, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Luther regrets that the Elector will not come to Wittenberg. Of the lectures; of a spurious mystical theology of Aristotle; of the publication of the Tesseradekas ; of Matthew Adrian. For the postscript attached to this letter, see No. 183.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 239. Printed by BuüÜ6U8, v. 10; by Löscher, vol. III, p. 995; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 372 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 271. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 654.

To his [friend] in Christ, Georg Spalatin, the servant of
God, court preacher to the Duke of Saxony 2c.
JEsus.

Hail! That which we hoped, my dear Spalatin, I see, is changed, viz.

1) Abbot Benedict of Zinna Monastery, near Jüterbock.

2) Luther had first written "Trankgeld".

that the whole court would come here; for this had spread the rumor. But, as I see, the princes must first do their works and then look at them,³⁾ because they are also gods [Ps. 82:1, 6]. For what is spoken and looked at before it is done tends to be thwarted in such a way. But it was this that we would speak of many things, chiefly of the institution of our university. For I hear that the lecture on Aristotle is not as fruitful as we thought.

Doctor Johann Hess 4) brought from Italy a mystical theology of Aristotle, which (as they write) was recently found in Syria, that is, dreamed up by some deceiver, as I believe, so that they would keep this enemy of Christ, after he had been made more glorious to us by an apparent title, all the longer against Christ. He also brought letters from scholars 5).

I do not know yet whether I will publish my Tesseradekas, especially in Latin, since such a writing, which teaches Christ, is exceedingly hateful to the Sophists.

But you will best recognize from this letter of Matthew Adrian what should have been done; you see that he is still waiting. I will not be unhappy to see Eck's boast, although I almost suspect its nature. Fare well in Christ. The day after Nicolai [Dec. 7] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 243.

(Wittenberg.)

December 8, 1519.

To Spalatin.

About Eck's expected rebuttal; about the occupation of the parish in Schmiedeburg; about the case of the Wittve Landmann and a similar case with the Schloßspeifer, and about the Tesseradekas.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. A*, No. 40 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 65. Printed Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 220; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 996; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 373 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 273. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 656.

3) Allusion to I Mos. 1, 31.

4) Johann Hetz from Nuremberg had made a humanistic journey to Italy in 1518, and at Bologna, at the same time as Crotus Rubianns, he attained the doctorate. Now he visited Wittenberg.

5) Among others, also No. 226.

To the learned and extremely honest man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his dearest friend.
JEsus.

Hail! Dear God, as my corner is never anything other than a corner; so he also, the wretched man, crept around the matter to Leipzig, yet slippery, and was always afraid to come to the purpose. But God would that his little book, of which he boasts, would be out; may the Lord grant that I have lost my work for the last time on these trivial things; I hope so.

However, I am surprised what is being done about the parish of Schmiedeberg before the most noble prince. Magister Herzberg has the votes of the university, and I do not like the fact that they are invalid. I do not want you to do anything in this matter that would deceive the one to whom the spirit has given it.

If you know anything about the matter of the widow, which I have recently traded through you, I ask you to inform me. There is a danger that I will fall into the hatred of the canonists or become more involved in it. Already with four copies of wills (as they are called) they are attacking my patience quite severely by revealing that they prefer concern for temporal things, not to say avarice, to love, and not without annoyance, which (as you know) is not always to be suffered by me according to my duty.

Now they have a deal with the castle piper Nicolaus in a similar case. There is talk and a common rumor that a certain person died of hunger, who gave them everything they had only to keep, to whom they gave nothing back. I do not believe it, but I am afraid that if it were investigated, not everything would be found to be to one's liking. I would rather have talked to you about this than written. I wanted to send the Tessaradekas to Leipzig, but I will see if I can be at your beck and call. Farewell. On the day of the conception [of Mary] [Dec. 8] 1519.

Martin Luther.

1) The comma after *aperte* in the editions should probably precede the same.

No. 2 44.

(Wittenberg.)

(After December 8, 1519.)

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2483, annex, no. 51.

Instead of the time determination assumed by us in the 15th volume, we have used the one given by De Wette and the Erl. Briefw., guided by the following considerations: 1) Aurifaber places this letter after December 8. 2) Luther uses exactly the same expressions on December 18 in the letter to Joh. Lang (No. 245) in the communications about Eck and Staupitz, which would hardly have happened after a longer intervening time. 3) Luther would have already given Lang the news about Staupitz in the letter of October 15 (No. 225), if he had had it.

No. 2 45.

(Regensburg.)

December 12, 1519.

Imperial Governor Thomas Fuchs to Luther.

Inquiry on behalf of the Council of Regensburg about a dispute with the bishop there. Answered on December 25.

Printed by Carl Theod. Gemeiner, Regensburgische Chronik, vol. IV (Regensburg 1824), p.374, note 721; in Illgen's Zeitschrift für hist. Theol. 1844, Heft 2, p. 89 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 276.

To the venerable and highly learned Mr. Martin Lutter, the h. Scripture Doctor, Augustinian Order at Wittenberg, his but dear Lord and friend.

My special kindly willing service with diligence before. Venerable, highly learned, dear lord and friend! I am undoubtedly unforgotten by your dignities, which I have acted with diligence for your good in your affairs at Augsburg against the Cardinal, your Widertheil, in the past year, for which reason I am well disposed towards your dignities. And therefore my most diligent request comes to your dignity, that your dignity herewith inform me in writing at this present my messenger on the *casum* 3) of your faithful council, whether and what the law sets and wants in this respect, the *ordinario loci* or someone else is due to it, also how and with what measure and reason it may be rightfully withstood and resisted. And your dignity will not take any trouble in this respect 4). That inherits

2) Compare No. 226 towards the end.

3) The dispute concerned the offering money in the Chapel of the Beautiful Mary, of which Bishop John III claimed the third part from the city.

4) "bevilhen" == to let be too much.

I will earn your dignity, where it again comes to debt, quite kindly and benevolently. Date on Monday after *Conceptionis Mariae* [12 Dec.] 1519.

No 246.

Wittenberg.

December 18, 1519.

To Spalatin.

About Miltitzen's alleged ripening by Wittenberg. Luther refuses to write a Lenten postilla because of his busy schedule. He does not want to write a sermon on the other so-called sacraments (except baptism, the Lord's Supper and penance), because they are not founded in Scripture. About the printing of the tessaradekas. He answers the question of how the duties of a priest differ from those of a layman.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 66. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 222 d; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 998; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 377 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 277. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 659. The postscript in Burkhardt, p. 24 and in Erl. Briefw.

To his in Christ exceedingly dear Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, the righteous and learned man, his friend and patron.

Jesus.

Hail! There is a rumor that Carl M[jilitz] passed through here yesterday, which I wonder about; but that may be all right. I have read what you write about his mockery of my painting. But that you press me so hard with the interpretation of the Lenten Gospels and Epistles, I do not know if I can do it; there are many, and I am very burdened. Don't you think? The Psalter 1) requires a whole man; likewise the sermon to the people, which works its way through the Gospel²⁾ and the first book of Moses, a whole man; thirdly, the prayers and services, which my order lays out for me, also a whole man; fourthly, the work of interpretation, to say nothing of the letters, which I have to write, then also of the occupation with foreign matters, among which also the meeting with good friends, which I find almost a feast, is for me a whole man.

The new system, which I would like to call a "mess," steals a great deal of time.

I am certainly a man, and only one; I am ready for work; but if I am to carry out what you ask, then I must leave everything else. And if God wanted me to be able to devote myself to this One in peace, I would count that as a great happiness; there is so much missing that I would not like to do it.

It does not take place that you or any man could hope or expect from me a sermon about the other sacraments 3) until I am instructed from which scripture I can prove them. For there is no sacrament left for me, since there can be no sacrament unless an explicit divine promise is given, which exercises faith, since we can have nothing to do with God without the word of the one who promises and the faith of the one who accepts. But what those have fabulated about the seven sacraments, you will hear at another time.

The Tessaradekas is printed in both languages. The duties of a priest, which you ask me about, I do not know, since the more I think about it, the more I find nothing to write about but ceremonial things; then I am very moved by the apostle Peter, who 1 Pet. 2,5. 9. says that we are all priests; likewise John in Revelation [Cap. 5,10.], so that this kind of priesthood in which we are does not seem to be at all different from the laity, except by the office by which the sacraments and the word are administered. Everything else is the same, if you take away the ceremonies and human statutes, and we must wonder very much where ordination could have received the name of a sacrament. Is not this marvelous to you? But orally more, together with Philip, because we have dealt with these things often and sharply.

Therefore, your duty would not differ in anything from the common duties of the laity, except for the burdens that the Roman court has imposed on all priests without distinction. The greatest thing, however, is that you may well face

3) Namely, except for the three dedicated to Duchess Margaretha of Brunswick. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, annex, no. 48, col. 2480, note 3.

1) "Luther's Works on the Psalms," St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 198.

2) the Gospel of Matthew. See Luther's letter to Spalatin of February 8, 1520.

understand to what place you are called, that is, to the court; like Esther, you are called to serve the people "where you can" who are governed by that court.

As this is the most difficult and dangerous thing, so do not doubt that it is the highest and first, namely incomparably more glorious than all yours, be it the *horae canonicae* or any duties that anyone could prescribe to you. I believed that through you the letter to D. Heinrich Stromer¹⁾ could be best taken care of, so I ask you to have it brought there. Farewell and pray for me. On the fourth Sunday of Advent [Dec. 18] 1519. Wittenberg. Martin Luther, Augustinian.

The prior does not come again with his request, not because he is unwilling, but (as he says) because the right time to request this has passed. 2) He will come at Lent in order to use your service more abundantly. He wanted me to write this to you.

No. 247.

Wittenberg.

December 18, 1519.

To Joh. Lang.

Of the friar Johann Caesar; of the friars' attendance of Melanchthon's lectures. Lutber sends writings. About Eck's threats; about the delay of the arbitration ruling on the Leipzig disputation. Luther does not want to answer Emser in particular, but at the same time also Eck. About Miltizen's effort to take Luther to Trier 2c.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* A 399, fol. 1271). Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 223 b; in Löscher, vol. III, p. 1000; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 379 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 280. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 661.

To the venerable father Johann Lang, the theologian, Augustinian at Erfurt, temporary vicarius, his [friend] to be highly honored in Christ.

Jesus.

Hail! With the money of the brother Caesar, 3) venerable father, what you have written will happen. Caesar was not at home when

- 1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1168, note 1.
- 2) Burkhardt: *transierit*, for which the Erl. Briefw. (according to the original ?) offers less well *transierat*.
- 3) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XV, annex, no. 45, § 3.

the letter came; but whether he is to be left here is up to you, for you wrote before that he should stay until he returned to you as a Bible commentator 4). He has lectures for theology, then also not bad books, only that I am sorry that I cannot also send all brothers to Philip's theological lecture on Matthew at the sixth hour of the morning. This little Greek surpasses me also in theology.

I did not know that you would receive the Psalter 5) twice, one from me, the other full of Philip. The other small things, I thought, would come to you without my effort. I have taken the sermon on usury 6) before my hand again, and I want to make the pure doctrine of Christ annoy many more people; I will send everything else. See to it that we get the printed disputations 7) as soon as possible.

Eck threatened me as well as Philippus and Carlstadt, and our whole university, yes even your prince, I don't know what kind of frightening things. For he has spat out in German a great confused heap of slobber against the prince, one would think that the almighty God is speaking; but quite rightly such a sophist runs against such a prince.

It pleases me that your Erfurtians have rejected the verdict. For now there has also been futile dispute and the Parisians are judging in vain, that is, a field is opened to speak against the Roman Antichrist, if God gives grace. In our city, a treatise (as it is believed) by a certain Bohemian is being circulated, which is as learned as it is theological, against the tyranny of the Roman court.

I did not understand enough what you wanted, since you wrote in Greek that they were not

4) *cursor* is, according to *Du Cange*, the one who explains the Bible to those who are going through the theological course.

5) The *operationes in psalmos*, St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 198; the same were issued piecemeal.

6) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 856.

7) Namely, the Acts of the Leipzig Disputation, which most likely Lang had printed in Erfurt. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XV, 859.

8) In the letter to the Elector, No. 234.

without your great effort the disputations have been sent back to Duke George 1) and for what cause your theologians and legal scholars were so even dismayed (xxxxxxxxxx).

I will not answer the Emser in a special letter, because this completely unrhymed person not only affirms and admits what I had put on him, but also does not touch the subject of the matter in the slightest bit, in that he only rages with invective; if the Eck Aligriff comes (as he has promised), then I will also dismiss that one at the same time.

Carl Miltitz is soon at Torgau, 2) soon at Lochau, eager to lead me with him to Trier, and the adversaries are extremely afraid, use all kinds of tricks, and are completely nonsensical about the fact that my ruin is being postponed; the bishops are writing to Rome against me. I do not yet know what will happen; perhaps I will go to Trier when I receive safe conduct and the call of the bishop of Trier.

The venerable Father Vicarius stays in Salzburg, healthy and honored, and writes that Eck tries to win the great ones everywhere, but the Cardinal, Bishop Lang, dislikes Eck's modesty. Lotther from Leipzig establishes a printing press for three languages. Studies are flourishing, especially in theology, Leipzig is Leipzigish (*lipsiscit*), as is its way. I am very busy. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the fourth Sunday of Advent [Dec. 18] 1519.

May your new licentiates be well and I greet Father M. Usingen.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 2 48.

Wittenberg.

December 23, 1519.

To Thomas Fuchs, Imperial Governor at Regensburg.

Luther advises an amicable settlement.

From Gemeiners Kirchenreformationsgeschichte von Regensburg 1792, p. 10, in De Wette, vol. I, p. 381 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 29.

1) The letter of rejection from the University of Erfurt to Duke Georg is dated Dec. 29, 1519. Seidemann, Leipz. Disp., p. 152.

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 766, no. 331.

To the strict and honorable Lord Thomas Fuchs, Knight of Schneeberg, Roman Imperial Majesty and Holy Roman Emperor. Majesty and of the Holy. Reichs Hauptmann zu Regensburg 2c. 2c., my special lord and patron.

JESus.

My poor prayer and all good beforehand. Strict, honorable, dear Lord and friend! Your. I have diligently received and read through your letters and questions. I have committed myself to your strictness of all service. After I have found Your great faithfulness to Augsburg, I would like to answer this question correctly and clearly. But the gospel is in my way, since Christ gives a short judgment in all such matters and says: Whoever wants to quarrel with you and rightly take your coat, let him also take your skirt. As a theologian with a guilty conscience, it behooves me to give no other advice in this matter. Therefore, no one party among you will do enough for the Gospel, unless one lets the other follow what he wants. 3) The bishop ordinarius is to take the coat from the bishop. The bishop ordinarius shall leave it, if the council desires it, and again; and does not help the bishop his spiritual right, nor the council his custom or habit, for the gospel is above all. It is true that the pope has decreed that the third part of such a sacrifice 4) is to be given to the ordinary; but whether he has the power to do so, I leave to him to decide. It almost looks like selfishness. But we are guilty of suffering violence, even injustice. Therefore, my advice and request would be that the Ordinary and the Council come to an amicable agreement, without all rightful severity or remedy; perhaps the Ordinary can be appealed to. If not, they may rightly not keep it before the Roman See. As a theologian, who is not entitled to quarrel and rights, but to peace and patience, you will accept this good opinion of mine with goodwill and kindness. For I am always ready to serve E. Gestreng. Given at Wittenberg, on Friday after St. Thomas [23 Dec.] 1519. F. Martinus Luther,

Augustinians at Wittenberg.

3) "follow" set by lins instead of: "follow" in our template.

4) See No. 243.

No. 2 49.

(Wittenberg.)

December 25, 1519.

To Spalatin.

Return of a letter from Einser. Von Eck's writing for Emser. Thanks for a gift from the Elector. About the cause of the widow Landmann; about an invitation of the princess of Anhalt; about the rage of the Meissen clergy against Luther.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 44 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 69. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 225; in Löschner, vol. III, p. 1001; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 382 and in Erl. Bricht, vol. II, p. 284. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 664.

To Georg Spalatin, your servant of God, court preacher to the Elector of Saxony, his best friend.
JEsus.

Hail! I am returning Emser's letter, my dear Spalatin, the man who threatens more than he can carry out. If I let my spirit shoot the reins, they would soon realize against whom they wrote. For Eck, too, has begotten a new offspring worthy of his paternity, a cesspool of invective, writing for the goat, 1) a worthy protector for such a wretched protégé. But enough of that.

I also take care of the prince's welfare and diligently recommend others to take care of it; I ask you to thank him for us that he has sent the game.

We were expecting you to come here, so that I could talk to you, among other things, about the cries of the widow, with which she is tormenting me. I am afraid that the voice of the oppressed will rise to heaven, for she complains that she is almost forced to beg.

I have been invited by the Princess 2) of Anhalt in Dessau, but I do not know whether I may go there safely, for she herself has also excluded the case of danger. Farewell and pray for me.

At this hour Philip reports to me,

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 910.

2) In the Erlangen edition according to the original: Domina; in the other editions: *Domino*. - It is Margaretha von Anhalt, née Duchess von Münsterberg, widow. Her sons Joachim, Johann and Georg were still minors.

that the priests of Meissen with the Emser are so nonsensical against me that they judge that the one who killed me is without sin, because they hear that the Bohemians boast of me as their protector. Behold, these are the times of the murderers who serve Christ. But of this at another time. Wittenberg, on the day of the birth of Christ 1519.

Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 250 .

Wittenberg.

December 31, 1519.

To Spalatin in Lochau.

Luther supports the request of the council of Kemberg for relief of the levies. From the widow Landmann 2c.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, Xo. 82 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 105. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 297; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 536 (also set in the year 1520 as in Aurifaber) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 285. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 737.

To the learned and righteous man Georg Spalatin, princely preacher at Lochau, his superior in Christ.
JEsus.

Hail! Here the council of Kemberg sends a petition to the prince, my dear Spalatin, in which he complains that he is being oppressed by quite unreasonable interest rates. In this matter I also ask for your service, since you can do it without danger. If now the most illustrious prince did not want to get involved in the whole business (which is also not necessary), that he changed the matter suddenly and by force, then help that at least that is obtained that those people recognize that they have the prince's favor and applause in this. For the people there are being sucked dry in the most miserable way by this most fierce usury, and its number is increasing daily by the exceedingly evil example of sinning. For even the priesthoods and offices of worship, then also certain brotherhoods, are maintained by these god-robbing interests and godless robberies, which should take place least of all. You should know that you are serving the will of God in the true service of God, with everything that you can do and obtain in this matter, so that it is done by the prince.

This widow is coming again, whose house I myself have inspected and seen that the lords of the abbey do not worry in vain; it is something significant that is hoped for there.

Our Hess wanted to send the way in which heretics are to be investigated 1) to Crotus in Italy, and would have done so if you had sent it back. Meanwhile, you are well; I am very busy, at the same time completely overwhelmed with challenges. Wittenberg, on the day of New Year's Eve [Dec. 31] 1520. 2)

Martin Luther, August.

No. 251 .

Wittenberg.

(1519? 3)

To Spalatin.

Luther states his opinion about the Psalms, which have recurring verses.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, kni. 4. printed in *Buddeus*, p.9; in *Löscher*, vol. III, p.991; in *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 383 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 287. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 649.

To his extremely dear Georg Spalatin, the sincere and highly learned man.

JEsus.

Hail! I would very gladly satisfy your wish, best Spalatin, which is always yours as well as mine, if you did not, behold, demand something from me that goes completely beyond my spiritual gifts and my meagerness. I freely confess my ignorance, and that I do not know at all what those interposed things are, that I cannot even form a conjecture about them. Of course, I am quite sure that the psalms you mentioned, the 80th⁴⁾ and the 67th, are the prayers of the faithful.

1) A pseudonymous satire, dedicated to the Prierias and Hoogstraten.

2) Dec. 31, 1519, according to the way of that time to begin the new year with Christmas. Also *Walch* has 1520.

3) This letter, which has no date in the original, is placed by *Buddeus* in the year 1519; *De Wette* notes: "perhaps from an earlier time", which *Cod. Jen.* seems to confirm, since he already has it on fol. 4. Also the signature: "Luder" speaks for it, which Luther did not use after September 11, 1517.

4) Here, in the original, the Psalms according to the Vulgate are one number less than in our Bible.

Synagogue, who with the most fervent sighs ask for the coming of Christ into the flesh. But you, who surpass me by far in sharpness of judgment and fullness of learning, see if he 5) did not want to call them *interjecta* for the sake of it, because such psalms are provided with repetitive verses (*interstales*), as in Virgil's Eclogue 6) (I do not remember in how many):

Ducito ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim

[Bring from the city, my songs, o bring home the daphnis], for the 67th Psalm says twice [in the *Vulg.v.2.*], "GOtt, be gracious to us"; twice, "It thank thee, GOtt, the peoples"; twice, "It bless uys GOtt." But how often the 80th say, "O LORD GOD of hosts," you yourself know well. But this is contradicted by the fact that he says: There are in sum two. 7) For the 107th is called with greater right (*pulchrius*) a psalm with repetition verses (*interstalaris*) than those two. Therefore, I assume that it would be 67 with a corrupted number instead of 107, especially since in this book he does not prefix a psalm of a higher number to one of a lower number, nor a psalm of a lower number to a psalm 8) of the very lowest number. And in such a way only the 80th and the 107th [Psalm] would be psalms with repetition verses. There you have all that I have. Farewell and pray for me. From the monastery.

Brother Martin Luder, Augustinian.

No. 252 .

Wittenberg.

January 10, 1520.

To Spalatin in Zerbst.

Luther sends letters to Leipzig that are full of bitter accusations concerning his Sermon vom hochwürdigen Sacrament. Von Eck's writing for Emser and Oecolampad's writing "die ungelehrten Domherren".

5) maybe: the summist?

6) *Virg., bucolico, ecl.* 8, where the following verse recurs nine times.

7) This could also be given as: "that the summa says: two", because immediately follows: *in eodum libro*, which refers to the book of the summist (perhaps the *summa angelica*).

8) Here *Ps.* will have to be resolved by *Psalm*; shortly before by *Psalmum*.

Handwritten in (*Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 69. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 226; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 388 and in Erl. Briesw., vol. II, p. 290. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 664.

To his in Christ exceedingly dear Georg Spalatin,
princely court preacher, now in Zerbst.

JEsus.

Hail! I am sending you, my dear Spalatin, letters full of news, from which you will see how unfortunate is the effort of the Leipzig spitefulness, how maliciously they abuse the simplicity of the very good Duke George and are not afraid to claim, it is a very great thing, an error, a heresy, rveun someone under both forms communicire, which I, although it has instituted the gospel of Christ, have not wanted to command, unless it is done by the power of a council. What they are in other matters is easily seen from this one. Read, I beg you, also the rest of the "secret interpretation of the monstrences" as well as my birth, my education, my relatives. I hope they will still tell that I have a wife and children in Bohemia.

I did not want to send Eck's dirty speeches, which he published against the articles I defended; you will be able to see them at present, if you wish. "The unlearned canons", 2) I believe, you have read, which are exceedingly learned and in sublime speech against the Sophist. Fare well in Christ, and the HErr be favorable and graciousAmen there in the trade of princes 3). Wittenberg, Tuesday after Epiphany [Jan. 10] 1520. 4)

Brother Martin Luther, August.

1) On the title page and the title back of the "Sermon vom hochwürdigen Sacrament" (St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 426, first note) monstrences were printed, about which Duke George complained against the Elector on Dec. 27, 1519 (the letter of Duke George and the Elector's answer idick., Col. 450). Against the accusations, also against the rumors of his origin from Bohemia 2c. Luther apologizes in his writing: "Erklärung etlicher Artikel in seinem Sermon vom hochwürdigen Sacrament" 2c., St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 452.

2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 1275, No. 408.

3) A meeting of several princes took place at Zerbst on Jan. 8, 1520, lasting more than two weeks, in order to settle the war between the princes of Brunswick and Lüneburg. Spalatin was in the entourage of the Churfürsteü.

4) Erl. Briefw. by oversight: "1519."

No. 253 .

(Wittenberg.)

January 14, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1774, anh., no.4.

No. 25 4.

Wittenberg.

January 18, 1520.

To Spalatin.

About Lazarus Spengler's "Schutzrede"; about Luther's defense of his Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sacrament; about the "Instruction on how to confess". Recommendation of a priest for the parish in Lochau.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in the (*Cod. Dessav.* A, No. 46 and in the (*Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 70. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 231; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 394 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 296. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 667.

To the highly learned and extremely honest man,
Georg Spalatin, canon of Altenburg, court
preacher and secretary to the Elector of Saxony,
his superior in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I believe that the German Nuremberg "Schutzrede" is leached to you, my dear Spalatin, but also I issue a German Schutzschrift about that monstrous rumor of both forms and of my birth, 5) since the friends want it that way.

I once made "a way how to confess", 6) for you, the copy of which I wish to have, because I fear that it will be printed, however it may be, 7) as our Adelmann writes, who wished that I would send it to him improved or changed.

This *sacrificulus* has requested from me, on the advice of the Schösser of Lochau, that I recommend him to you, so that he may obtain the parish, which (as he writes) has just been established in

5) D. M. Luther's explanation of several articles in his Sermon vom hochwürdigen Sacrament 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 452.

6) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2158.

7) Luther had sent this writing to Spalatin on January 27, 1519, and it had been printed several times in 1519, at Leipzig, Nuremberg, Basel, and Augsburg, "without Luther's knowledge and will". - Bernhard Adelmann von Adelmansfelden, canon of Augsburg and Eichstädt.

Lochau is unoccupied. And so I do. You, because you know better the customs of the court and the occasion of things, will see what is to be granted on my recommendation. May the Lord keep us the prince of whom we hear that he is ill. Dear God, what are you doing with those exceedingly tedious things? 1) Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, January 18, 1520. 2)

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 255.

(Wittenberg.)

January 26, 1520.

To Joh. Lang.

From literary news. Luther sends his "Declaration" on the Sermon on the Sacrament. Of another printing of his "Works on the Psalms"; of a letter from Erasmus to the Archbishop of Mainz. Of a banquet at which Luther and Melanchthon were together with the Spanish envoy.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 399, fol. 130. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 231; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 396 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 304. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 668.

To the venerable Father Johann Lang, Master of Holy Theology, Vicar of the Hermits of St. Augustine at Erfurt, his superior in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! There is nothing new with us, venerable father. For you have seen "the unlearned canons". We will print the German Nuremberg "Schutzrede" if we can; for we lack time. 3) I am sending the explanation of the Sermon of the Sacrament, against the unworthiness of the Leipzigers, by which they have spread that I was born in Bohemia with such great credibility that they have also moved courts of princes. They captured Duke George after he had been extremely hostile to me.

1) This will refer to the negotiations still being held at Zerbst. See the previous number, at the end.

2) In Erl. Briefw. by oversight: 1519.

3) The writing of the Nuremberg council scribe Lazarus Spengler: "Schutzrede und christliche Antwort eines ehrbaren Liebhabers göttlicher Wahrheit der heiligen Schrift auf Etlicher Widersprechen" 2c. was published in 1520 by Melchior Lotther.

He even threatened the Dresdeners 4) with expulsion, as mau calls it, for my sake.

The Psalter 5) will be printed in a new way, since the printer suffers damage from the many sheets left to him, and at the same time the Psalter of his time will emerge from Lotther's Officin in a better arrangement.

In the hands of some people there is an excellent letter from Erasmus to the Cardinal of Mainz, who is very concerned for me (perhaps it will be printed one day), in which he takes my side, but in such a way that he seems to do nothing less than protect me, as he is wont to do with his skill.

The Spanish envoy 6) is with our prince, with whom 7) Philip and I had a splendid dinner yesterday at his invitation. You will soon see the speech that Philip gave yesterday in print. Fare well and pray for me. The day after Paul's conversion [Jan. 26] 1520.

Greet Venerable Father M. Bartholomew Usingen and Nathin and all.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 256.

(Wittenberg.)

January 31, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther wants to prepare the letters to the bishops of Mainz and Merseburg soon. He sends Jakob Gropp and recommends him for the parish of Lochau.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A, No. 47 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 70. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 232; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 397 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 306. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 669.

4) The Augustinians in Dresden who followed Luther.

5) Luther's works on the Psalms. St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 198. The edition by Lotther was not published.

6) Hieronymus Bronner, to whom Melanchthon dedicated his speech delivered on Jan. 25. (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 135.)

7) with the Spanish envoy (not with the Elector, as De Wette and the Erl. Briefw. assume), because Luther has seen the Elector only on the imperial days from afar, as he reports several times. - The comma, which stands in the editions before *splendide*, will have to be put behind it.

The highly learned, extremely honest man Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his superior in the Lord.

JESus.

Hail! I will hand over the letters to the bishops mentioned today or tomorrow, my dear Spalatin. In the meantime, I am sending what you wrote for the parish of Lochau, and I am sending you this man, who is suitable according to my and many people's judgment. He is a diligent, learned and pious man, named Jakob Gropp. The fact that he did not become a Master of Liberal Arts was caused solely by the lack of expenses, and nothing else; he will in any case be able to attain this degree in the future year, when he, provided with this parish, has become somewhat richer (*pinguior* == fatter). Therefore, the master's degree seemed to me to be no obstacle, since in knowledge and good manners, then also in administration of the priestly office, he is completely equal to the men who have this degree. Therefore I commend him to you and through you to the most gracious Prince in the name of the Lord, Amen. Farewell and pray for me. January 31, 1520, Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 257

Wittenberg.

February 4, 1520.

To Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1382, no. 429.

No. 258.

Wittenberg.

February 4, 1520.

To Bishop Adolph of Merseburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1388, no. 431.

No. 259.

(Wittenberg.)

February 5, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends the requested letters to the bishops and commemorates his deal with the Bishop of Meissen. Of Eck's writing against Carlstadt and his intended response. Of the printing of the Tessaradekas and the publication of the Nuremberg "Schutzrede" and the "unlearned canons." Wish that Melancthon may marry. From the widow Landmann.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. V, No. 48* and in *Cod. Jen. a, fol. 71*. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 240; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 406 (wrongly dated, because he read 5 *Agathae* [9 Feb.] with Aurifaber instead of S. *Agathae*) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 315. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 670.

To Georg Spalatin, court preacher and secretary to the Prince of Saxony, his superior in Christ, who is extremely dear to the Lord.

JESus.

Hail! I am finally sending the letters to the venerable bishops; you may see if it is useful to send them, especially since the bishop of Meissen, through the artifices of the Leipzig party, has issued a public prohibition note 1) against my sermon on the Sacrament, with which, as is to be expected, many others will cooperate. But I will issue a counter-note, and, God willing, pull off these quite unrhymed larvae of ignorance in this Shrovetide season.

Eck heckles Carlstadt and also me in the most dreadful way, in a new booklet 2) against him, to which Carlstadt is preparing to reply, but in such an ill-considered heat of mind that he has given the booklet the title: "Wider den ganz unvernünftigen Esel und angeblichen Doctor" 2c. Persuade him, if it concerns, that he either desist, to revile him again, or refrain from answering altogether, for the wretched sophist has made himself enough of a laughing stock and disgust by this book, so that nothing else can be done to him by an Auder's reviling, except perhaps a cover for his exceedingly great disgracefulness, by which he might appear less disgraceful. For I have begun to despise this man to such an extent that I have never despised anyone more. Carlstadt does not allow me to remind him, but it is also not safe if he learns that I have made this known to you, as he is a man who is weak through suspicion.

1) Des Bischofs zu Meißen Ausschreiben Wider Luthers Sermon vom hochwürdigen Sacrament, St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 460. Luther's rebuttal *ibid* aselbst, col. 462 and 468.

2) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 46.

In the Tessaradekas, the dedication letter 1) has been omitted, too great an indelicacy for the book and to my chagrin. The first sexterne 2) has been printed in my absence. It will also be finished in German soon. We are forced to be slow, both because of the amount of business and the lack of types. In any case, the German "Schutzrede" will go out, and at the same time "the unlearned canons".

I remember that I wished Philip a wife who would be suitable for his way, and I still do not regret this wish. I fear an accident for the man who is used to meet great spirits (*ingenia*) in general, both because he is a man who does not care about the household at all, and also does not take care of his body at all; but I do not yet see that the man is inclined to this way of life.

I again send a petition from the well-known widow. She sighs and weeps bitterly and calls God to witness that she will be a beggar if she does not get the house back. I try in vain with the canons and see that no help will be left unless the most noble prince does something in this matter. I certainly do not want her to become a beggar for this reason, lest she be one of the widows of whom the Scriptures say that God is their judge.

I send - but send it back again - the Meissner prohibition note, namely the fruit of a great spitefulness and an even greater ignorance. Be well and pray for me. On the day of St. Agatha [5 Feb.] 1520. Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 260.

(Wittenberg.)

Feb. 8, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2490, appendix, no. 55.

No. 261.

(Wittenberg.)

Feb. 11, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends the printed Tessaradekas. Of his answer to the prohibition note of the bishop of Meissen) that it turned out somewhat violently and proudly. He works on the Latin edition of the same.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, manuscript in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 50 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 73. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 2446; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 408 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 321. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 672.

To the learned and pious man, Mr. Georg Spalatin,
Christ's servant, the priest, his friend in the Lord
2c.

Jesus.

Hail! See, there you have your, 4) rather our Tessaradekas, my dear Spalatin. You may not be surprised that my answer against the stumbling, foolish and foolish (*tolpensem et talpensem*) note 5) is somewhat vehement and proud. Here it is a matter of those who triumph against me by striking the notes everywhere, therefore it was necessary that their triumph should not lack such a hymn of praise, so that there would be a proper lid for the vessel. Now I am writing a Latin reply against it, which is a little more detailed, to which the note itself must be added at the end. But you hesitate too much to send it back. For tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow at the latest, it will be needed. Farewell and pray for me. February 11, 1520
Martin Luther, Aug.

3) A transmission of the writing, which Aurifaber assumes (also Kolde, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 241), is not to be thought of, because the writing was in print (see the following letter), as well as the transmission of the manuscript (Erl. Briefw.), which was needed for the printing. That the manuscript was not sent to Spalatin before it was published is clear from Luther's letter to Spalatin of February 18. This has already been correctly noted by De Wette. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 482, note.

4) The German Tessaradekas translated by Spalatin.

5) Walch translates the preceding thus: "Behold your, indeed my Four Tenths, namely the answer to the stumbling, doltish, and talpic d. i. blind mole ceddle."

1) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1816.

2) Sexterne == Sheet of six leaves.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 262 .** February 12, 1520.
To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1778, annex, no. 5.

No. 263 .
 Wittenberg. Between February 12 and 18, 1520.
To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 482.

(Wittenberg.) **No. 264 .** February 18, 1520.
To Spalatin.

Luther testifies to his great courage in the Stolpian affair; he wants to reduce the Latin script and send it to Spalatin before it is printed. Spalatin is also to advise the opponents to be careful against Luther. From the widow Landmann.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 51 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 74. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 246; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 413 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 324. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 673.

To the learned and godly man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, court preacher and secretary to the Prince of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I have, dearest George, by the grace of God, great courage against the Meissen conflagration, and you will see that I obey your advice, that I answer as kindly as I can. Yes, you and yours shall get to see the [Latin] copy before it is published, which would also have happened with this 1) if the printing had not preceded your letter. However, out of reverence for the bishop, I have not touched the ulcer of the note in this writing either, which is indeed blasphemous and more against the Gospel of Christ than any raging heresy ever was; I will show this to the descendants and at the same time convict them of their ignorance; if they do not take care, I will pull them through.

I will not suffer an error condemned in the Gospel of God to be proclaimed even full of all the angels of heaven, how much less by the idols of an earthly little church.

If it seems good to you, let us show this favor to the enemies, and write to them, if there are people who want to hear you, and admonish and ask them that they may act against Luther as wisely and cautiously as they can, let it be spared them in this writing with great diligence, so that when they begin to want to escape the frost, they will not be overwhelmed by the snow. For if God does not deprive me of reason (which He may do according to His gracious will (nothing)), it will happen, if they stir the muck (as they say) more, that it will stink further and worse: not that I wish to threaten so great and many men, but that I am sorry and pity their disgrace, which they have irrevocably contracted by this unfortunate note, and that I offer them in this way what I would wish to be done against me in this matter. I would not take the treasures of the whole world that I should be found to be the author of this note.

And yet God wanted them to keep right counsel among themselves and either keep completely silent or purify themselves in the way of love. But if they should begin to pursue the matter by force, threats, science, shrewdness, art or cunning, the Lord will have an understanding and grant me that they can hardly fool my observing nose 3). If they should pretend in an unholy way, as they have done in this note, they will spoil the matter. If they had published the note according to my advice, they would have written in this way: Behold, dear brethren, a certain sermon has gone forth which many misunderstand, therefore do not think that it pleases the author of it to be so understood. In this way, they would not have harmed me, and they would not have harmed themselves and everyone else.

2) Here *non* seems to be omitted.

3) Walch: "that they may not mock my thin noses".

1) namely the German copy.

But now they fall in with full fury and condemn what I have never written. Yes, I have written the opposite, and that under my name. Or at least they would have written to me privately and admonished me to issue a statement. But they have left the path of this justice and that love and have begun with violence and injustice: what wonder is it if such an evil beginning is followed by an evil continuation?

I am surprised and cannot be surprised enough that there are such coarse and unlearned people in Meissen and Leipzig, or that their spitefulness is so great that they have even lost their common sense. Up to now, I have not had any adversaries whom I would have despised just as much: so great is either their narrow-mindedness or their imprudence. However it may be, if you can, help them so that they do not provoke me. I hold them captive, and so captive that they will expose themselves to the highest reproach if they do not act with gentleness. If it should seem good to you, I too will write to the bishop about this matter.... I would write to Duke George if I did not know that what comes from me is either not read or, if it is read, is not heard.

You should know that Walpurga Landmann never had a curator or a guardian, but gave the house to the church solely out of her will. I have dealt a lot with the provost 1), but he is up to his ears in his rights sunk, and chattering, that what is once given to God cannot be given back, although the giver would have to beg eternally or die of hunger, and he has referred me to God and to the sacrament of the mass, that I would like to deal with Christ, whether He Himself wants to talk to me and give back what I desired. The law-abiding (*juridicus*) even considers these antics to be serious. When I told him why they could accept things given in Christ's place and not also give them back in the same place, he insisted.

that a man cannot return what has been given to him. The Gospel does not penetrate into these minds, which are completely taken in by these positions, as if he [Christ] did not reveal abundantly in the Gospels what one should do to one's neighbor in these matters, where necessity and love require it. Fare well and pray for me. 1520, February 18. Martin Luther.

No. 265.

(Wittenberg.)

February 24, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther will continue to respond in the Stolpian affair if the opponents do not remain silent. Sending of the letters to the bishops of Mainz and Merseburg. About the publication of the Sermon of Good Works, the Nuremberg "Schutzrede" and the "unlearned canons". About the employment of Matthäus Adrian. On the publication by Hutten of Laurentius Valla's *de donatione Constantini*. About the student riots in Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. A*, No. 52 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 76. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 2476; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 419 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 331. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 676.

To the learned and godly man, Georg Spalatin, court preacher, his sincere friend in Christ.

JESUS.

Hail! I also believe that the people of Stolpen will not remain silent. Perhaps the Lord will accomplish through them what they and I do not think of. Therefore, they may come, so that they may finally find the interpreter of their note. The letters to the bishops have been sent in the most delicate handwriting, written by the hand of Johann Schwertfeger; I am waiting for an answer.

I have not mentioned anything about the sermon of good works 2), but I have already published so many [sermons] that there is a danger that I would finally tire the buyers.

I don't understand what you mean by the German Schutzschrift, which, as you write, should be attached to the Nuremberg. Send it when you have it so that we may watch; for that one was finished today. "The Unlearned

1) D. Henning Göde.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1298.

ten canons" will follow. Nothing has been written to Doctor I did not do enough for everyone. There were some who Calvus 1) yet; today we will meet to negotiate and answer. said that I was too favorable to the student part, others Yesterday, Matthew Adrian let me know through D. the opposite. The work of the devil is so utterly Conrad König, the son-in-law of D. Wolfgang [Stehelin], ungovernable, and it would have been better to let it fizzle that I should answer him; but I think that I have answered out in itself than to have begun to dampen it with so much him and that the letter has been caught. The same noise. There are few who perform this tragedy, and they negotiated with me, with how large a salary one believed are not worthy that the whole city and the university suffer that he would be satisfied that he taught Hebrew here. He so for their sake. And it is impossible that in a large and said that if he received a hundred or ninety gold florins, he sick body (as Antiochus said to Herod) an ulcer or pus or would turn to us from there; this I will now find out from the like should not arise from time to time, which, if it is him through another letter. In the meantime, you answer allowed to go its way, will cease of its own accord, but if it as you see fit and as you hope. is hindered and obstructed, will infect and corrupt the

Through the courtesy of Dominicus Schleupner 2) I whole body. But I will do as much as I can. Farewell and have in my hands the donation of Constantius refuted by pray for me. Our prior Helt had gone to Magdeburg when Laurentius Bulla, which Hutten published. Dear God, what your letter arrived. The day before Matthias [24.⁴⁾ Feb.] a great darkness or unworthiness of the Romans! and 1520.

what you can wonder about in God's judgment, that they have not only lasted for so many centuries, but also ruled, and that under the decrees such impure, such coarse, such impudent lies have been put and (so that nothing of the most atrocious Grenel would be missing) have taken the place of articles of faith. I am so cornered that I almost do not doubt that the pope is actually the Antichrist whom the world expects according to the generally accepted opinion; everything he lives, does, speaks and orders is so much in accordance with it. But more about this orally. If you have not seen it, I will see to it that you read it.

I do not know what to say about the students and the painters; 3) I doubt that the matter is as great as some effervescent heads (*venti*) make it, which they blow out. I have dealt with this in a sermon, but

Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 266.

Merseburg.

February 25, 1520.

Bishop Adolph of Merseburg to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1391, no. 432.

No. 267.

Calbe.

February 26, 1520.

Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1385, no. 430.

No. 268.

(Wittenberg.)

February 26, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends a certain Mocha. Of Eck's journey to Rome, and that he had published the correspondence with the Elector. About the sermon on good works.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 53 and in *Cod. Jen.*

a, fol. 78. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 249; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 421 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 339. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 679.

1) He signs himself: Gregorius Coppus, *Calvus medicus*. In a letter from Magdeburg dated February 6, 1520, he warmly recommended Werner von Bacharach to Spalatin as a teacher of Hebrew.

2) Canon in Breslau, later pastor at St. Sebald in Nuremberg.

3) This refers to a prelude to the riots between the students and Lucas Cranach's pupils, journeymen and workers, which reached their climax in July.

4) Although Matthias is February 24, this day falls on the 25th in a leap year, because the leap day (Febr. 24) is without a name. Compare the letter to Link of Feb. 25, 1528.

To Georg Spalatin, princely court preacher and secretary, the righteous and learned man, who is extremely dear to the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! This Mocha 1) comes to ask for the right of his fief. You, as you do, take care of his children and his very good wife, for the sake of their poverty; I will cooperate, if it is necessary, if anything has to be given.

Eck has gone to Rome in order to lighten the very deepest abysses (*abyssos abyssorum* == the deepest hell) for me; that is how we are written. I will immediately send the letters of Wenceslaus and Adelman. It has issued Eck the letters of our prince and our answers and his German letters to the prince, which are written exceedingly spitefully. I will send them as soon as possible through the bearer. I believe that the man is completely transformed into a fury. Meanwhile, be well and pray for me. It occurred to me again that I should write about good works, namely in a tract; I have promised this and will do my best to make it happen. On the Sunday of Invocavit [26 Feb.] 1520.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 269 .

(Wittenberg.)

February 27, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2485, annex, no. 52.

No. 270.

Wittenberg.

February 29, 1520.

To Spalatin.

From the answer of the bishop of Merseburg; that the archbishop of Mainz had forbidden the begging of the monks. Luther wishes that the mendicant orders be completely abolished.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 56 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 79. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 250; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 423 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 342. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 680.

1) Probably the miller Christoph Mocha in Segren near Wittenberg.

Your learned and righteous man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, princely Saxon court preacher, his [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! Finally, the Bishop of Merseburg has sent my messenger back to me with his letter, which he held up there for three days; I am still awaiting the Cardinal's reply in Mainz. I have now read the letter. I do not dislike it, except that he confesses that he was moved by writings and reports of others against my sermon, which he perhaps never read, but condemns by believing it. Then he condemns, not without rhyme, the strife in the cause of the Roman pope, as if I really took pleasure in being tossed to and fro in these storms, and did not rather wish to live in peace, which he desires, as he writes. But when we are quite healthy, we give advice to sick people, like Terence 2) If you were here, you would judge differently.

That the Cardinal at Mainz has forbidden the mendicant monks [to beg], I do not believe that it was done out of spite against me; 3) Magdeburg is also full of many other complaints against him, as our prior says, who has returned. For he is beginning to tyrannize and to dare everything by offending even his spiritual great ones. Who knows what he is called to do in the administration of such great matters? The Lord will use him (do not doubt it) for some future monstrosity. As much as there is in me, I wish very much that this mendicancy would be abolished from the ground up. This is one of the articles that Eck makes a heretical one for me and praises highly. For I hate this quite shameful livelihood, and even today would rather learn a trade with which I could support myself than live in such a way, and I will die in this heresy, even against Eck's will.

2) *Terent. Andria*, II, 1, v. 10.

3) Kolde, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 386 *ad* p. 242 says: "The intervention against the mendicant monks can hardly be regarded as the beginning of a reformation; it was based on the old opposition of the secular priests against the mendicant monks."

I am surprised that my letters written earlier have not reached you yet. We enjoyed reading Schott's fight with Emser. We will soon write to Doctor Calvus, for we have not yet had a suitable messenger. Farewell and pray for me. At Wittenberg, on Wednesday after Invocavit [29 Feb.] 1520.

Martin Luther, August.

No. 271.

Wittenberg.

February 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends a sample of his postilla; he refuses to offer peace in a letter to the Elector. He and Staupitz had been unconscious Hussites until now.

Handwritten in *Cod.* Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 15; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 424 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 344. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 741.

To his most dear in Christ highly beloved Georg Spalatin.

JESus.

Hail! I am sending you a sample of the Gospels and Epistles, but it shows that my soul is very busy, and is not doing enough for me according to my wishes. This thing (as I see) requires a man, and all alone, so I am almost sorry that I started it.

After I have asked my friends for advice about the letter to our prince, I find that it can by no means be done without danger to godliness that I offer peace in my name or according to my wishes. I have so far offered it sufficiently and alone; I have always been drawn into the bargain by force, and it is not advisable to withdraw my hand as long as Eck cries out, for I am forced to command the matter to God and to let myself be led, since the ship is exposed to the winds and floods. One thing I can do is to call upon GOD's mercy; word has been given me of some mighty storm if GOD does not resist Satan. I have seen his thousand-fold thoughts to my and many people's destruction.

What do you want? Never has the word of godliness been acted upon without commotion, noise and danger. The word has infinite majesty, it directs great things, and is wonderful in high and low, as the prophet [Ps. 78, 31. Vulg.] says: "It killeth the fat in Israel, and preventeth the elect thereof." Therefore, in this matter, one must either despair of peace and tranquility, or deny the Word. It is a war of the LORD, who has not come to send peace. Beware, therefore, that you do not hope that Christ will be promoted on earth with peace and comfort, seeing that he fought with his own blood, and after him all the martyrs. I have hitherto unconsciously taught and held all the things of John Hus; John Staupitz also taught them in the same ignorance; in short, we are all unconsciously Hussites, yea, Paul and Augustine are quite proper Hussites. Behold, I beseech you, the monstrosities into which we fall without the Bohemian leader and teacher. I am amazed and do not know what to think, seeing such terrible judgments of God on mankind, that the quite obvious evangelical truth, now already publicly burned more than a hundred years ago, is considered condemned, and one is not allowed to confess this. Woe to the earth! Farewell.

Martin Luther.

No. 272.

(Wittenberg.) March

2. March 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends writings that had appeared against Eck.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 57 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 79. Printed in *Aurifaber*, vol. I, p. 251; in *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 426 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 346. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 681.

His in the Lord exceedingly dear Gdorg Spalatin,
Christ's servant at the court of Saxony.

JESus.

Hail! I am sending other news against Eck, my dear Spalatin; when you have read them, send them back. You see that the Leipzigers and Eck other Cologneers and Hochstrateners

will be. In my opinion, the conversation has the nature of Wilibald. For he is angry with O. Scheurl, and I also conclude this from other signs. But I do not like this way of raging against Eck, because it is a vituperative writing; and an open accusation is better than this stabbing behind your fence. Fare well and pray for me in the Lord. Friday after Invocavit [March 2] 1520, Martin Luther.

No. 273.

(Wittenberg.)

March 12 (1520.) 1530.

To Joseph Levin Metzsch in Mila.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1814. - This letter does not belong to the year 1520, where the editions place it, but to the year 1530. See No. 1519.

No. 274.

Basel.

March 15, 1520.

Conrad Pellicanus to Luther.

About the printings of Luther's writings that appeared in Basel; about the reading of them in the Minorite monastery there and the enumeration of Luther's patrons. Of the absence of the Cardinal of Sion; of the departure of Capito to Mainz and that of Rhenanus to Schlettstadt. On the death of Bruno Amerbach. About Luther's opponents among the Minorites; rebuke of the Erasmians. Encouragement of Luther to continue his literary work. About the rumor that Luther had escaped to Bohemia, that he and the Elector had been banished, and that his picture had been burned in Rome. Miscellaneous news.

1) *Dialogus*, meaning the farce *Eckius dedolutus*. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 29b. The passage referring to Scheurl (Riederer, Beitrag zu den Reformationen - Urkunden, p. 162) reads: "Friends: Now we want to summon physicians from Nuremberg, for there you also possess innumerable friends, namely Wilibald, and half of your soul, the twister (*dolorem*) *) of both rights. Corner: *Dolorem* you say? *Friends: Doctorem* we wanted to say. Eck. Who then? because I do not understand this sufficiently. *Friends*: That braggart, the rude, haughty, presumptuous man, whose father, whose mother, - don't you know him? How should I not know him, since I was recently at his wedding? I also used him as a spy to find out about Luther's affairs, because he acted as if he were his friend." - Wilibald is Pirkheimer. - In a letter to Otto Beckmann of March 27, 1520 (Scheurl's Briefbuch, p. 100), Scheurl writes that although he hears that such a writing, in which he is mocked, is being circulated, he does not seem to have read it yet

*) *Dolorem* here is mockingly law instead of *doctorem*. *Dolor* is here

due to dolus fraud, rack

Handwritten in the archive at Bern in *Epp. variae mss.* in quarto, p. 39 and in *Thes. Baum.*, I, fol. 70 in Strasbourg. Printed in Kolde's *Analecta*, p. II and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 354.

To the famous and most Christian theologian Doctor Martin Luther, Augustinian, at Wittenberg.

I, Conrad Pellican, Minorite, am so devoted to you, the chosen confessor of Christ, Martin Luther, and wish you all the best that, among my most noble intentions, I continue to pray to the divine mercy with pious sighs, praising you completely. With a sincere heart I implore, for the sanctification of his glorious name and for the prosperity of the church, that the merciful Lord, whose cause you have recently bravely begun and are happily carrying on, may long grant you to us unharmed, of great courage and victorious in the word of Christ, and may he preserve you; I hope that you will by no means be put to shame. He gives a great many for the sake of prayer, for he will condescend to hear those who are sincerely concerned for the welfare of his church.

By writing you a few things about many things, I will run through them briefly; I ask you not to be displeased with them. What has been done so far in studies at Basel, you can take from the [here printed] writings. 2) Last fall, while Frobenius was absent, his people printed the explanation of the power of the pope 3). Soon another, Andreas,⁴⁾ has spread all your small works in two or three parts equally, as you can see, which I have long since read, except for the defense against Eck, 5) which I have begun to write.

since it did not appear until July. Pirkheimer is the author of it. In the letter just mentioned, Scheurl still sends his regards to Luthern.

2) In the manuscripts and the *Analecta: accipe dee litteris* (?). The Erl. Briefw. has taken up Knaake's Conjectur offered in the Stud. und Krit. 1884, p. 593: *accipe brevibus* (?). The former reading seems to us not only not "incomprehensible", but quite appropriate. Pellican sent all these writings at the same time as his letter to Luther, as is evident from what follows. In reference to the printing of Cratander, he says: tu videbis, and after enumerating the various printings: *Omnia haec forsans simul cum his meis litteris ex Franckfordensi emporio recipies et gaudebis*.

3) Luther's explanation of his thirteenth thesis on the power of the pope, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 720.

4) Cratander.

5) This refers to "Luther's defense against the malicious judgment of Johann Eck on some articles imposed on him by some brothers. (St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1370.)

read, but not yet finished. Another, Adam, 1) has edited many of your German things, and the interpretation on the Epistle to the Galatians, and at the same time all the paraphrases of Erasmus on Paul, except the one addressed to the Hebrews; also the augmented Compendium, 2) by attacking indulgences, the nonsense of the Curtisans, the Pope's flatterers, the diminishers of faith and grace in quite an open manner, so that he seems to act expressly (*ex professo*) your cause, rather than of the Church, in a manner unusual to him. You will perhaps receive all this at the same time as this letter of mine from the Frankfurt fair and rejoice. Besides, I have a preacher, Brother Johann Luthard; he has a good head and is an eloquent and good man. In front of a very large audience he has recited your "ten commandments" 3), not without fruit, and privately he does not suffer that someone speaks badly of you and belittles you; he holds your writings as valuable as gold and reads them. Another brother, Lector of Theology, Sebastian Münster, who is not unknown to you, indeed to our Melanchthon⁴⁾, knows three languages and is an excellent professor of general mathematics, has been an interpreter of scholastic theology among the brothers for some years, is extraordinarily gifted and so far the most eager of my listeners. He has preferred to all his studies the work of translating your "ten commandments" into German, and has had them printed. This has brought immense benefit to the printer 5) but will be of far more use to the souls of the readers. Another very learned professor of theology, who was formerly at Tübingen and now teaches the brethren at Freiburg, is Johann von Ulm,⁶⁾ small in body but very great in gifts, an exceedingly good, God-fearing man (*religiosus*), and also very well known to Melanchthon. He is extraordinarily zealous for your writings, and is burdensome to me every day, so that he does not lack any of your work, and always wants to have more. I favor, promote and praise the studies of all. And that you may see to it that yours is always sent to us without delay,

1) Petri.

2) This is the writing of Erasmus: *Ratio seu methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram theologiam*. See No. 167.

3) *Praeceptorium*, that is, "the ten commandments preached to the people at Wittenberg. St. Louis edition, Vol. III, 1132. See the second note there.

4) Erl. Briefw.: *incognito* instead of *incognitus*.

5) Adam Petri.

6) That is, Johann Eberlin of Günzburg.

I ask for this above all things and implore it most urgently.

Recently, the Cardinal of Sion 7) was here; he took this up with our Bishop of Basel, who is already very fond of you and your writings, so that someone would not undertake to print the notes 8) of a certain Augustinian against you, although I do not know whether anyone could have been induced to do so by the printers.

W[olfgang] Fabricius Capito brings, as a preacher to the people, your teachings, but to our detriment he will exchange Basel with Mainz after Easter. 9) To the sorrow of the fine sciences, Bruno Amerbach has died; Beatus Rhenanus has left for Schlettstadt; there are few left for us and for the promotion 10) of the sciences. I am waiting from day to day whether the papal courtiers (*Curtisani*) will do something against you, because I am completely convinced that the pope, if he is not irritated by them, is not ill-disposed against you, because he judges far more modestly of the state and person of the pope than those Curtisani, the disgraceful flatterers, from whom he suffers all sorts of troubles, in that they impose upon him slander, frauds throughout the world, 11) most of all upon the ears of Rome, as I recently heard, when the General Chapter was held, where they preached lies, intermingled with frightful diatribes.

I ask you not to conceal from me who those brothers were whom you indicate, besides the corner, as opponents of your writings. 12) I fear that it might be our Minorites, who are zealous, but with a lack of understanding, who have so far detested their confreres, whom we have long been accustomed to call Martinians, with whom they refuse to have intercourse, as the Jews did with the Samaritans, who have been admonished by you everywhere in the most modest manner. Of the Wittenberg Minorites, I know Doctor Peter, 13) who, since he went to the general chapter at Lyons, was accompanied by my

7) Matthäus Schinner. Compare No. 90 - The bishop of Basel is Christoph von Uttenheim.

8) *frascas* == *folia, feuilles*. *Du Cange* s. v.

9) Kolde l. c. p. 11 erroneously says: "Capito wants to go to Basel."

10) Instead of *profectus* we have assumed *profectui*.

11) Instead of *infideles* have adopted *infigentes*.

12) Namely in the title of the already mentioned "defense of Luther against the malicious judgment of Eck". These are the Minorites at Jüterbock.

13) Peter Fontinus. About him, see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, Annex, No. 36, § 11.

Rufach, 1) he has been my guest for the second time, he seemed to me to be a good man; I would like to know whether he left you or not. Perhaps he fears (as many of ours do) the superiors of our order, the General Officer, a very astute Scotist. In time they will become tame. I have recently received the writings of a certain very good father, who speaks of the great stain of your vehemence in writing against Eck, and is sorry about it, so that Eck seems to him to be more modest, whose writings against you I have not yet read. In your other writings I do not miss a great modesty. In writing of such content, it seems to be necessary that such sophists are annoyed, otherwise they would not care about it at all. The sacrilegiousness of certain followers of Erasmus, who arouse an inhuman hatred against all monks without distinction, declaring them superstitious, Pharisees and impostors, is evident everywhere. All in all, they are enemies of the ceremonies, revile confession, the divine service, the ecclesiastical customs. It is true that in these things many things should be reformed; I do not deny that. I abhor many abuses, but they go too far: They write against the gospel, against Paul, against the fathers, quite rashly, not that they want or do anything better, but that they break the bruised reed, introduce worse things for it, confess nothing, pray nothing, ridicule everything, resist the good, judge most severely everything that displeases them, push those who are already inclined to vices, unbelief and wisdom of the flesh even more to the abyss. I wish that you, when writing, restrain the immoderate undertakings, set a measure for them, how far the monks are to be improved, but not exterminated. Certainly it is a good thing (*praestat*) to take our senses captive in Christ, to avoid the dangers of the world, to stand by one another through fraternal communion, to implore Christ's grace without ceasing, and the ceremonies do not make this unjust. I wish you would rebuke 2) such efforts; they may be charmed by lies. 3) Out of all power, the followers of Erasmus crush monasticism with words, writings and deeds; as once the Origenists, so the Erasmians deceive Erasmus.

Continue, we all implore, with the remaining epistles. Do not pass over Isaiah and immediately [continue] with the Psalter. We will pray that the Holy Spirit will assist you. You may write what you want to present, not with high and grand words, but in the word of truth, according to the testimony of the Scriptures, in Christian fervor, fearing nothing, for the sake of the church and to save the holy liberty of consciences, whatever adversities may occur.

There is a rumor, but a vague and dark one, that you fled to Bohemia last summer. Now they say about the ban against your prince and against you, yes, they gossip that your image was burned in Rome. So you are a fairy tale to the world. It would do you good to hear from you often, so that we do not believe that you have died. Would God that the trade would go out to a fruitful general concilium! I would hope that many things would become better; the shepherds would wake up and yield to the worldly, and act godly. Must not the Roman ordinaries or use concede what is intelligible? Now we have prayers throughout Lent, we don't know from which saints, all other churches to laugh at, what our fathers have thought up so far only some 4) that no one has been able to do it. I am silent about so many fictitious old and new fables, which are generally inserted without special choice, which we are forced to hear and believe even against our will. There is no one with us who is not very favorable to you. There are a few old clowns, remnants of the old breed, who perish with spite, want to bite, but do not dare; they are held down by the crowd and the erudition of yours. Two Augustinian doctors do not openly confess yours either, because they were once instructed far differently than you teach, but they like to hear that such a glorious ornament of their order is praised. The prior of the regular canons of St. Leonhard, an extraordinary friend of the studies and of the students, loves you from the bottom of his heart to such an extent that he has decided to go to Wittenberg to see you and to converse with you, since the time for the Westphalian chapter has approached. I have read the interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians for the third time, and have read the more detailed and very frequent annexes.

1) Rufach in Alsace. Instead of: *per me Rubeacum* we have assumed: *per meum Rubeacum*.

2) Instead of *improborum* we have assumed *improbare*s.

3) Kolde reads *fastinentur* instead of *fascinentur*.

4) Instead of *utrinque* we have assumed *utcunque*.

I have left aside some remarks that do not reflect your way of speaking and have put short and sparse ones in their place. I ask you to interpret this for the best. If you send something, we will decorate it splendidly by printing Frobenius or others. You will have me entirely [at your service] if it is permitted by the fathers that I remain at Basel. But I ask you again and again to send more of your own. I ask you to send my warmest regards to Philipp Melancthon. I wish you both happiness that your hearts have agreed for the glory of God. All my brothers wish you constant prosperity in the Lord, that you may be mindful of us, that they may deserve to receive the streams of your scholarship over and over again. If you send something to Johann Oecolampad in Augsburg, I will receive it occasionally; he is an old friend of mine, honest and very learned. When our Capito has left, I will gladly take his place for you, if it seems good to you. Fare well, my dear Martin, and count this little tale of mine to my simplicity, and take it as a pledge of the friendship we have begun. I do not demand letters from you again, but books, *commentaries*, volumes. Take care that nothing of yours is hidden from us for long. From Basel, March 15, 1520.

Yours, Conrad P[ellican] from Rufach,
servant of the Minorite Brothers at Basel,
with my own hand.

No. 275.

Wittenberg.

March 19, 1520.

To Spalatin.

From the Hebrew professorship. Luther sends the verdicts of condemnation from Louvain and Cologne and responds to them. About a writing of Hus; about signs in the sky that were seen in Vienna.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 59 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 80. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 251 b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 427 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. II, p. 3tz2. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 682.

To the highly esteemed Mr. Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, ducal court preacher 2c., his most beloved in Christ. JESus.

Hail! I thought you had written to D. Calvus, my dear Spalatin, what you had said about Werner to the most noble prince.

would be closed. Therefore, I exhorted him by letter to hasten the arrival of man to us; you see what he replies.

I send the Louvain and Cologne Asses, 1) to whom I now answer in print; also the Johann Hus,;²⁾ if you will, read it, and send it back after you have read it; not only does everyone like it, but both its spirit and scholarship are wonderful. Two thousand copies of Thomas Anshelm 3) have been published. The news, namely the flames and fire signs, they say, are with you, the phenomena which have been seen in the sky at Vienna, 4) which I also wish to see. Perhaps my tragedy is also in it, as it was in the previous [writings]. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Monday after Lätare [March 19] 1520.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 276.

Wittenberg.

March 21, 1520.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2492, annex, no. 56.

No. 277.

Wittenberg
1520.

21. 5) March

To Alexius Chrosner, canon in Altenburg.

Luther wishes to be allowed to appropriate the *Ratio confitendi* to him.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 254; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 433; in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 370 and in the Weim. German in -Walch, vol. XXI, 685.

2) This is, "Die lehrmäßige Verdammung der Bücher Luthers durch einige Magistri nostri zu Löwen und Köln", St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1337 ff, no. 421. See also the introduction to the 18th volume, p. 29 b f.

2) The book of Hus *de ecclesia*.

3) Anshelm, first a printer in Strasbourg in 1488, then in Pforzheim and Tübingen, then in Hagenau.

4) Luther means the "Interpretation and meaning of the miraculous signs, which [on Jan. 3-7, 1520] have been seen in the skies at Vienna in Austria" published by the astronomer Johann Virdung von Hassfurt 2c.

5) The Latin editions date this letter: 7. *Calend. Aprilis*, that is, March 26, Walch (probably by false redaction): "den 24. Martii". The former date is undoubtedly wrong, the latter hardly.

To the exceedingly righteous Lord Alexius Chrosner of Colditz, canon of Altenburg, his [friend] Christo.

JEsus.

Hail! Georg Spalatin, your colleague and our mutual friend, once demanded and forced a letter from me 1) in which I briefly drafted a way in which one should confess, because the complaint reached me everywhere and among others that the way of confession was extremely burdensome and completely confused. Since I realized that I was being asked to do something spiteful and unbearable to the ecclesiastical tyrants, I postponed it for a while until I was forced to calm my friend down to some extent by means of a confidential and private letter. Since he had now communicated this booklet or letter to one and the other, which he could also do with full right, and had not offended me, it finally began to be in danger and also to be desired in print. 3)

Mindful here of how my friends also take care of my syllables, I have been forced to reclaim the rambling writing⁴) again, and, although in a hurry and very busy with other things, to overlook it again myself, and, after a few things have been changed and added, to anticipate an edition on the part of others. I know that this matter should have been left to far more learned people, then (as they say) held back for nine years and considered again and again;

correct. It cannot be assumed, as we have already stated in the 19th volume of our edition, Introduction, p. 37, note 2, that Luther sent "the way how to confess" to Spalatin "without preface" (which has been omitted in print, see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, annex, no. 29) on March 25, and on the day after, March 26, asked Chrosnern to allow that this writing be dedicated to him. We still hold to the assumption that "VII. *Calend. Aprilis*" from XII. *Cal. Aprilis* [March 21] will be read.

1) Instead of *exigit*, the Weim. *Ausg. exegit* is to be read.

2) *non* is first inserted here by Walch and recorded by the later editions.

3) *desiderari* in Aurifaber and in the Weimar edition; in the other editions, after Walch's process: *desiderare*.

4) Weimar edition: *vagabundum*; in the other editions: *vagabundos*. - On January 18, 1520 (No. 254), Luther reclaimed this writing from Spalatin.

But the die was cast, and we could no longer do anything else as we pleased. I have begun to presume on the spirit that knows nothing of slow undertakings. I therefore ask you to allow this, whatever it may be in trifles or things, to go out under your name, because since you are equal to Spalatin in almost every respect, you should not appear unequal to him in this either. Fare well, and leave me in the hands of the Lord and excuse me. Wittenberg, March 21, 1520.

Martin Luther.⁶⁾

No. 278.

Wittenberg.

March 25, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2439, annex, no. 29.

No. 279.

Wittenberg.

March 25, 1520.

To Martin Seligmann, preacher at Mansfeld.

Luther thanks for the transmission of the verdicts of condemnation, which he has already received elsewhere; his answer will be ready for printing tomorrow. Many consider this writing to be similar to that of the dark ones, but it is really genuine. Greetings. Luther reports the death of his sister Barbara. -

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 253; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 431 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 367. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 683.

To his Martin Seligmann, the godly and righteous priest, who is highly esteemed in Christ, and his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I thank you for the gift sent to me, my dear Martin, but it was the same monster 7) already sent to me before

5) Our Conjecture for *sextirno Calen. April*. The Weimar edition notes: "in the first edition [which one?], in which the letter is found, it bears a later date [which one?], which must have been added later.

6) In the Weimar edition, the signature is missing.

7) The verdict of condemnation of the theologians of Louvain and Cologne on the books of Luther. See No. 275.

I have also replied to it, and tomorrow it will be completed in print. There are many among us, and even the princely court, who think that this creation is a larva of the dark ones, which the envious have instigated to attack me and to seek an opportunity; by the way, you will see from the letter of Dorpius 1) that it is true. From Philip you will receive everything. Greet in my name Pastor Jonas,²⁾ Johann Reineck and Wilhelm, then also my flesh and blood. The people of Leipzig and Meissen are making a clamor like crows, but there is nothing to it. I hear that my sister Barbara 3) has died; may she rest in peace, amen. All of us will also follow. Farewell and pray to the Lord for me. Wittenberg, on the day of the Annunciation [March 25] 1520. Martin Luther.

No. 280.

(Wittenberg.)

March 26, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends him the letter of Dorpius. He is glad that he did not reply to Cardinal Adrian's letter out of oversight.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 58 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 79. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 253k; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 432 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 369. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 684.

His Lord in the Lord, George Spalatin, Christ's servant, the priest.

Jesus.

Hail! The other day, my dear Spalatin, I forgot to send you Dorpius' letter, which I had received from Antwerp along with others. Read it now and see if you have to believe that it is a fictitious thing that comes out of it. It is

1) He was the only theologian in Louvain who did not agree with the verdict of condemnation. He died young in 1525.

2) Chamberlain. - Johann Reineck, metallurgist in Mansfeld, Luther's schoolmate in Magdeburg. - Wilhelm" is Reifenstein, treasurer of the Count of Mansfeld.

3) She is said to have been much younger than Luther and unmarried.

but, as I believe you know, the most learned of all the Leuven, not only according to the testimony of Erasmus, but also according to this letter of his and another, which Erasmus added to his collection. 4)

I thank the Lord, who directed my mind elsewhere, that I did not carefully read the Cardinal of Tortosa 5), who writes most ungodly that the divine and the natural right is in the hands of man, who uses the divine power. I would not have passed by this horrible abomination if I had been present. Farewell and pray to the Lord for me. The day after the Annunciation [March 26] 1520.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 281.

Wittenberg.

March 29, 1520.

To Duke John of Saxony.

Write-up of the Sermon of Good Works.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1298.

No. 282.

Wittenberg.
1520.

End of March

To Christoph Blank.

Zueignung der Antwort auf das Verdammungsurtheil der Magistri nostri zu Löwen und Köln. In the 15th volume we have dated the writing from March 26, because Luther says in the letter to Seligmann from March 25 (No. 279) that the writing will be finished in print tomorrow.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1346, no. 421 d.

No. 283.

(Leipzig.)

(Early April 1520.)

Augustin Alveld to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1002.

4s A letter from Dorpius to Erasmus dated July 14, 1518 in *Farrago nova epp. Des. Erasmi, Basil. apud Froben.*, Oct. 1519, p. 171.

5) That is, the letter of Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, to the theological faculty of Louvain. St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1345.

No. 284.

(Wittenberg.)

April 13, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Explanation about Joh. 15, 5.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 81. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 4; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 438 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 379. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 686.

To the Magister Georg Spalatin. JEsus.

Hail! I have received the question, my dear Spalatin, which you asked, what the word of Christ Joh. 15, 5. means: "Without me you can do nothing." First of all, I believe that you are familiar with the two *discerptiones* (*distinctiones*) of the Magistri nostri taught in this passage, the first of which is: the *influence* (*influentialiam*) of God is either a general one or a special one, which they understand in this way: by the general influence we are able to do what is proper to nature without grace, which those think is neither merit nor sin, but a kind of neutral thing, or morally good works, as walking, standing, working, praying, eating, and what we see men do outwardly that is not manifestly evil; By the special influence we are able to do that which is proper to grace and above nature, namely, to do meritorious things only and to avoid sins, so that the general influence is a being and working of nature, the special one a being and working of grace. Then follows the other distinction: doing something else in a beginning way, and doing something else in a perfect way; that in a beginning way belongs to the general influence, that in a perfect way to the special. Then "Without me you can do nothing" will mean: that is, in a perfect way, or through the special influence; but certainly in a beginning way, that is, through the general influence we can do something; this is as much as to say: through our powers (by the general influence standing still) we can prepare ourselves to receive the grace or the special influence, that we can do something meritorious, but we cannot, since the same influence stands still, also do something out of our own power.

do something meritorious with our strength. This is how this saying has been interpreted and understood up to now.

Incidentally, Christ, who condemns this general influence or being of nature altogether, therefore, because nature cannot but seek what is hers, and abuse the gifts of God, speaks unreservedly and without distinction, that without the special influence (as they call it) or grace of God nothing can be done that is not worthy of fire in the sight of God, as he continues by saying [v. 6.] "He that abideth not in me is cast away as a branch, and is withered; and they gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they must burn." Behold, the branch apart from Christ not only does not green up and bear fruit, but also withers (that is, goes bad and perishes), and not only goes bad and withers, but is also gathered and separated from the vine and thrown into the fire 2c. In such a way, then, he who is driven only by the general influence and forces of nature, becomes worse and worse, and comes further from Christ, and is prepared for the fire, however much he may outwardly appear to be moral and well-doing, so that we see from this, that without Christ we can do nothing either by a general or a special influence, and everything that is done by the general influence alone, however great it may be, is more against Christ than for Christ, which is sufficiently evident in the hypocrites, who do great and many things, but from an exceedingly evil disposition. That is why Christ exhorts with such great zeal that in him, as the vine, the branches should abide, because it is impossible that they should not continually grow worse if they do not abide in him, just as it is impossible that those who do not abide in the way should not continually go more and more astray if they do not return to the way. Therefore, no distinction is necessary here, as if the general influence is not the way of error, since this [influence] is a gift of God by grace, free of charge, given to such people who are not worthy of the gift and always misuse it, just as wine and gold are given to the godless people in

The word "influence" is turned into a daily abuse, where it could be said that the thing flowing from God (*influxam*) is good, but its use cannot be good if those who use the thing are not first made healthy by grace. Thus no one uses the general influence (that is, the dangerous word), which is the being and working of nature, other than in an evil way and to nothingness, unless he remains as a vine in Christ. For as to the pure all things are pure, so to the impure nothing is pure, Titus 1:15, and as with the saints all things work together for good, so with the wicked all things work together for evil. For who can deny that a fornicator, an adulterer, a murderer, a blasphemer does his work by the help of the general influence? For how could he do these things if he had not the being and the working of nature? But who would dare to say that this means to do good in a beginning way and to prepare it for grace? Thus a work apart from grace, however good it may seem, because there is no good disposition in the heart apart from grace, cannot be other than evil against grace, and can in no way begin to be able to do something for grace. But all this concerns the matter (*materiam*) of grace and free will, which is exceedingly great and extensive, rather very brief, therefore it cannot all be stated in so few words. Fare well and pray for me. At the hour you left. [1520. On Friday in Easter week (April 13).]

1)

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 285.

(Wittenberg.)

April 16, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2403, annex, no. 12.

No. 286.

Wittenberg.

April 27, 1520.

To Joh. Heß in Breslau.

Luther gives thanks for a gift. He expresses the wish that the Bishop of Breslau may remain with them longer, and answers questions about the priesthood.

1) The brackets are added by Spalatin.

Handwritten in the royal library in Berlin, *Ms. lat. theol.* (Octav) 91, p. 101. Printed in J. W. Fischer's Reformation History of the Main and Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalene in Breslau, 1817, p. 48; in E. Krafft, 14 Letters of Luther (in the Theol. Arbeiten aus dem rhein. wissenschaft. Prediger-Verein, edited by Evertsbusch, vol. 2, 1874), p. 92, no. 1 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. II, p.384.

Martin to his Heß.

Hail! I will write more at another time, my dear Hess; now I do this with very few words, since I am very busy, just so that you do not believe that your letter has not been handed over to me. The other will be reported by Moiban 2) himself. I thank you for the Emperor Honorius, but I thank you even more for your prayers, which you promise me and on which I rely not a little, as I am also in great need of them. May the Lord have mercy on your bishop 3) and preserve him for us longer. Your colleagues will teach you about the ordination to the priesthood 4) as far as the ceremonies are concerned; but as far as the spirit of faith is concerned, the German sermon 5) gives some information about this, to which another will be added soon, which is given by me about the use of the mass. 6) For as far as the use of the Mass is concerned, you must make no distinction between a priest and a layman, [it is] One Bread, One Faith, One Communion, only that the office belongs to the latter, but not to the former. Of this elsewhere. Now be well and pray for me, as you do. Wittenberg, 1520, Friday after Misericordias Domini [April 27].

Your Martin Luther.

2) Ambrosius Moiban, later the college of Heß in Breslau, teacher at the cathedral school and soon after at the Maria-Magdalenaschule there. He first taught Greek there. - The "Emperor Honorius" will be a coin, because Hess was a coin collector.

3) John VI of Thurzo from Hungary, bishop from Jan. 21, 1506 to Aug. 2, 1520. Heß was held in great esteem by him and through him had become Canonikus at Neisse and Breslau.

4) Hess was awaiting ordination to the priesthood, which he received on June 2.

5) Sermon on the Reverend Sacrament of the Holy True Body 2c. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 426 ff.

6) Luther's Sermon on the New Testament, that is, on the Holy Mass. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1036.

No. 287.

Wittenberg.

May 1, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Of Hebrew books; of the difficulty for the new professor of Hebrew, Adrian, to obtain an apartment; of the widow Landmann; of letters from Nuremberg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Gothan*. B 20, No. 9 and in *Cod. Jen. a* fol. 318. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 263; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 442 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 395. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 691.

His venerable, honorable Georg Spalatin, court preacher to the Elector of Saxony, Christ's servant

JEsus.

Hail! I am returning your dean's letter, enclosing the one I received from Nuremberg. Matthew Adrian thinks that you should write to Doctor Paschas at Magdeburg about the Hebrew books. If you have done it first, I will do it too, and soon; see that it is done. As far as my matter is concerned, I will see to it.

Every day, a number of students stream in, but the narrow city cannot hold them all and many are forced to leave again. For Adrian, too, we are unable to procure a dwelling sufficient for man, and it does not please us to expel others for his sake, which is what he has begun to work towards. If he should write or act in regard to this matter (for he himself wanted to act there personally), you know my and Philip's opinion: we will not cooperate, nor will we consent to anyone being expelled from the house of the treasurer or anyone else against his will; but if they want to leave out of good will, then we will gladly be grateful.

If you can obtain an answer for our widow Landmann, whether it contains a discount or a grant, then I ask you to do it soon. For I have noticed a certain trifle in the matter, but it almost makes me regret having taken the trouble; that is how everything gets confused and tangled nowadays. After all

I worked towards it, if not everything can go out according to her liking, then she should let go what can go, let fall what falls, peace be better than war. I do not know if I have done anything. Fare well in the Lord.

From Nuremberg I have received letters from Staupitzen, which at last indicate more praise and firmer hope in my cause than I was accustomed to hearing before. Wenceslaus writes thus: We have received the doctrinal asses 2); and he has good hope. Thus my ship rocks to and fro; soon hope, soon fear has the upper hand; but I care nothing for it. Wittenberg, May 1, 1520. Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 288.

Wittenberg.

May 5, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Of letters; of Alveld's writing, to which Luther wants to have his famulus answer. A thanksgiving to the Elector.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A, No. 62 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 84. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 264; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 445 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 397. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 692.

Mr. Georg Spalatin, priest of Christ, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I am sending the letter to Veit Bild, my dear Spalatin, together with the letter of Peter Aquensis,³⁾ as he ordered. Hutten, Fabricius, Pellican and Erasmus have been written by both of us and by many others.

Finally, the brother Augustin von Alveld came out with his hunk, 4) but it is too inconsistent that I should lose hours with the answer to him. The whole

2) The doctrinal condemnation 2c. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 1337.

3) *Petrus Aquensis, Canonicus* at St. Martin in Münster.

4) *offa*, that is Alveld's writing: *Super apostolica sede* 2c., the title of which is given in full in the 18th volume of the St. Louis edition, Introduction, p. 31 b.. There, p. 32, is also the title of Loniker's answer.

The way of thinking (*ingenium*), the brain, the nose, the mouth, the hair, yes, everything that this booklet contains indicates that Leipzig ox 1): everywhere he uses the same images and inventions that he used in his exceedingly dirty book against the Picards. He will be answered by others, and I will employ my brother Famulus to exercise his poetry and oratory against this stupid ox.

I ask you rather to thank the most noble prince in my name. For you know that I am not easily at hand to bother those busy ears with my letters. Dear God, how much is pouring in, and how much more is promised to us through letters, that many people will flock to us. Farewell and pray also for me. Wittenberg, May 5, 1520, Martin Luther.

The letter of Aquensis send back, as I will answer.

No. 2 89.

(Wittenberg.)

May 5, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 2458, anh., no.38.

No. 290 .

Wittenberg.

7.²⁾ May 1520.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

About a parish or field in dispute between Günther von Staupitz and the convent of the Augustinian monastery in Wittenberg.

In the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 16; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 390; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 545; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 38; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 444 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 8.

1) That is Dungersheim von Ochsenfart. He had published two writings against the Picards in 1514. It was assumed that Alveld had not written them, but had only given his name to them, as Luther also indicates in the preface to his writing, "Vom Pabstthum zu Rom" 2c.

2) This date is Conjectur Burkhardt, p. 28: "Probably Monday after *Inventionis Crucis*, which is the 7th time; wrong in any case the 2nd of May." The latter date has De Wette and according to him the Erl. Edition. "Cross Invention" is May 3, in 1520 a Thursday.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Friederich, Duke of Saxony, Elector and Vicar of the Holy Roman Empire 2c., Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious lord and patron.

JEsus.

Most Serene, Highborn, Most Gracious Prince and Lord, My Sublime Service Be E. C. F. G. always ready beforehand. Most gracious Lord, E. C. F. G.'s letter to me, I have received submissively, and understood, as E. C. F. G. pleases, that I was entitled to the parish lands for the same perpetual interest, in order to avoid future quarrels. However, I am surprised, most gracious Lord, that Günther von S[taupitz] always pretends to your churfl. Your Grace always claims such a cause of quarrel, which has now been acted upon for almost the third time, and has always become worse. There must remain quarrels where one acts in this way. I can't understand how this some hoof has become so quarrelsome in Günther's time, so he has mixed more hoofs among other hoofs much more, about which no complaint of quarrel comes. If I had not seen it myself, my lord, I would also think that the quarrel was the cause, and not the great advantage, and the parish disadvantage. But, my lord, I am not powerful in this matter alone, and now I know so much about what happiness arises where it happens without the will of the convent, that I am glad, and E. C. F. G. that it has come to this, that the letters are returned to the Convention, and that I am out of the matter. I find, however, that the parish priest and the convent are in no way willing to let Günther have his hoofs, so that I report their cause here to the elector's grace and, as much as I am aware of it, do something about the matter. The dog is so often beaten over the nose that it once becomes shy. For this reason, I request, in addition to the Convention, that Your Electoral Grace will take our opinion into consideration. Your Grace will graciously accept our opinion for the best, or forgive us for a while. We want to owe this to your honor and humbly diligence before God. Given at Wittenberg, on Monday [after] Inventionis Crucis [May 7] Anno 1520.

E. C. F. G. submissive Capellan D. Martin
Luther, Augustinian.

No. 291 .

(Wittenberg.)

May 13, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2503, annex, no. 63.

No. 292 .

(Wittenberg.)

May 17, 1520.

To Spalatin.

About a matter of Adrian. Luther is surprised that some scholars like Alveld's writing.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 64 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 85. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 266 d; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 449 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 403. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 694.

To His Most Worshipful in the Lord, M. Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his most esteemed [friend].

Jesus.

Hail! Our Adrian asks you to see to it that this letter is handed over to the Prince. In addition, he asks if you would not allow him to go to Zerbst himself and pay his respects to the Prince of Brunswick in his own cause. For someone from Brunswick has written to him that he should do this. Then he also asks this, that you write again to D. Busso von Alvensleben about the Hebrew books of which we have written before. What kind of person this may be, I do not know, you may watch.

Dear, listen, what I am very surprised about in regard to my cause: Alveld's book has begun to please D. Heynitz 1) at Meissen, as D. Wolfgang Stehlin reports, who also likes it. I ask you, is it not surprising that such great people have no nose? I will take care that every thing is called by its right name. 2) Farewell. 1520 on Thursday after Sophia [May 17].

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

1) Nicolaus von Heynitz, Doctor of Laws, Councillor to Duke George of Saxony, Provost of Bautzen, member of the Meissen and Altenburg Cathedral Chapters. He died in 1526.

2) *ut scapha scapha, serra serra appelletur* == that a punt is called a punt, a saw a saw.

No. 293 .

(Wittenberg.)

May 30, 1520.

To Heinrich von Büнау, archdeacon in Osterwiek.

Luther wants to provide him with caplains; he exhorts him to steadfastness; the fact that many are opposed to the doctrine is a sign that it is right and God's word.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* (Quart), No. 185. Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 31; in De Wette Vol. I, p. 450 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 404.

To the excellent man, Mr. Heinrich von Büнау, archdeacon and pastor at Osterwiek,³⁾ his in Christ highly venerable and honorable [friend].

Hail! I too knew that Thomas 4) could not postpone his matter, my dear sir; but I am glad that everyone is eager for the word of God. I will indeed use the advice and help of my friends and make an effort to see if we can provide you, worthy sir, with caplains. In the meantime, let your constancy be like yourself, that is, constancy in the Lord. It is nothing new nowadays, when the world is agitated because of the word of God. Herod, and with him all Jerusalem, is frightened by the mere preaching that Christ has been born; why should not the earth tremble and the sun be darkened when one hears of the death of Christ? But it is a sign to me that the doctrine is sound, when many, and great and wise men, are offended at it. For so it is said in Ps. 78:31 [Vulg.], "And he slew their fat ones, and hindered the elect in Israel," and [Luc. 2:34], "He is set for a sign to be contradicted, and for the fall and rising of many," not among the Gentiles, but "in Israel" and "the elect." The foolish, the weak before the world, and that which is nothing, God always chooses [1 Cor. 1, 27. f.], and it is written [Prov. 3, 32. Vulg.], that the speech of wisdom

3) In Latin: *Elsterwicensi*. But Heinrich von Büнау was at Osterwiek an der Ilse, in the district of Halberstadt. De Wetie-Seidemann, vol. VI, 485, note 2.

4) In a letter of April 21, 1520, Büнау tried to win Thomas Münzer as a chaplain for himself, but he was already in negotiation with the council of Zwickau. (Seidemann, Münzer, p. 6. Büнау's letter there, p. 107.)

is with those who walk in simplicity. May the Lord Jesus preserve your reverence, Amen. Wittenberg, on the Wednesday of Pentecost [May 30] 1520.
Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 294.

Wittenberg.

May 31, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends letters which he asks to be forwarded. Loniker's writing will be ready for printing tomorrow. Leipzig's envy against Wittenberg. Dungersheim is to write against Feldkirch. Luther's German writing against Alveld is in print. Inquiry as to whether Luther should write to the Elector on account of the grievances in Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 66 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 86. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 267; in De Wette, vol. 1, p. 451 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 405. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 695.

To his in the Lord exceedingly dear Magister Georg Spalatin, ducal court preacher and secretary, his very honest friend.

JEsus.

Hail! I am sending letters to Hütten, Sickingen and our Taubenheim, my dear Spalatin; I beg you, let it be your command to take care of them in due time, especially that Taubenheim receives his as soon as possible, for I myself have been delayed longer than he might have expected. Loniker's paper 1) will be ready tomorrow. The Leipzigers are anxious to keep their students; 2) they boast that Erasmus will come to them. How busy and yet how unhappy is the envy. A year ago, when they mocked at us as if we were defeated, they did not foresee that this cross was in store for them. The Lord reigns so that we can grasp it with our hands. Ochsenfart should arm himself against Feldkirchen's booklet 3) in which he is being hounded. I have a German book against the donkey from

Alveld completed, which is now under press.

Give advice whether I should write to the prince for help for our community. Everything is becoming very expensive, and the supply is insufficient; also, nothing is administered in a proper manner, with this completely confused and neglected government. Something could be done in Wittenberg if there were some order in the administration. Here, the council and the prince's reputation would be in need. Answer and be well. Wittenberg, Thursday after Pentecost [May 31] 1520.
Martin Luther, August.

No. 295 .

(Wittenberg.)

(May? 1520.) 4)

To Spalatin.

Ueber das betrügerische Handeln des Günther von Staupitz.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 319. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 293; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 540 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 407. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 789.

Günther Staupitz has, according to all of us and also according to his own judgment, been invented in such a way that he has deceived us by an enormous overstatement. This little soup is getting sour to me, so that it makes me disgusted to act in such matters. For who would believe that anyone would be so audacious, especially such a man who is so close to us, that he should deceive our trust in such a gross and impudent manner? But we have accepted his excuse that he did not know the value of the two pieces. Therefore, we expect the declaration of invalidity (*cassationowem*) of the most illustrious prince, since we, too, have already invalidated everything out of twofold right and name.

No. 296 .

Mainz.

June 4, 1520.

Ulrich von Hutten to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1633, no. 490.

1) Walch translates, "Lonicer will be let away tomorrow."

2) After the Leipzig Disputation, many students went from Leipzig to Wittenberg.

3) *Confutatio inepti et impii libelli F. Augustini Alved, Franciscani Lipsici, p[ro] D. Martino Luth.* Reprinted in the Latin Wittenberg edition, tom. II, fol. 203b. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, inset, p. 32a.

4) That this undated letter belongs to this time is evident from the same content with No. 290.

No. 297.

(Wittenberg.)

June 7, 1520.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

Luther expresses his regret that the letter of Crotus, which he had sent to Hess, had not arrived. About Eck's triumphs in Rome and a new writing of Silvester Prierias.

Handwritten at the royal library in Berlin, *Ms. theol. lat.* (Octav) 91, Bl. 98. Printed by Fischer, *Ref.-Gesch. der Mar. - Magdal. - Kirche in Breslau*, 1817, p. 48; in C. Krafft, *14 Briefe Luthers in den Theol. Arbeiten des rheinischen wissenschaftlichen Predigervereins*, II, 92 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 411.

Martin Luther to his Hess.

Hail! Although you only send me your greetings, my dear Heß, I want to repay you more abundantly, and also write, but briefly, as my occupation permits. Crotus has also written to you from Bamberg, as he did to me. I am surprised that his letter has not reached you, for I have, if I am not mistaken, arranged it very beautifully and faithfully, although he has written that I should tear it up if you were not present. My letter had gone to Italy when he left, and he did not know that it came to meet him. Eck seizes the coveted fame in Rome. He was led by the Cardinal of the Four Crowned 1) to the holy pope and kissed the holy feet, again the pope kissed him, to the astonishment of all, and that since he was sitting publicly before all eyes on the chair of his majesty. Would God that they would also lick, lick, spit and bite each other in such a way, writes the one who writes: Luther has gracious gods in Rome, but no men. What do you think will become of it? Perhaps the sky will fall, and many pots will be smashed. Silvester Prierias has spewed another, so blasphemous slobber, 3) that reading these things alone almost kills me. We will publish this booklet, which has escaped from hell (*tartareum*), with Luther's annotations. In the meantime, you do what you do, and

1) *Quatuor Coronatorum*, the Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci.

2) It seems to us that the reading here is corrupted.

3) The Epitome, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 422. See also the introduction there, p. 19d f.

Greetings to the friends, Michael 4) and Krautwald, together with all. To the most reverend bishop 5) I wish the grace of Christ. In Him you are also well. On the seventh of June 1520. Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 298.

Wittenberg.

(Before June 8, 1520.) 6)

To Spalatin.

Luther sends the epitome of Prierias. Of the writing against Alveld; of the plan of the writing to the nobility of the German nation; of the postilla being prepared for printing; of his letter to the Churfürst because of the theurung.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. A*, No. 84 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 107. Printed in Aurifaber; vol. I, p. 289b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 452 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 413... German in Walch, vol. XXI, 723.

To his extremely honorable Georg Spalatin, the pious and learned man, Christ's servant.

JEsus.

Hail! I send the Nuremberg letter, my dear Spalatin, with Silvester's epitome, which he himself calls *epithoma*, the man who does not understand Greek and is a cook 7) in Latin. Send it back immediately, for it shall soon be printed to the praise and honor of all enemies of truth, with my annotations. "I think they are all mad, foolish, raging, nonsensical at Rome. Fools, sticks, stones, hell and devils." Now see what is to be hoped from Rome, which allows this infernal poison (*hunc tartarum*) to go out into the church. Indeed, these monsters overcome me by the greatness of their foolishness.

Against the ass of Alveld I will arrange my attack in such a way that I am not unaware of the Roman pope, and I will not give anything to either of them. For this is what the material necessitates. End

4) Michael Williger, canon in Breslau, and Valentin Krautwald, the later Schwenkfeldianer.

5) Johann Thurzo.

6) This time determination results from comparison with Melancthon's letter to Hess, *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 201. (Kolde, M. Luther, p. 387 p. 256.)

7) This refers to the intentional misprint in the Basel edition *Magiri Palatii* instead of *Magistri*. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 20, note.

Once the secrets of the Antichrist have to be revealed. Because this is how they push themselves out and do not want to be hidden any further.

I intend to issue a public note to the emperor and the nobility throughout Germany, against the tyranny and unworthiness of the Roman court.

The interpretations of the Epistles and Gospels are prepared for printing.

I am writing to the most illustrious prince for support of our commonwealth; I beg you, let this matter be of equal concern to you. For if this is not done, it will come about that we will soon starve, or be fed too sumptuously 1). Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1520, Brother Martin Luther.

No. 299.

Münnerstadt. June 11, 1520,

Silvester von Schaumburg to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1631, no. 489.

No. 300 .

Wittenberg. June 13, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Of slanders against Lotther. The epitome of Prierias is in print. Melanchthon should rather read about Paul than Pliny 2c.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 67 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 87. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 267d; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 454 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 417. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 696.

To his extremely dear Lord Georg Spalatin, the most illustrious prince's secretary and court preacher, the pious and learned man.

JEsus.

Hail! There is nothing of Lotther that you may believe the pretenders, my dear Spalatin; the speeches that have reached you are words of men; we know otherwise. Primarily those complain who have nothing to do with the matter; I judge the same about the teachers of the boys' school (*Paedagogii*);

1) That is, at too great a cost.

that I just say it: you seem to have received what you write from D. Wolfgang 2) and his followers (*genitivis*). Let that bishop Zacharias come,³⁾ in the name of the Lord. Silvester's nonsense is under the press. We are also surprised about the sudden marriage of our Adrian and wish him all the best.

About our Philip I also do not determine anything, as far as Pliny is concerned. He reads Paul to the Romans with far greater benefit than many can bring Pliny; and what this is, that a head is burdened daily with three public lectures, you consider, so that we do not kill the man.

That Fach resigns his priesthood does not move me very much; rather, I am moved by the fact that the priesthoods of this church have to be bought for so much money that no poor person can get them, and that by the statutes of men. I ask you, do you not think that this extortion is robbery? Many others dislike this condition under which one must obtain the priesthoods.

To Emperor Carl, may the Lord give His Spirit for growth in truth against the enemy of truth, Rome, amen. Farewell. Wittenberg, 1520, Wednesday after the Feast of Corpus Christi [June 13].

M. Luther, Aug.

No. 301

Wittenberg. June 15, 1520.

To Georg Kunzelt, pastor in Eilenburg.

When asked, Luther states how he begins and closes his sermons.

Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 12 (from the original in the town hall at Burg near Magdeburg, which, however, could no longer be found there upon request); by Löscher, Vol. III, p. 955 (who places the letter among those of 1519, but notes: "scheinet schon 1518 datirt zu sein"); by De Wette, Vol. I, p. 455 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 418. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 697.

2) Stehelin.

3) Both Seidemann and the Erl. Briefwechsel refer this passage to D. Joh. Zacharias, who at the Council of Costrnitz overcame Joh. Hus with a forged Bible (Tischreden, Cap. 58, § 5) and brought him to death by fire. If this is correct, then by Zacharias here Eck is to be understood, and by *Episcopus* that, just as the former was given a rose as a reward, the latter might have been granted a bishopric.

To the venerable Mr. Georg Kunzelt in Eilenburg, his brother in the Lord.

Hail! What you have asked, my venerable father, about the way in which one should begin and conclude a sermon, does not agree with the usage of others. For I omit lengthy prefaces, and use briefly these words: "That the word of God may be fruitful to us and pleasing to God, let us first invoke His divine grace, and say a heartfelt Hail Mary, or Pater noster." Then I immediately recite the text without any subject, and either explain David or present the teachings from it. At the end I say: "That's enough of that", or: "Another time more". Or, "Let this be said of it, let us call upon God and His grace, that we may do this," or thus, "God help us." After that, in very short words: "Let us be commanded spiritually and worldly, especially 2c., for those and all who are only guilty, let us pray one Our Father in common". After that, as all stand up: The blessing of God the Father 2c. Amen. This is my way of preaching. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, on St. Vitus' Day [June 15] 1520.

Brother Mart. Luther, August.

No. 302.

Wittenberg.

June 21, 1520.

To Justus Jonas in Erfurt.

Luther expresses his joy that Jonas has turned from legal scholarship to theology. Von Eck's bustle in Rome. Apology due to infrequent writing.

Handwritten in the old royal library in Copenhagen, Manuscr. 1393 (quarto), p. 37. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 268b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 456 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 419. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 698.

To the highly famous man, Doctor Justus Jonas, his very good friend.

JEsus.

Salvation and peace in Christ! I do not deny my guilt, my dear Jonas, for I confess that I owe you letters long ago; not as if they meant anything, but because I should have been at your service.

even if you desire my trifling things. I am glad that you have taken refuge in the safe harbor of the holy scriptures from the stormy sea of the legal scholars. ¹⁾ May the Lord who seized you keep you.

The wretched men rage against me and seek my soul, but Christ lives and reigns. My cause is being pursued in Rome (as friends from Rome write) with great power on Eck's incentives, 2) who is the one spirit [1 Kings 22, 21. f.] of the papal men. What they may accomplish, Christ will see. Everything else you will learn from our Lang.

In the meantime, you will forgive me for writing less frequently. By the way, so that I henceforth write more often, see to it that you frequently prod me when I am lazy, or encourage me when I am busy. If I do not reply to everything (which I will, however, try to do with all diligence), I will read everything very gladly, yes, with great pleasure. Repay not 3) silence with silence, or sloth with sloth, but overcome evil with good. Farewell, my dear Jonas, and take my heart, and pray for me. Wittenberg, June 21, 1520.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 303.

Wittenberg.

June 23, 1520.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf, canon in Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 266 (erroneously dated June 20 there).

No. 304.

Basel.

June 23, 1520.

Caspar Hedio to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1377, no. 427.

1) Especially on the advice of Erasmus, Jonas had turned from jurisprudence to theology, and had begun to lecture on the Corinthian Epistles. On August 28, 1520, they appeared in print.

2) On Eck's negotiations in Rome on the matter of Luther, compare Wiedemann, "Eck," p. 151 f.

3) Here we have adopted De Wette's Conjectur, namely *redde* and *vince* instead of *reddo* and *vinco*.

No. 305.

(Wittenberg.)

June 25, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Melanchthon should not be taken away from Paul by the lecture on Pliny; VI. Joh. Heß could provide the same. Melanchthon's marriage was to be desired; he must be kept for Wittenberg through a better salary.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 68 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 87. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 269; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 458 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 423. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 699.

To the learned and pious man Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant and priest, his friend in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! It has seemed good to me as well as to many others, my dear Spalatin, that Philip should not be burdened with the lecture on Pliny, because of the apostle Paul, whom he reads with such great fruit. The listeners must not be deprived of this, since the fruit of Pliny can in no way be compared to it, and it is to be feared that he might have been driven to it by the spirit, which must not be sacrilegiously resisted, and that it might be an attempt by Satan to prevent such great fruit under this pretense. If Pliny is to be read by all means, one thinks that this should be laid on the Magister Johann Heß 1). With regard to taking a wife, especially the one you mention, I do not know what will happen. I wish a man a wife, but which one he should take, I will neither be the author nor the counselor, nor do I see that the man hurries to take a wife.

Although I hope that Philip does not aim at the Bavarians, 2) this is something I have always wished, that he, honored by a more respectable salary, would deprive them of the hope they cherish, because they know that he is held worse here than it would be the case with them. If an opportunity presents itself

1) This is not the Breslau, but the Wittenberg Heß, Eisermann, also called Montanus.

2) Reuchlin sought to draw Melanchthon to Ingolstadt.

you should take care of it. For each one must also not neglect the care for himself when the occasion, that is, God calls. I will be sufficiently mindful of the tragedy at Strasbourg 3) in its place. Tomorrow, Silvester and the German novelist 4) will be ready. Farewell. On the day after John the Baptist's day [June 25] 1520.

Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 306.

(Wittenberg.)

June 29, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends a Sigismund for a scholarship. He wants to write to Sickingen.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 69 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 88. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 269 b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 460 (incorrect: "28. Junius") and in Erl. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 701.

To the learned and godly man, Magister Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! This Mr. Sigismund, 5) who was recommended to me by you, my dear George, I again commend his cause to you. For although I know that the regiment at court is of such a nature that, since it has to do with many things, it often needs a reminder, yes, an impetuous knocker, it is not at all patient against an impetuous being. But you yourself know the man and his cause. For what he does,

3) Perhaps the process is meant here, which Luther tells in the writing to the nobility 2c. St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 289 f., § 47.

4) namely the Epitome with Luther's annotations and the writing against Alveld: Vom Pabstthum zu Rom wider den Romanisten zu Leipzig, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 422 and Col. 1002.

5) According to Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 654 8. v. Chlumma, this D. *Sigismundus* is the same, which is mentioned in St. Louiser Ausg. In contrast, the Erl. Briefw. asserts that he was not inscribed, but a *Sigismundus Mintanus de Grimma*, on April 24, 1520. (*Alb.* p. 90.) The latter assumption receives great probability from the fact that the scholarship money was located in Grimma.

He does this for his own sake, so that while theology is flourishing in Wittenberg, he may learn what he can later teach in a very beneficial way; although those who have the gift of teaching, as this one seems to have, are rare. You see that in this matter a delay can only do harm. For if he is delayed, he will be forced to go away, and who knows when there will be an opportunity to return, or if he returns, whether he will find what he is now leaving? Therefore, you will, I presume, do what you can, that he may know undoubtedly (*absolutus*) what he has to do. The scholarship money, 1) which is involved, is in Grimma, as you will hear from him more completely.

I will write the letter to Sickingen 2) tomorrow, today I have not been able to do it, because I am too overwhelmed with business. Farewell, in the evening 3) of the day of Peter and Paul [June 29] 1520.

Martin Luther, August.

No. 307.

(Wittenberg.)

(June or July? 1520.) 4)

To Spalatin.

About an imperial privilege to be granted to Lotther for the printing of the Postille. Postscript: from Purgatory.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 13. Printed by Buddeus, p. 17; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 463 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 426. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 767 (also from 1522).

JEsus.

Hail! Lotther has negotiated with me, my dear Spalatin, about the printing of the so-called Postillen. But, if it could happen, he wishes an imperial privilege

1) *census beneficiales*, the income for the benefit s) of the scholarship).

2) This letter does not exist.

3) Because De Wette has confused *vigilio* and *vesperi*, he gives this letter the date: "28. Junius". But *vesperi* is the evening of the mentioned day, not the day before.

4) Buddeus erroneously places this letter in the year 1522. De Wette, guided by a second postscript, which does not belong to this letter, but to No. 309, has given it its place between July 9 and 10. The *Erl. Briefw.* has the above time determination, because of the mention of the printing of the Postille, which was already mentioned in No. 298.

for several years, during which no one should be allowed to be his rival in the whole of Germany, which, as he thinks, can best be achieved by our prince. 5) He believes that in this way the Wittenberg prints would be spread further and faster, to the greater glory of our academy. And would God that we, according to this advice, had so far brought our writings into the hands of very many people, and had forestalled the violence and treachery of the godless enemies of truth in the hearts of the common people; such a swift spreading of the truth and the preceding instruction of the hearts might have frightened the tyrants of godlessness. But in this I expect what the Lord may also counsel through you. Fare well.

Martin Luther.

About purgatory I have nothing more certain than several psalms, such as the 6th [v. 6], the 13th [v. 4] and the 88th [v. 4] and several others that speak of this torment. Apart from these, Tauler evidently has the same in many places. Whoever does not grasp this will not grasp it by anyone's words, for it is beyond all reason, as is everything else concerning the world to come. Therefore, if someone has not experienced it in some way, he cannot add anything to these words, nor treat these things, nor understand them. ⁶⁾

No. 308.

(Wittenberg.)

July 9, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 1408, no. 440.

No. 309.

Wittenberg.

July 10, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2500, annex, no. 62.

5) Lotther's efforts seem to have been in vain, for it was Grünenberg, not he, who printed the Latin Postille in March 1521. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, Preface, Col. VII.

6) Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 604, note 5, notes: "Probably it was this letter, if not No. CLXXII [No. 235 of our edition], which was auctioned as an original letter of Luther to Spalatin on the doctrine of Purgatory for 400 francs in Paris in 1852." *Bulletin du bibliophile Belge. Ser. II, tom. I, p. 146.*

No. 310.

(Zwickau.)

July 13, 1520.

Thomas Münzer to Luther.

On behalf of the council of Zwickau, Münzer turns to Luther for advice and assistance. He reported what he had preached and what teachings his opponents, the local Minorites, had presented, and offered to hand over his sermons to the deputies of the bishop of Naumburg for evaluation and to be instructed.

The original is in the Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden. Printed in Seidemmann, Thomas Münzer, 1842, p. 112, supplement 6, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 434.

Jesus be with you.

The council has instructed me, dearest father, to use your council 1) in the matter against my innocents, who, raging all the time, are driven by the spirit of fraud, so that they drag me here and there, splashed with the rain of the great sea. They have cited me before the guardian of their prerogatives, so that they force me to recant what I have said not against the mendicant monks, but against all hypocrites, who all for the sake of a morsel of bread condemn souls to life, who nevertheless should not live [Ezek. 13, 19.], and with their long prayers devour the houses of widows [Matth. 23, 14.], seeking not faith but their insatiable avarice in the dying. Of these I have said that they have hitherto deceived the Church of God, whether they be monks or priests; also the laity, I have said, are equally guilty, who have entirely left prayer and groaning for the shepherds of souls, therefore the Lord has justly given blind watchmen to the blind sheep. Thus, I always connect that the monks and priests as well as the laity are guilty; I exclude none, I spare none; I admonish all of them from time to time, whether at the right time or at the wrong time [2 Tim. 4, 2.], that they should go into themselves. I freely confess that I said on Ascension Day 2) to beware of the monsters who wear helmets and shields of faith [Eph. 6, 16. f.], indicating the ceremonies with which they, as they are

They have fought for the church, which otherwise would have been destroyed long ago. With such clamor they rage before the people, and with a plaintive voice they weep for me as a blasphemer against the holy orders, saying that I do not build up right 3) love, but destroy it 2c. All the false nonsense of my adversaries I take up to an exceedingly sweet exercise of faith, because the gospel comforts [Joh. 15, 20.]: If they have received my word, they will also receive yours 2c. If they have perverted Christ's word, they will also pervert mine. I know that the word of the Lord does not return empty [Isa. 55:11], I know that the eyes of the Lord see in all places both the wicked and the pious [Prov. 15:3], who judge and handle nothing but what is implanted in their hearts. May you be my protector in the Lord Jesus. I beg you not to lend your ears to those who speak against me, not to believe those who have called me a fickle, biting man and have defamed me with a thousand other names. I do not give a fig for it, everything is exceedingly pleasant to me for the sake of my Christ; more difficult battles are ahead of me; I firmly trust that God will lead everything out through your and all Christians' counsel. My cross is not yet complete, for the whole council 4) stands by me and almost the whole city, which knows the exceedingly burdensome avarice of the hypocrites as it were from the cradle, and has admonished me that I, on your advice, should appeal to a future concilium 5) against the birds of prey that tear everything apart. The council has written to Prince John so that they do not bother those who preach the divine word. The council itself has heard almost all the words I have preached. I have also pleaded with the deputies of the bishop at Naumburg 6) that I am quite willing to give an account of my faith, and have offered them all my sermons: if they found anything in them contrary to Christian modesty, I would make it up to them. The Minorites are not satisfied by either one or the other, fill the ears of all the people, run around everywhere from house to house, and howl 7) against the

1) Although the letter has no address, it cannot be doubted that it was addressed to Luther. Münzer had been a preacher at the parish church of St. Mary in Zwickau since May 13, 1520, when he preached his inaugural sermon.

2) In this sermon on the Ascension, Münzer said among other things: the monks had mouths that one could cut off a pound of them, and yet they kept enough mouths. See Seidemmann, Münzer, p. 6.

3) Instead of *geminam* we have assumed *genuinam*.

4) especially the mayor D. Stuler. Seidemmann 1. o. p. 8.

5) Instead of *consilium* we have adopted *concilium*. The confusion of both words is very frequent.

6) Nicolaus Tilemann, canon of Zeitz.

7) In the original: *eulantes*. We have assumed *ejulantes*, the Erl. Briefw.: *evolantes*.

If you wish, I will answer all the superiors; if an appeal is to be made, I will write; if a disputation is to be offered, I will tell them. If you request it, I will answer all the superiors; if an appeal is to be made, write; if a disputation is to be offered to them, indicate it: whatever you advise, that I will do in the Lord. Both your ears will be ringing at such euphonious sentences:

Christ died once, so that he would not die in us, nor would his sacrament be a comfort to us, nor would his example be changed into a discipleship 1). In the office of the Mass we obtain that we do not suffer in this world.

The new preachers preach nothing but the gospel, but in the very worst way, contradicting by it the commandments of men, which are most to be observed. Many things must be added to the gospel.

There is no need to live according to the gospel over and over again.

If poverty were evangelical, it would not allow kings 2c. to seize the riches of the world.

If an example of faith must be given by the shepherds of souls and the monks in renouncing riches, so that they may preside over their sheep with word and example, then consequently such poverty must be observed by princes and kings that they have nothing and are beggars.

It is not a commandment of the Gospel [Matth. 5, 39]: If someone hits you on one cheek, you should offer him the other one as well. It is a citation of the heretics, so that they may freely persecute the church, and we should not call upon the secular arm.

The failure is an imaginary thing; it must not be placed in the belief that we know ourselves safe by the same, but in the works from which the people must not be turned away, that the people of Zwickau, who have always been dear to me for twenty-four years, burn lights and do exceedingly virtuous works.

Eternal blessedness cannot be called the kingdom of faith that is in us, since it is in the future Fatherland alone; here we are completely uncertain of our blessedness.

He poured out these articles before the people all at once in one sermon.

With all my soul I admonished this father of the Order of Minorites, Tiburtius von Weißenfels, not to spread such great errors among the people against the salvation of souls, or to give me and the council an account of his faith through reliable scriptural passages and their right understanding. He, more cruel than any wild animal, said he would do neither the one nor the other, but confidently asserted that I should be destroyed by the whole order, and the furious fighter boarded the chariot, full of invective. I mocked his fury, fearing nothing, even if the entire band of mendicants should summon, mangle or slaughter me. I do not do my work, but the work of the Lord. I will not, as long as a single breath revives me, suffer these antics, these larvae of the hypocrites; I will oppose them with ceaseless groaning and with the trumpet of the Word of God, so that the name of the Lord may not be blasphemed by those who want to be considered Christians, since their feet are very hasty [Rom. 3:15], so that they themselves make a commotion among the people of God, mixing heaven and earth. If you advise it, with my very sincere friends, the Doctor *Great* and his deputy, and the teacher of the Greek language 2) and the rest of the magisters, my assistants, I will write against these sentences, so that the opponents of the cross of Christ may learn to sanctify the name of God and to keep their blasphemous mouths in check, that the light of our consolation may shine to all who are in the house of the Lord. Indicate what seems to you to be Christian in all these things. After my previous danger, I certainly believe that I am set apart for other struggles of the world. He who snatched me out of the most perishable mire will deliver me from the hand of the beast and the lion and the dragon, so that I shall not fear, though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, for the Lord is with me, so strong a warrior. He will give mouth and wisdom, which all our adversaries will not be able to resist [Luc. 21, 15]. What more could I desire? Fare well in Christ, you model and lamp of God's friends. Given on the day of Margaret [July 13, in the year of the Lord 1520.

Tomas Munezer, g... u... p Gospel.

2) This is Melancthon. - Große" is perhaps the Naumburg canon Donatus Große, who was highly regarded by the Elector.

1) Instead of in *imitatione* we have assumed in *imitationem*.

No. 311 .

(Wittenberg.)

July 14, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther complains that the rector of the university has taken the wrong measures against the student revolt and advocates that the revolt be controlled with severity. He asks for the return of Schaumburg's letters (No. 299).

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 71 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 92. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 273 b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 466 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 439. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 702.

To the learned and pious man, Georg Spalatin, princely court preacher, his superior in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! I beg you, if you are able to do anything with the most noble prince, my dear Spalatin, then see to it that the prince writes a very hard and sharp letter to our Rector 1). For he almost involved us in murder and bloodshed yesterday, with his exceedingly great nonsense, the nonsensical man, by fomenting the uproar of the student mob 2) against the council and the innocent people, which he should have dampened. I was present at the meeting where they were completely resting; nothing was said but what only inflamed the wildness of the young people even more. I am sorry for this disorder of our university, which will finally be its disgrace. D. Petrus Lupinus 3) spoke very validly against the rebellion, but was so received by D. Thomas Eschaeus that I immediately got up and left when I saw that Satan was presiding over this assembly. Yes, it is said that the young people were allowed to bear arms, against the commandment of the prince.

It is better that a smaller number here

1) Rector Peter Burkhard. After the expiration of his rectorate, he returned to Ingolstadt, and in 1523 signed with others the 17 articles, against which Luther in 1524 directed his writing: "Wider das blinde und tolle Verdamniß der siebenzehn Artikel, von der mabenden, schändlichen Universität zu Ingolstadt ausgegangen". See Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 131.

2) In the Weimar archives there is an Actenfascikel with the inscription: "Der Studentenaufflauf wider Lucas Cranach den Mahler anno 1520." See also Köstlin, M. Luther (3.), vol.

3) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 411, note 3.

studire than that mau be exposed to this turmoil. All who are good condemn this nonsense. Tomorrow I will also make an effort in the sermon, if, God willing, I can dampen something. Nothing of what the Prince has recently decreed has been observed; the old men have been more nonsensical than the young men. I know that this is a pretense of Satan, who, since he can nowhere harm the word of God that is reappearing among us, seeks to bring him ill-repute by this trick. But one must oppose it with all possible diligence, so that he does not keep the upper hand with these bloodthirsty people.

By the way, I believe that you have received all the letters I sent, including the one from Silvester Schaumburg; send it back so that the friends can read it. Be well and pray for me. Saturday after Margaret [July 14] 1520.

Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 312 .

(Wittenberg.)

July 17, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther preached against sedition and, although he spoke impartially, made many enemies as a result. About news from Rome.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 92. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 274; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 468 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 441. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 704.

To the learned and godly man, Magister Georg Spalatin, princely Saxon court preacher, his in Christ exceedingly theureu [friend].

Jesus.

Hail! That Liranian vision, my dear Spalatin, we think, is nothing else than this very uproar. Namely, a great man almost in all prophecies and visions praises the rude rabble. Yesterday, I delivered a speech from the pulpit against the riot, which was so moderate that I did not fall for any party, and quite simply described the fog of the riot, whether it be aroused by the citizens or by the students, and extolled the

4) more precisely: the day before yesterday, July 15, which was a Sunday. See also the previous letter.

The power of the authorities, which would be appointed by God, so that everything would not be devastated by rebellion. Dear God, how much spite I have incurred! They cry out that I have favored the party of the council, and at last reveal the thoughts of their hearts, 1) from which one can tell which in truth and which in pretense have heard our theology. For through this sieve the wheat and the chaff must be separated from one another. I can well see Satan, who, seeing that he is of no avail in Rome and among the foreigners, has invented this evil, so that he may do harm from within, and that in the worst possible way. Do harm.

The matter was small at first, but behold, the more it is acted upon, the more sharply it seizes and emboldens the hearts, which is quite diabolical in nature, that by the very thing by which one thinks to heal, he increases the disease. I do not fear him, but I worry that we have offended the Lord through ingratitude or vain honor, that in his anger he has allowed Satan to creep in among the children of God. And this does not move me so much as that which I fear will happen, namely, that we, hardened and possessed by Satan, will be incorrigible, so that only our iniquities will become full, and the wrath of God will come and visit us with some mighty plague and put us to shame, because we have not received the word offered to us, or have not received it sufficiently.

Here, indeed, I fear a lot and am seriously worried. In these last three years I have suffered some particularly great danger every year: first at Augsburg, second at Leipzig, now at Wittenberg. Therefore, it will not be prudence nor weapons, but humble prayer and strong faith that will be necessary to obtain Christ for us; otherwise, if we rely on our strength, it will indeed be the end of us.

1) A student who had come from Leipzig said after the sermon: "If the monk does more of this kind of sermon, he will take a stone and hit the monk on the head or on the plates in the church"; and another: "If he would not leave this sermon, they would soon put an end to it with him. This is the testimony of Thomas Feuerlein, Raths- und Bauherr zu Wittenberg. Neue Mittheilungen, VIII, 2, p. 62.

let. Therefore, take refuge with me in prayer, lest the evil spirit of the Lord blow a conflagration from this spark. Mau must not despise small things, especially those that take their beginning from Satan's operation.

I am sending back your news from Rome. I myself have heard more from him orally 2) than can be read on this note. Yes, this is what Magister Eisleben has written out of his mouth and given it to Melchior Lotther; from there it comes back to us through you. Farewell and remember that we must suffer for the word. For since Silvester Schaumburg and Franz Sickingen have made me safe against the fear of men, the raging of the devil must also follow. This will be the last, since I will be burdensome to myself. Such is the will of God. On the day of St. Alexii [July 17] 1520.

Martin Luther, August.

No. 313.

Wittenberg.

July 20, 1520.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2504, annex, no. 64.

No. 314.

(Wittenberg.)

July 22, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther complains about the accusations that have been leveled against him because of the sermon on sedition, even before Spalatin; he therefore also wants to write to Dolzig and the Elector. Bon of a new writing of Alveld. About Agricola's and Melancthon's marriage.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 276; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 470 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 445. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 706.

To his Georg Spalatin, the good and learned man, his exceedingly dear [friend] in Christ.

Hail! I am surprised that you are so angry against me and believe others who write about me so much, my dear Spalatin. My sermon has been of such a nature that it is not about the present, but about the future.

2) Perhaps Doctor Johann von Wick is meant, with whom, as we can conclude from No. 309, Luther had a meeting. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2501, note 4.

I have said in clear words that the present unrest was a kind of childish unrest, which I thought had already been quenched at that time. For of the present one I have said in clear words that it was a kind of childish unrest, which I thought had already been dealt with and quieted at that time. All those who want to tell the truth must be witnesses to this. Neither party, neither thing have I touched upon nor indicated, not even with one syllable, indeed, I have said that I will not speak of the matter, but in general of the dangers of any sedition. Now you see whether I have lied, that this matter is being carried on by the deceitfulness of the devils: what shall I do now?

I write, as you wished, to Dolzig¹ and the prince. I am very displeased with the letters written to you by some people, whatever their fault may be. I cannot defend our part in one thing, that they have incited the rabble; but I believe it is to be forgiven the carelessness, especially if they acknowledge their error. I have to this day despised the matter as a childish one, and would despise it if you did not thunder so. But see that you do not move me in vain to write to the prince in such a matter. Farewell.

The Leipzig ass 3) has let a new roar be heard against me, which is full of blasphemies about the communion under both forms, and will also write against my German writing about the papacy. The Wittenberg Magister Eisleben will take a wife (*ducturū*), as the rumor goes; as for Philip, I do not know what the rumor says he will do. I would like the man's salary to be increased, so that it would not be necessary for him to go to something else for the sake of his household. In the year 1520, on the day of Mary Magdalene [July 22].

Brother Martin Luther, August.

1) Dolzig had come to Wittenberg on July 16 with a number of foot soldiers to quell the riot. He also led the investigation into this matter, as a result of which several students were expelled.

2) the university.

3) Alveld. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV111, Introduction, p. 325.

No. 315.

Wittenberg.

July 30, 1520.

To Johann Thurzo, Bishop of Breslau.

Luther consoled him in his illness; but since he died already on August 2, he did not receive this letter anymore.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* B 20, fol. 25. printed by Scultetus, *annal. eccles.* in dev edition by der Hardts, P. V, p. 33; by Gerdes, *Hist. ref.*, P. II. Docum., No.2, p.6; Innocent News, 1784, p.713; Rosenberg, Schles. Ref. - Gesch., 1767, p. 461; *Strobel-Ranner, epp. Luth.*, 1814, p. 56; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 472 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 447. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 707.

To the most reverend and highly respected Father and Lord in Christ, Mr. John, 4) Bishop of the Church at Wroclaw, his gracious and especially venerable patron.

Jesus.

5) Although I, most reverend bishop, seeing my lowliness, write with shyness, as I do to all other great ones, especially to your highness, the venerable man Dominicus Schleupner, who is extremely devoted to you, most reverend father, and who, out of childlike love with which he is attached to his bishop, has broken out of here to see what the Lord is doing in the mortal body of the most reverend father, 6) has given me courage. But he did not want to leave without a letter from me, and persuaded me that I would thereby do something that would not be unpleasant to you, most reverend father. I confess, in fact, that I, too, become somewhat, yes, much ill with you, Most Reverend Father, because I suffer with the Church of God, which, unfortunately, is rarely given such bishops as you, Most Reverend Father, have given a bishop, while it has never needed such people more. By the way, I am confident that his hand will strike and heal [Job 5:18], and he who has given you, Most Reverend Father, such glorious gifts, is the one who will do it.

4) Thurzo. Compare No. 286.

5) Here in the manuscript and in the editions, except for De Wette: *Sese commendat*, which we have omitted with De Wette. If one wants to keep it, then it is to be added to the inscription: "recommends itself [brother Martin Luther]", and the signature, which is also missing in the manuscript, is to be deleted.

6) Compare No. 265.

He will not fail to give you strength and fortitude to suffer everything with steadfast, Christian and episcopal courage, and to surrender to his holy will in all things. If your life will be denied to the church, your death shall benefit it. But he is powerful to help his Church both through your life and through your death, most reverend Father, according to the riches of his good will.

I do not write this because I consider it necessary to strengthen your courage in the Lord (but who is so strong that he should not need even the least brother's comfort), but because he who willed and made all things common to us, after having done all things for us, commanded that one should bear another's burdens [Gal. 6:2], so that no one who believes in him should live alone or die alone, but that in the fellowship of the saints he should act and suffer securely in all things. Therefore, as much as we are grieved, most reverend Father, by your sickness, which is common to us all, or, if the Lord should will it, also by your future death: so much again do we rejoice that your soul neither suffers alone, nor lives alone, but we suffer and live with it, and with all Christ Jesus, the center of our heart, in whom you, most reverend Father, may be holily well pleased and forgive my boldness. For your former letters, most reverend Father, have made me stout-hearted, since they are exceedingly full of great humility and love, to the point that I am indifferent to scholarship; they shall be preserved for lasting remembrance among my saints. Again, I pray thee in Christ, most reverend Father, and let me be commended to thee. Wittenberg, July 30, 1520.

Your Reverend Son Brother Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 3 16.

Wittenberg.

July 30, 1520.

To Michael Williger, canon in Breslau.

Luther writes to him, prompted by Schleupner. Much is written against him, but by unrighteous people. The Dominicans were silent now, but the Franciscans were active, but only with crudeness and great foolishness.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* B 20, fol. 24 d. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 32; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 473 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 449.

Brother M. Luther, Augustinian, to Mr. Wittiger, Canon in Breslau, his superior in the Lord.

Hail! I did not want to write anything to you, dearest man, since Mr. Dominic Schleupner, our mutual friend, himself seems to be able to tell everything better orally. He knows everything there is with us, but he wanted me to write to you, even if only one line. Therefore I do what he wanted. Many a booklet is written against me in Germany and Italy, but there is no need for that. Only the most ass-like donkeys write, who pull themselves through with their inconsistencies. I, however, am quite well in body and soul, except that I wish I sinned less. And every day I sin more, which I lament to you and your prayers. By the way, the sect of the preaching monks) has become quiet after an edict was issued against them, 1) that no one should write against me. In their place the people of Samaria have followed, the priests of Bethaven,²⁾ the brothers of the observance of St. Francis. If these will be victorious, they will be victorious through crudeness and excessive stupidity. I don't remember reading more stupid pieces (*capita*), since they don't even realize if they will be victorious or defeated. Alas, the poor people who are exposed to these wolves! But may the Lord have a comprehension in which you may be at ease. Wittenberg, July 30, 1520.

No. 31 7.

Wittenberg.

July 30, 1520.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

Luther complains about his silence.

Handwritten in the royal library in Berlin, *Ms. theol. lat.* (Octav), fol. 102. printed in Fischer, *Ref.-Gesch. der Mar.-Magd.-Kirche in Breslau*, p. 49 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 450.

1) De Wette: "I don't know anything about that. Perhaps it was only a threatening satire by Hütten or someone else.

2) In the older editions: *Episcopus Bavariae* instead of: *sacerdotes Bethaven*.

Martin to his Heß.

Hail! If silence makes a monk and a religious man in a hurry, then you, my dear Hess, are the most monastic and religious. But I, too, will refrain from many words until you, too, break your silence and inform us who you have become and free us from the suspicion that we suspect you have forgotten us and despise our letters. Farewell. You can ask Dominicus what you wish to know more about. Wittenberg, July 30, 1520.

Your brother Martin Luther.

No. 318.

(Wittenberg.)

(July or August?) 1520.

To Peter Mosellanus, Rector of the University of Leipzig.

Luther assures the Leipzigers that he will not repay them in kind for their hostility toward him and the University of Wittenberg, but he complains about their behavior.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 37; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 538 (without date) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 451 with the date we have set. Seidemann, Reformationzeit, p. 37, note, assumes July.

The highly respected Rector of the Academy in Leipzig, Peter Mosellanus, his superior in the Lord.

You need not fear anything, my dearest Peter. For even though your Leipzig deserves to be pulled through, because it suffers that our school is so reviled everywhere with writings, and even that does not excuse you, as if you had no power over the monks, who do everything to please you, we will still not repay the evil. It had to be called Leipzig, because the monk himself boasts of it on the quite vain and hopeful title, 1) then also dedicated this very book in German to the council and the people of Leipzig. In addition, it is printed again by you, since in it, nevertheless, our school remains disgraceful and blasphemous, but especially the stain of extraordinary invective against

1) In the writing *Super apostolica sede etc.* Alveld calls himself: *Sacrique Bibliarum canonis publicum lectorem in conventu Lipsico*. See St. Louis Ausgabe, vol. XVIII, Einl., p. 31b.

our very good prince. I ask you, how long do you think it is permissible for yours to abuse our patience? Nothing of the sort has been done by us. For Leipzig, I have always feared that these two academies, out of old hatred, would finally come to war (*in arma ruerent*), which, if I had not resisted, would already have been brought about by Arnold's letter,²⁾ your predecessor in the Rectorate, which is the most impudent and unyielding of all [letters] that I have seen. I confess it is more blessed to be hurt than to hurt, but also more difficult. You hurt and do not notice it, and also tell us who are hurt not to notice it. This is what I am saying to you, my dear Peter, not as if any spark of my love for you had gone out, but rather you have kindled it more just by showing at least yourself alone as one who notices and hates these things, but so that you might have something to say about us before your own. My good name, my cause, my life, my soul is sought after by yours, and it is considered a miracle if I even murmur something [against it]. You are doing well, and remain our Peter. 1520.

Your Mart. Luther.

No. 319.

(Wittenberg.)

3. August 1520.

To Joh. Voigt, Augustinian in Magdeburg.

Luther sends him the Sermon of the Mass and Melanchthon's Theses. About the writings of his opponents; about the protection of Sickingen and the Franconian nobility promised to him. Of the publication of his writing to the Christian nobility of the German nation.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 5b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 475 and in Erl. German in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 26 d. and in Walch, vol. XXI, 709.

To Johann Voigt, Master of Sacred Theology, Augustinian Hermit at Magdeburg, his senior.

JEsus.

Hail! Because I do not yet hear that you are in the register of the dead, I believe that you are

2) Arnold Wüstenfelder from Lindau. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XV, appendix, no. 50.

you are still alive and have not yet written the last letter to me. The sermon full of the mass 1) I send through you to the venerable Father Provincial and the theses of Melanchthon, 2) which are quite strange, but true. The Leipzig donkey 3) writes many books against me, and a certain completely unlearned man at Cremona in Italy, without giving his name, who, as I believe, belongs to the order of the preacher monks, has written against me,⁴⁾ Eck, they say, has not yet done anything in Rome. Franz Sickingen promises me protection against all enemies through huts 5). Silvester von Schaumburg does the same with the Frankish nobles, whose beautiful letter to me I have. We no longer fear anything, but now I am publishing the German book against the pope about the state of the church that needs to be improved; 6) here I treat the pope very sharply, and as it were as the antichrist. Pray to the Lord for me that my word may benefit his church. Be well. On the day of the invention of St. Stephen [Aug. 3] 1520.

Brother Martin Luther.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1036.

2) The "Provincial" is Staupitz. - Melanchthon's theses are printed in *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 126, but with the wrong date: September 1519. On August 1, 1520, Melanchthon sent them to Hess in Breslau. *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 209.

3) Alveld.

4) This is the same scribe who is mentioned in Luther's writing "Of the Babylonian Captivity" (issued in October 1520), St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 13. The title of the work is: *Reuocatio Martini Lutherij ad sanctam Sedem*. At the end: *Cremonae in solennitate gloriosae virginis et martyris Divae Caeciliae Romanae MDXX*. This timing is according to the so-called *calculus Pisanus*, according to which the year 1520 runs from March 25, 1519 to March 24, 1520, therefore the writing is to be placed on November 22, 1519, not November 20, 1520, as the Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 527 does. To avoid the contradiction that Luther already mentions the writing here in our letter, then also in the "Babylonian Captivity", Enders assumes two different writings by the same author. See Weimar edition, vol. VI, p. 486 f.

5) See Hutten's two letters to Melanchthon, St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1635, no. 491. - Des Silvester Schaumburg letter to Luther, *ibid.* there, Col. 1631, no. 489.

6) "An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung," St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 266.

No. 320.

(Wittenberg.)

August 5, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther did not write for a long time in order to wait for the success of his letter of July 22 concerning the student unrest. About the impression that his writing "To the Christian Nobility" would make. About Melanchthon's salary increase.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 83 and in *Cod. Jen. a.*, fol. 106. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 281; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 484 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 456. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 715 f.

To the learned and godly man Georg Spalatin,
Magister, court preacher of the Prince of Saxony,
his friend in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! I have not written for a long time, waiting until the turmoil that the friends have aroused has subsided in you. And I am not at all pleased with Amsdorf's excessive favor towards one part. The students have never suffered what the citizens have suffered; they care little about that, feeling only their adversity. But enough of that. Everyone talks about my invectives, but no one pays attention to theirs. I am truly moved little by the loss of the prestige of my name. If all reviling is reviling, then no one is a greater reviler than the prophets. But we are so accustomed in our time to hear the truth that is against us.

Envy plagues the Leipzigers, and under the larva of Alveld they play their tragedy; the Lord will give them their reward one day. Although my war trombone 7) will perhaps not be approved by anyone, it must be approved by me in order to attack the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist, which is corrupting the souls of the whole world. It is very sharp and vehement, so that at the same time, I hope, I will astonish those dull taunters. The Alveld will not be answered, but, prompted by him,

7) *Classicum*; this is what Lang had called the writing "To the Christian Nobility" in a letter, and Luther takes it up.

will be given something made of light, 1) which will irritate the vipers even more.

Of Philip's salary I write nothing to the prince, if you should not be sufficient. What I have written before about this matter, I have done so that the man would have no reason to ever leave us; if it cannot happen, then let the will of the Lord be done. Yes, that he should take a wife and live longer, this I have done for the sake of the growth of the gospel; even if this cannot happen, let it be done. I fear that with this way of living he will not stay alive long. I do everything I can for the Word; perhaps I am not worthy to accomplish anything. I, too, would like to be set free from teaching and preaching, if it pleases God; I have almost grown tired of it, since I see that little fruit and gratitude to God is growing; perhaps the whole fault is mine. Fare well and pray for me. On the day of Mary to the Snows [Aug. 5] 2) 1520. Martin Luther, August.

No. 321 .

Wittenberg.

August 10, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends two petitions to Spalatin, one from an expellee, the other from the widow Landmann.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 72 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 94. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 277; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 476 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 458. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 710.

His in the Lord exceedingly dear Magister Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant.

JESus.

Hail! I am sending you something here, my dear George, which you can do for the salvation of your soul.

1) This is Luther's reference to his work "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," which appeared not long after. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. I d.

2) Aurifaber and De Wette offer: *nativitatis Marianae*, that is, September 8, but the original says: *Niūis*, that is, August 5. From this improved date it is clear that Lang with the *classicum* not, as Köstlin, Mart. Luther (3.), p. 365, he meant the writing of the Babylonian captivity, but the "An den christlichen Adel". Cf. Köstlin I. c., p. 795 ad p. 365.

can. It is a poor man who has obtained from me through many intercessors that I took it upon myself to bring this petition of his before the prince through you. I did not want to change anything in his way of speaking, so that if I changed the simplicity of it, I would not take away the forcefulness at the same time. Take care, therefore, that you render a Christian service, that the man with wife and children may not suffer in such a high degree, deprived and forcibly expelled from all that is his. It is quite an unseemly thing when it is thus invented. For the time being, he is in poverty as a refugee in Wittenberg.

I am also sending a petition of the countrymen, by which, I hope, the matter will come to an end, if the prince should accept it. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, on the day of St. Lawrence [Aug. 10] 1520. Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 32 2.

Wittenberg.

August 14, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther doubts that Eck is already in Meissen. About the recall of the court preacher in Lochau, in whose place Luther recommends M. Franz Günther.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 73 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 94. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 277 d; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 476 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 459. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 711.

To Georg Spalatin, Magister, Christ's servant, and his patron, who is extremely dear to the Lord.

JESus.

Hail! We cannot believe at all that Eck is in Meissen, but either those people again tempt us with their fairy tales, or the words which are sent to you are written in Rome. This can be inferred from the fact that he writes: he hopes that the bull should be moderated, which could not be moderated in Meissen.

3) Erl. Briefw. after the original: *tanto*; Aurifaber and De Wette: *tanta*.

4) According to Miltitz's letter to the Elector of Oct. 3, 1520, Eck was in Meissen only on Sept. 21. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XV, 778.

You wrote several times before that I should call back the priest of Lochau 1) and recommend him to the prince for another priestly position; now Magister Franz von Nordhausen 2) comes to our attention, who is quite skilled, although he may have seemed a bit rough to you once, which you must easily forget. If the matter is still pending, you can report it to me. He is eloquent and capable of speaking before the court, and in general such a one as I would like to have in Lochau, and close to us. For it is being discussed that a preacher's position will be procured for him with foreigners. Answer as soon as you can, and be well. Wittenberg, on the day before the Assumption [of Mary] [14 Aug.] 1520. Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 323.

Wittenberg.

August 18, 1520.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1638, no. 498.

No. 324 .

(Wittenberg.)

August 19, 1520.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther justifies himself because of his violent writing. Staupitz advised him by letter not to publish the book to the Christian nobility, but he was too late.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 6; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 479 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 462. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 712.

JEsus.

Hail! I do not assume, my dear father, that I seek praise and honor with my writings and books. Almost everyone condemns the biting nature of me, but I have the same opinion as you, namely that God may reveal the fiction of men in this way. For I see that what is treated quietly in our time soon falls into oblivion, and no one cares about it. But also the body of Rebecca has to bear children who are unborn.

1) Probably Jakob Gropp. Compare No. 256.

2) Franz Günther, who debated scholastic theology on September 4, 1517. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 18.

are united and push each other. The present age judges badly, the judgment of posterity will be better. Paul also calls his opponents "dogs" [Phil. 3, 2], "the circumcision" [Tit. 1, 10], "useless talkers" [1 Tim. 1, 6], "deceitful workers" [2 Cor. 11, 13], Satan's servants [2 Tim. 2, 26] and the like, and scolds the "whitewashed wall" to its face [Apost. 23, 3]. Who does not see that the prophets are grasping at the very worst? But these things are common, so they have ceased to make an impression. The venerable father Vicarius 3) wrote to me yesterday from Erfurt and asked me not to publish the booklet von des christlichen Standes Besserung, because I do not know in what respect it may be accused with him, but he came too late, since the booklet was already published. Take it upon yourself to pardon him verbally. Who knows whether I am not moved by the spirit with its impetuosity, since it is certain that I am neither driven by the search for honor nor the desire for money, but also not by pleasure. I say nothing of revenge, let the Lord pardon; nor is this done by me to excite a riot, but that I may assert liberty to a general concilio. Fare well in the Lord. Sunday after the Assumption [of Mary] [August 19, 1520.

Your brother Martin Luther.

No. 325 .

Wittenberg.

August 23, 1620.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2493, annex, no. 57.

No. 326 .

(Wittenberg.)

August 24, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends the Franz Günther. Of the manuscripts sent with the previous letter.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. A*, No. 75 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 95. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 279 b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 481 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 465. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 714.

3) Staupitz, Köstlin, M. Luther (3.), vol. I, p. 357, not Lang, Seidemann bei De Wette, vol. VI, p. 537, note 7.

To his in Christ exceedingly dear Lord Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant at Lochau.

Jesus.

Hail! I send to you the Magister Franz Günther, my dear Spalatin, who is ready to do what you write; but you remind and instruct the man more extensively, since he is unfamiliar with the nature of the court, but docile, as much as I know his ways. I believe that my letters with the "Erbierten" and the other things have come to you. You take care, I beg you, that you smooth everything with a careful file. For I was depressed, I don't know what kind of burden of mind, when I wrote those things. I will also show it to other friends before it is published. Farewell. 1520 on Bartholomew's Day [24 Aug].

Martin Luther, August.

To the good and godly man, Magister Georg Spalatin, court preacher to the Prince of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! We will write about the change of the lectures at another time, when the bridegroom 2) will have gotten used to having the bride. With regard to the Lochau priest Franz, I hope that everything will go well, if you will only be a gentle and willing teacher of man in what concerns the customs of the court. We did not know about the extremely bad suspicion about his sister, but it will be removed.

I am sending the "Erbierten" printed, also the letters to Franz Sickingen and to Emperor Carl. There is still little printed about the [Babylonian] captivity of the church, but we shall see. Fare well in the Lord. On the day before Aegidii [Aug. 31] 1520.

Martin Luther, August.

The day of Eisleben's wedding is on the first Monday after the Nativity of Mary [Sept. 10; therefore, you faithfully take care of what has been promised.

No. 3 27.

Eisleben.

August 29, 1520.

Carl von Miltitz to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 776, no. 339.

No. 330 .

(Wittenberg.)

1. September 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2459, annex, no. 39.

No. 3 28.

Wittenberg.

August 30, 1520.

To Kaisir Carl V.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1378, no. 428.

No. 331 .

Wittenberg.

II September 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2405, annex, no. 13.

No. 33 2

Wittenberg.

September 28, 1520.

To Günther von Bünan, canon in Merseburg.

Luther corrects the false news spread about a Wittenberg disputation. Von Eck's arrival with the papal bull and Luther's good courage.

No. 3 29.

(Wittenberg.)

August 31, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Ueber Aenderungen in den Vorlesungen. By Franz Günther. Luther sends the printed "Erbierten" and letters. About the printing of the "Babylonian Captivity". Postscript: of Eisleben's upcoming wedding.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 76 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 96. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 280; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 482 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 471. German in Walch, "Bd. XXI, 714 f.

1) to the emperor, St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1378, no. 428. - The "Erbierten" *ibid.* there, Col. 1392, no. 433.

2) Melancthon. Compare the latter's letter to Lang, *Corp. ref.*

Handwritten in *Cod. Gothan*. Printed in Unsch. Nachr. 1708, p. 465; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 61; in De Wette, vol. 1, p. 487 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. II, S. 481.

To the godly and learned man, Mr. Günther von Bunan, canon of the church at Merseburg, his patron and superior in the Lord.

Hail! I read your letter, my dear husband, which testifies to your immense confidence in me, with joy and amazement. For what lies not that old poisonous snake? The disputation was like this: Carlstadt had the chair, I with others, as is our way, made objections (*arguebam*). At that time the question was: whether Christ in suffering would also have resisted the Father, because he asked that the cup be taken from him, which in any case is a non-willing and resisting. Then the reason is put forward, 1) that a non-willing person could also be called a hating and rebellious person. As this was denied, so it was not approved. For nothing has been asserted, but only spoken in confidence for and against. Dear, how great things we are in the habit of saying, even when we dispute about Catholic opinions! Don't we also disputing the articles of faith? Why then are those people nonsensical with their lies, saying that I have asserted, while I only opposed according to the custom of disputing, but did not assert anything, but rather publicly confessed that I do not understand all the mysteries of the passion of Christ? I do not know whether we have at the same time treated that word of the apostle [2 Cor. 5:21], "He made him who knew no sin to be sin for us," and several other things which attribute sin, curse, and despair to Christ, as Paul and the prophets are wont to do; since we cannot yet grasp these, it is fair that we should assert nothing. I have never publicly disputed anything about this subject of Christ's sufferings, so I know nothing about it except the reason I have given for it.

I have stated above. If someone has said something different about me, you can brazenly accuse him of lying, since our entire audience is also a witness. Therefore, let those poisonous people desist from accusing a disputant, or let them first condemn their Thomas, who sees everything Christian by proving for and against. Or do they want to imprison us, that it should not be allowed, after the custom of disputing and learning, to dispute articles of faith? I am ashamed that even you alone are so moved by these trifles. But there you have what I have done and how I am minded.

Full of corner I still know nothing but that he came, provided with a beard, a bull and money 2) God grant that this is one of the damned articles: it is to be wished that the sack of the mendicants is off. Also I will laugh at the water bladder or bottle (*bullum sive ampullam*). I send the marforiis. 3) The Lord keep you for eternity, Amen. My dearest Günther, farewell. Wittenberg, on the day of Wenceslaus [Sept. 28] 1520.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 333.

Wittenberg.

October 1, 1520.

To Conrad Saum in Brackenheim.

Luther is pleased that Saum adheres to the pure doctrine; he exhorts him to stand firm in the face of the terror of Eck's bull; he should not leave his position, but persevere.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 285; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 489 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 483. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 717.

2) Peter Gebweiler wrote from Rome to Capito that Eck had received five hundred gold florins as a gift.

3) Instead of *Marferium*, *Marforium* will probably be read, as already conjicirt in the addenda of De Wette, Vol. III to this place. Marforius is the name of the large mutilated marble statue of a river god in Rome, to which all kinds of satires used to be attached. It will be to be thought here therefore of a satire. Thus Burkhardt, p. 32. The Erl. Briefw. gives here the title of a writing published without year and place, in which among other things an *Epistola Pasquilli Romani ad Marforium Romanum* is found.

1) Instead of *profert*, we have assumed *profertur*. - After the following it is to be assumed that Luther had brought this forward.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian, to Conrad Saum, 1) preacher in Brackenheim.

Hail! With very special praise, my dear Conrad, this Magister Heilingen, 2) a man of acknowledged godliness and scholarship, 3) has recommended you to me, and it has created me not a little, that he testified that the pure and clean doctrine of Christ dwells constantly in your heart, which the sophists resist with all zeal with weapons and intrigues, and as they only can, from the effect of Satan; for who does not see that he is in them the leader to these troubles?

For we have not to fight against flesh and blood, but against the evil spirits under heaven, which reign in this darkness [Eph. 6:12]. Let us therefore be constant, and again also hear our leader's trumpet of war, with which he lets himself be heard: Be valiant in the war, and fight with the old serpent, and ye shall receive the everlasting kingdom. For this Satan does not fight with us, but with Christ, who fights in us, who is greater than he who is in the world [1 John 4:4]. The Lord chooses new wars, says Deborah, Judges 5:8, and we also fight not our wars, but the Lord's. Therefore be confident and be strong; if God is for us, who can be against us? [Rom. 8:31.]

You will say: What is this? [I say this because it will undoubtedly happen that you hear that the Roman pope, through his legate Eck, has raged with a very harsh bull 4) against Luther and his books, and against all who adhere to and follow him. This wretched tool of Satan is now in Leipzig, and trumpets his bull with

with tremendous splendor and glory. I do not yet know what will happen, nor am I anxious to know, since I am certain that he who dwells in heaven cares for all things and has foreseen from eternity the beginning of this matter, the progress and the end that I expect. And wherever the lot will fall, it will not move me, because it will not fall other than according to his will, which is the best, wherever it may fall. As he cannot err, so must he please each one. Therefore, do not be concerned that "your Father knows what you need before you ask him" [Matt. 6:8]. No leaf of a tree falls to the earth without his will, how much less will we fall anywhere else than where he wants us to fall.

It has seemed good to me to admonish you herewith together with me, so that when the Spirit, who has power over you, comes, you may not leave your place, 5) but hold on to what you have, lest another receive your crown. It is a small thing that we die or perish for the word, since it, being made flesh, died for us before; we shall rise with you, with whom we perish, and we who have passed through with it, whither it [the word] has passed through, shall also abide with it for ever. Therefore, see to it that you do not disregard your holy calling, but gratefully persevere in it through all adversity. He will come and not forgive, who will save us from all evil. Fare well in the Lord Jesus Christ, who strengthens and sustains our spirit and our knowledge, amen. Wittenberg, October 1, 1520.

Martin Luther.

1) Conrad Sam (dialect: Som, Saum) was one of the first confessors of the new doctrine in Württemberg. He was so challenged by this that he thought of leaving, but he stayed until 1524, when he went to Ulm, where he helped to implement the Zwinglian Reformation. He died in 1533.

2) According to the Erl. This is M. Joh. Geyling from Ilsfeld. In the *Syngramma Suevicum (Acta et scripta publica ecclesiae Wirtembergicae*, p. 153) he is called *Joannes Geilingius Ulsfeldensis*. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 522.

3) The old translator has referred these words to hem, which is possible, but not probable for us.

4) This bull is printed in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XV, 1425, No. 444.

No. 334.

(Wittenberg.) 3. October 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2460, annex, no. 40.

5) These words: *ut locum tuum non dimittas*, Walch translates: "that he [the spirit] find no quiet place with you".

No. 335 .

(Wittenberg.)

(October 6, 1520.)

To Hermann Tulich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 4.

No. 336 .

Wittenberg.

(11.) October 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2463, annex, no. 41.

No. 337 .

Wittenberg.

(12 October) 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 782, no. 345.

No. 338 .

Wittenberg.

After October 13, 1520.

To Pope Leo X.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 783, no. 346.

No. 339 .

Wittenberg.

20 October 1520.

To Michael Mäurer (*Muris*), Cistercian in Old Celle.

Luther is unconcerned that now even more opponents appear against him than before; the word of God must be contested by the powerful, and is protected by God, not by men. That the Scripture of the Babylonian captivity was forbidden did not concern him. The book of Thomas Rhadinus is Einser's work. He reassures his friend about the publication of his letters to him. He does not want to write to Duke George, because he will not achieve anything with it.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* B 20, fol. 32. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 33; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 502 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 497.

To the godly and pious man Michael Maurer, 1)
Professor of the Cistercians at Celle, his in Christ
exceedingly dear [friend].

Jesus.

Hail in the Lord! You can hardly believe, my dearest
Michael, how it has pleased me.

1) Schütze and after him De Wette give the name of the
addressee as "Marx". In the also otherwise very un

that more opponents stand up against me than before.
For I am never more hopeful and bold than when I hear
that I am displeasing these people. People dislike me.
They may be doctors, they may be bishops, they may be
princes: what does it matter? If the word of God were not
challenged by them, it would not be God's word, since it
is written [Ps. 2:1 f.]: "The heathen rage, and the people
speak in vain. The kings of the land rebel, and the lords
counsel with one another against the LORD and his
anointed." Behold, there you have the service and
endeavor of princes, kings and bishops against the word
of Christ; what more do you want? It would grieve me
greatly if they praised me (for what is a greater pity than
to please them?). Let everything go, my dear Michael.
God's cause is hidden and spiritual; now it is 2) public in
the day what kind of people these are. See to it that you
save your soul in this Babylon. The judgment of GOD
drives them, and works in a frightening way, because the
blind do not see. "Let them go (saith he [Matt. 15:14.]),
they are blind leaders of the blind." If the word of God
should have been protected with the powers or the hand
of men, or with eloquence, or with high gifts, Christ would
not have called fishermen to do it, nor even himself
defended it with his blood. I do what I must. I give in vain
what I have received in vain, even at the risk of my life,
my good name and all things, yes, even my soul. I have
written what is the Lord's 3); I have done it in sincerity,
desiring to instruct all as well as myself. I am pure from
the blood of all; I rejoice in this. You will

clearly written manuscript is found: *Muro*. -- Michael Mäurer,
Muris, also *Galiculus*, as he called himself after his birthplace
Hainichen or Hänichen, was a much learned man. He taught for
a long time as a professor in the monastery of Alt-Celle. In 1525
Luther sent him as a preacher to Danzig (No. 850).

2) Schütze and De Wette read: *non esse*; the Erlanger Briefw.:
num(?)esse and notes: "the whole passage seems already
corrupted in the manuscript". We have assumed *nunc est*.

3) Instead of *domi* in the editions we have assumed *Domini*.

see in his own time whom they have repelled and persecuted.

That the book of the Babylonian captivity was forbidden, I don't care about that. Yes, 1) what would I care if all of them were banned? I will write nothing against those who act violently against us; against those unlearned parasites it is enough for me that I have taught the truth, that I have defended it against the scholars, who alone can do harm. But that the French book of Thomas Rhadinus 2) is Emser's, the style and the slobber is right. May the will of the Lord be done. I despise these devils so much that if I were not bound here, I would go to Rome of my own free will to show my contempt for Satan and all the Furies. What would it be if they killed me? I am not worthy to suffer anything in such a blessed cause.

It does not matter if any of my letters that I have addressed to you should be transferred anywhere. I do not fear that they will become public knowledge to you and to all, because I write before the face of God. If He approves of them, what is the matter with those who disapprove of them? If He disapproves of them, what is the matter if they approve of them? I beg you, learn to despise men bravely, since Christ says, Beware of men. It is a great thing to have God gracious and to trust in Him. Fare well in Christ, dearest Michael.

I will not write to Prince George. You know as well as I do what I did to him with the three letters 3) before the disputation in Leipzig. If he is worthy, he will hear the truth; if he is not worthy, one labors in vain. Wittenberg, 1520, the day before the 11,000 virgins [20 Oct].

Your brother Martin Luther.

No. 3 40.

Szczecin.

20 October 1520.

Duke Barnim of Pomerania to Luther.

Encouragement to continue on the path taken. 4)

The original can be found in the von Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 33 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 500.

Our greetings before, venerable father, dear particular! We have received your letter, addressed to us, its contents, and have received and accepted your booklets with great pleasure. We would have hoped that this game, which has been played with you for some time, would have been quenched at some point, but the longer it goes on, the deeper it gets. We believe that your opponents must have doubts about the Paris and Erfurt verdict, and fear that it will not be in their favor, since they have abandoned it and now intend to attack you with the ban. Whether it is Christian or tyrannical, we do not want to judge, because it is the old custom, by which the church of God is divided and split. We know nothing to advise you in this opposition of yours, but only that we hear nothing more eagerly or rather than that you so heartily and boldly pursue this 5) thing as you have raised and attacked it, so that divine truth may come to light. If we knew how to help you as much as we are very much inclined to help you, you would not remain without our great support. We would like to command this game and you to our dear Lord GOD and have asked you to provide all good things to us, and whatever mirror fights happen to you in these matters, do not save us in idle time. Date Szczecin, Saturday after Lucä Evangelistä [Oct. 20] Anno XX°, by our own hand.

Bernym by the Grace of God Duke of Stettyn and Pomerania.

No. 3 41.

Wittenberg.

October 30, 1520.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Luther thanked the duke for a letter 6) in which he had spoken to him of his courage in the face of the bull. He wants to continue preaching, teaching and writing, although the Leipzigers will try to destroy the University of Wittenberg.

4) On Dec. 3, 1520, Spalatin wrote to the Elector that Luther had received thirty such letters in that year.

5) Original: "dyß dhont". Erl. Letter word: "deß Thont".

6) Compare Veit Warbeck's letter to Duke Johann Friedrich, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 1573 f., No. 458.

1) In the manuscript: *Quin*, which the editions have omitted.

2) This assumption of Luther was incorrect. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1252, note 4.

3) No. 148. 169 and No. 173.

From the original in Unsch. Nachr. 1735, p. 524; in Walch, vol. XXI, 719; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 518 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 53, p. 52. We have used the variants given by Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 568, Kote 2.

To the noble and highborn Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

Sublime, highborn prince and lord, E. F. G. are my most submissive prayer and fortune always before.

Gracious Lord, I have received F. G.'s letter and read it with great pleasure, in which I have heard F. G.'s special favor and grace to me, the unworthy, as well as his great will and desire for the holy divine truth. And although I am too small to humbly owe such diligence to E. F. G., I will nevertheless always be diligent with my subservient fortune to give thanks and praise to God - who may strengthen and maintain E. F. G.'s heart and courage for such a Christian opinion. That E. F. G. also takes up the cause so firmly and writes so diligently to my most gracious Lord, Duke Friedrich, Elector, gives me special hope that God will help his Gospel through E. F. G., even though I am not afraid of the bulls in any way, I have nevertheless undertaken to preach, read and write. However, I may have had a delusion that the Leipzigers would drive me from Wittenberg through the help of Duke George and the Bishop of Merseburg, who has created unspeakable bitterness against me, which I have nevertheless attributed to divine will. For I am well aware how they seek to disturb not me, but E. F. G. University of Wittenberg, so that they have been around for a long time, and now consider with joy that they have come upon a just cause; what God has decreed for them, let them do. I will wait for the game, where it falls. Herewith I want to have myself and before that the Christian truth things E. F. G. submissively commanded, which God blessedly strengthens us and governs us according to his divine will, praise and honor, amen. At Wittenberg; on Tuesday after Simonis and Jude [Oct. 30] 1520. C. F. G. submissive Capellan

D. Martinus Luther, Aug.

No. 342.

(Wittenberg.)

October 30, 1520.

To Joh. Greffendorf in Weimar.

Luther is pleased about Greffendorf's good courage regarding the bull. About Eck's reception of the bull in Erfurt. Luther despises the bull, although he suspects that he will be expelled from Wittenberg on Duke George's orders.

Handwritten in *Cod.* Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 35; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 519 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 503.

To the man highly respected by old nobility and learning, Johann Greffendorf, ducal Saxon chamberlain, his! Friends in the Lord.

Hail! I am glad, my dear Johannes, that you have so much insight into this bullosis. Certainly Duke Georg together with the bishop of Merseburg, extremely excited by black bile, will refrain from doing anything that can serve to ruin me and the university. In Erfurt, Eck ordered the university to enforce the bull, but they disregarded it because it had not been delivered to them in a lawful manner. There he was searched for by some armed students, but he did not show himself. It is said that he obtained the bull and his office as legate through tears, so that he would not return empty and without glory. The bull was printed in Erfurt and put up for sale, but the students tore it up and threw it into the water with the words: It is a bubble,¹⁾ it should float in the water. Since they were accused by the book buyer and demanded compensation from them, nothing happened to them, since the council turned a blind eye to all this. I hope that the bull brought a bubble (*bullam*), it is nothing else. I despise it extraordinarily; only that I had the suspicion that it would happen at the behest of Duke George that I would be expelled from Wittenberg. This I place in the hand of God. May the will of the Lord be done! I have a copy of the apostolic or rather apostatic letter to

1) *bull*a means both bull and bladder.

the Duke John¹⁾ read. Dear God, how great a dizziness is in these people! But you are quite well, and let the matter be commanded to you. Wittenberg, October 30, 1520.

Martin Luther, August.

No. 3 43.

Wittenberg. (October 1520.)

To Hermann (Hieronymus) Mühlport at Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 986.

No. 3 44.

Cologne. November 3, 1520.

Franz von Sickingen to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1636, no. 492.

No. 3 45.

Wittenberg. November 4, 1520.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2435, annex, no. 27.

No. 3 46.

Eilenburg. November 13, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther awaits Spalatin's return. About Hutten's attack on the papal nuncios. Luther is not afraid of the bull. Melanchthon will respond to Rhadinus' writing. About Melanchthon's wedding. Of a bequest of D. Schmiedberg to Luther. About the death of the bishop of Breslau. Postscript: Of Luther's friendly reception at Eilenburg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 399, fol. 131 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 103. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 6K; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 523 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 523. The postscript in Burkhardt, p. 34 and in Erl. Briefw. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 721.

1) This letter is not the letter of Eck, which he addressed from Coburg to Duke John on Oct. 6, 1520, and signed himself as *Nuncius Apostolicus* (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 1575, No. 459), as De Wette thinks, but a letter of the Pope to Elector Frederick, which the Duke received, since the Elector was absent in Cologne; probably No. 439 in the 15th volume.

To the godly and learned man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, court preacher of the Saxon hero, his dearest [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I have received the bull which you sent, my dear Spalatin, and we are daily awaiting your happy return with many news and an old story, namely, that nothing can be hoped for from the court of Carl. I am glad that Hütten has come forward, and God wished that he had written Marinus or Aleander 3).

The ban by the bull (*bullatica*) is not feared by us, although we hear that these two bishops 4) will precede, whom again I will also receive quite nicely and adorn them with their due honors. Duke George, who is extremely furious with himself, is said to have been tamed a little from the outside. Our Philip Melanchthon answers under the name Faventinus Didymus to Thomas Rhadinus, 5) that is, the Emsian in disguise.

Philip's wedding will be on the day after Catharine [Nov. 26]; the danger of evil tongues forces to hurry.

The deceased D. Heinrich Schmiedberg 6) has bequeathed me a hundred guilders, which pleases me more for no reason than that the deceased righteous condemns the living wicked, as the wise man [Wis. 4, 16.] says, and those have something to annoy them who have offered bowls and gold 7) to the ambitious Eck for the dishonor of the Word of God; for I have not given it either to

2) This will mean the writing that has the title: *Dialogus Bulla. T. Curtio Malaciola. Eq. Burlassio, Autore.* For on October 10, 1520, Spalatin wrote in his *Annal.* (in *Mencken*, Vol., II, p. 603): *Accepi Bullam xxxxxxxx xxx xxxxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx.*

3) Marino Caraccioli and Hieronymus Aleander, Nuncios to the Pope in Germany.

4) Probably the bishop of Eichstädt, Gabriel von Eib, and the bishop Philipp zu Naumburg und Freisingen. Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, No. 475 and 476.

5) This writing, which did not come out until February 1521, is printed in its entirety in *Corp. ref.*

6) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2497, note 7.

7) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 778, towards the end.

seeks. Now Christ admonishes them already by this second sign. For who should not count the disgrace that happened to the corner of Leipzig and Erfurt among the miraculous works of God? Nevertheless, the stubborn Pharaoh does not let up yet, so that many signs happen. But you see to it that in good hope you confidently despise all the things of the reproachful. Christas has started this, he will also lead it out, even if I am killed or driven away. I came to Eilenburg, called in the name of the same D. Schmiedberg, and in the meantime he had gone to the Lord himself. It is said that he was very steadily secluded in the faith of Christ, and even (what will torment those of us with His graces. I also thank you diligently for your tremendously) held my teaching and praised it publicly. See therefore how Christ is present! The Roman Antichrist oppresses us, and Satan through him, but he who is in us is greater than he who is in the world [1 John 4:4].

In the same faith died the bishop of Breslau, the best among all bishops of that time. The bishop of Merseburg sinks very low in esteem, and his little holiness is not enough to cover the godlessness, according to which he decided to obey the pope more than his god. You will learn other things from others. Fare well in the Lord. Eilenburg, 1520, Tuesday after Martinmas [Nov. 13].

Mart. Luther.

We are held too gloriously by these high lords (*heroibus*), Mr. Fabian, Haugold and Taubenheim 1) 2c. I and Philippus; the latter sends you his regards.

No. 3 47.

Wittenberg.

November 17, 1520.

To Lazarus Spengler, city clerk at Nuremberg.

Luther refutes the rumors of discord between Melanchthon and Carlstadt, between him and Erasmus. He has the renewed appeal printed in Latin and German.

Printed from an Augsburg copy in the supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 30; in Walch, vol. XXI, 10; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 525; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 53 and (after the original) in the Unsch. Nachr. 1759, p. 434. We have used the variants of the latter.

To the careful and wise Lazaro Spengler, the city of Nuremberg clerk 2c. 2c., my special master and friend.

Jesus.

My service 2c. Honorable and wise, my dear Lord and friend! I read your letter and your great courage in Christian truth with great joy; God strengthens you and all in the faith of Christ, and even (what will torment those of us with His graces. I also thank you diligently for your great kind concerns, which you bear for my sake and for the sake of all Wittenbergers. But you should certainly believe that D. Carlstadt and Philipps are one in the best way; although one says something in the school in a different way than the other, from which such speeches may have arisen. But Magister Philippus is so skilful by God's grace that he will have no quarrel with him. So it has never occurred to me to have any displeasure or displeasure against Erasmus. It pleased me well that he wants to be unnamed by me. I have also written to him and promised not to think of him in this way again, nor of any other good friends, because it weighs them down. People have a lot of such things to say and write about me, so do not dispute their words. Erasmus and I, God willing, want to remain one. It is true that I sometimes secretly dispute with Philippo how close or far Erasmus is from the path; he also has that and everyone has harmless and friendly authority from me to do so. I do not want to attack anyone at first; it is enough for me to protect myself if I am attacked. I now have my appeal (negated 2) printed in Latin and German, although I did not consider it necessary: the bull is so public and impudent in its antichristic condemnation. We do not know whether the bishops will execrate. We consider it as if it had not been handed over to us by law. Herewith I command you before God, Amen. At Wittenberg, in the year 1520, on the Saturday after St. Martin's Day [Nov 17]. D. Martinus Luther, Aug.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1602, no. 478.

1) Fabian von Feilitzsch, Haugold (Haubold, *Hubaldus*) von Einsiedeln and Hans von Taubenheim, the princely councilors. Melanchthon had accompanied Luthern to Eilenburg.

No. 3 48.

Wittenberg.

November 28, 1520.

To Johann Lang.

Luther reports the return of the Elector. Bad things are to be expected from Duke George. About the answer of the Elector to the requests of the papal nuncios. About the burning of Luther's books in Cologne and Leuven.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 399, fol 113 b. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 36; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 526 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 532.

Your venerable father, Mr. Johann Lang, Master of Sacred Theology, Augustinian Hermit at Erfurt, his [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! We are glad that our prince has returned, venerable father, and I ask you to pray for our cause. Duke George is senseless, yes, more than furious. We expect daily dreadful things and thunderbolts from that side. We intend to hold fast to our appeal. I see that the matter is turning into a tremendous noise; may God turn it to the best. We have read the answer of our Prince 1) given to your Jerome Aleander and Marinas, the nuncios of the Pope; it is learned and perceptive, so that we realize that they have done nothing with him. I will send them in times. This same Aleander is accused of many vices in a pamphlet, but it is witty 2) My books have been burned by the people of Cologne and Louvain 3) We do not know what will happen. Fare well in the Lord. The vicar 4) is after Stern

1) From Homburg, the Elector sent a copy of this answer to the University of Wittenberg on Nov. 18, 1520. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1573, no. 457.

2) Aleander was strongly carried along in several satires, but the xxxxxxxx mentioned by De Wette here can be, *h. e. supplicatio ad D. O. M. pro Germania, habita in celebri quadam germaniae urbe in die Cinerum* (printed in Kapp's *Nachlese*, vol. II, p. 500; translated in the St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1829, no. 556) cannot be meant, because it appeared only in 1521.

3) After Aleander had instigated the burning of Luther's books in Louvain (see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1332), he did the same in Liège and later (on Nov. 12) in Cologne.

4) Wenceslaus Link.

berg 5), followed by the converted brother John. Wittenberg, 1520, on the second day (*ante vigiliam*) before Andrew [Nov. 28].

Mart. Luther.

No. 3 49.

Wittenberg.

November 29, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther wants, as requested, to defend the articles condemned in the bull individually, and Spalatin should either translate the writing freely, or leave this to Luther. He asks for the titles of Fabian von Feilitzsch, to whom he wants to dedicate the writing. Luther's parents and sisters were at Melanchthon's wedding.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 293; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 527 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. II, p. 534. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 730.

To the learned and pious man, Magister Georg Spalatin, court preacher and secretary to the Prince of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Hail! I have given a letter 6) to you, my dear Spalatin, to the messenger going to Grimma; now that the venerable Father Jacob is coming, I will give him another, which will perhaps come to you faster than that one. The individual articles condemned by the bull I will soon undertake, and begin to defend them individually, as you have written, and what, as I understand, is desired of me. 7) But if you will not translate the Scriptures with great freedom, and with greater than you have translated so far, I reserve this task for myself. For the images and the subtleties of the speech and the discussions can by no means be reproduced by any translation if it is not free, to say nothing of how difficult it is to express the spirit of the author. Not as if I doubted that you could do this, since you are extraordinarily skilled at translating, but because I see that you are a little too self-conscious, that you do not dare to change any sentence, which is necessary.

5) in Mecklenburg, where there was an Augustinian monastery.

6) This letter is missing. - Jakob" is Vogt, the confessor of the Elector.

7) namely from the Elector, Köstlin., M. Luther (3.) Vol. I, p. 405, - The writing: "Grund und Ursach aller Artikel" 2c. is found in our edition.. Vol. XV, 1476, No. 448.

But it seemed good to me to let this booklet go out under the name of Fabian Feilitzsch, a man who is extraordinarily popular with us. 1) Therefore, let it be your concern. Let me know his court title as soon as possible, in Latin as well as in German. And you will make use of the German, I want to know both, in order to then judge how the Latin is to be formed; so I will go ahead, you will follow bravely. My parents with my sisters 2) have honored the wedding of Philip, with other very respected, even very learned men.

I ask again that we be granted the favor of obtaining a copy of the prince's answer. For those people did not want to give it to us to read even for the second time. You will receive the other things [mentioned] in the earlier letters with the booklet on Christian freedom 3). Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, the day before St. Andrew's Day [Nov. 29] 1520.

Martin Luther, August.

No. 350.

Wittenberg.

December 1, 1580.

To Fabian von Feilitzsch.

Luther dedicates to him his writing *Assertio omnium articulorum* etc.: ("Grund und Ursach aller Artikel" 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1476, no. 448. Compare the introduction there).

This dedication is found only in the *Latin* editions because Feilitzsch died soon after the printing began. In the Wittenberg (1551), tom. II, fol. 94; in the Jena (1566), tom. II, fol. 292; in the Erlanger, *opp. var. arg., tom. V*, p. 156; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 62; Hei De Wette, vol. I, p. 529 and in the Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 1. Walch seems to have overlooked this writing; we have not found it with him.

1) Although Feilitzsch had died in the meantime, the dedication of the *Assertio* to him precedes the Latin editions because the first sheets had already been printed. In the German editions it is omitted. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1476, the introduction to no. 448.

2) "Die Mackenrodtin und die Kaufmannin." Seidemann in Sachs. Kirchen- und Schulblatt, 1857, sp. 76.

3) The writing "von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 986.

To the man distinguished by high nobility and godliness, Fabian Feilitzsch (*Foelici*), 4) German knight, his patron in the Lord, Martin Luther wishes salvation in Christ.

What I have often testified before, Fabian Feilitzsch (*Foelix*), - yes, you most fortunate (*foelicissime*), that in the laity is the spirit that can judge and light a fire (that I speak with Isaiah sCap. 4, 4.), which you most certainly show and demonstrate, who have given a splendid sample of how you are able to judge and act purely, perceptively, godly and beneficially about everything concerning Christianity, when we, my Philip and I, were personally together with you in Eilenburg. 5) And I do not doubt that in this court there are very many who emulate you, so that I am full of joy, seeing the wonderful counsel and judgment of God, according to which He transgresses with the perverse and purifies with the pure [Ps. 18:27]. For since we, who belong to the spirituality (*clero*) of the Lord and should be teachers of the laity, have turned away and turned our backs on Christ and His Gospel, He measures us with the same measure and also turns His back on us, so that, just as we provoke Him in that which is not GOD [Deut. 32, 21], and in the word that is not the gospel, he again provokes us in such a way in those who are not *clerics* and in those who are not teachers, namely by communicating to the laity the pure knowledge of him, and leaving us our foolish and ungodly opinions. "Thou, O Lord, art righteous, and thy judgment is just" [Ps. 119, 137, Vulg.]

Since I have written and said many things up to now, and do not know that the shepherds of Israel are so blind, I have not been able to earn anything but that they belittle me for what they should have loved me for, and do me evil for good [Ps. 109, 4. f.], until they go so far in their rage against their own salvation.

4) Luther gave this form (*felix* == happy) to the name in order to use ihu to the word play that follows immediately: *foelicissime* (Allerglücklichster).

5) See No. 346, especially the postscript.

that they publicly condemned my books and burned them in Cologne and in Louvain. For these have a zeal for God before others, but with lack of understanding [Rom. 10:2]. So much is lacking in this matter that I am moved to anger, that rather I greatly lament their blindness and ruin, even their childish foolishness. For what is easier than to burn the books which cannot be refuted? The godless king Jehoiakim burned the books of the prophet Jeremiah [Jer. 36:23, 28.], but he was not justified by it. But, as I have said, this also belongs to our folly and to our hardened mind, in which God gives us over [Rom. 1:24], that we clergy condemn the truth which the laity seize, and those become priests who are not priests, and laity who are not laity.

Therefore it has seemed good to me to write henceforth to you laymen, the new generation of the clergy, and to begin that under your happy name (*sub nominis tui foelicitate*), (what God wants to give) in a blissful way, by asserting and fortifying everything that those murderers have condemned by the bull quite similar to them. Therefore, by this token of remembrance, let me, rather the Christian doctrine, be commanded to you and all your nobility, and fare well. Wittenberg, 1520, the first of December.

No. 3 51.

Mainz.

December 4, 1520.

Wolfgang Capito to Luther.

(Regest.)

Capito reports on Eck's glorious letter, which he sent to Cologne about his successes in Leipzig, and gives his opinion, both about Eck's actions and about Luther's situation, which is judged very differently from different sides. He speaks about the dialogue against Hoogstraten and about Eck's and Aleander's relationship; about Murner's writings, against which he recommends moderation, as in general the cause of the gospel should not be fought with weapons, but peacefully. The success of the Reformation was doubtful because of the fickleness of the people.

No. 3 52.

December 5, 1520.

Crotus Rubianus to Luther.

He warns Luther of the everywhere obvious persecution of the opponents, who will not only destroy his books, but also try to take his life. He comments on the events in Louvain and Cologne and Hutten's behavior. About his own unethical life in Italy and Germany. He wishes Melanchthon luck for his marriage. About his quarrel with Mutianus about marriage.

Printed in the *Unsch. Nachr.* 1723, p. 704, where it is noted: "This epistle was first published in Wittenberg in 1521 in *aedibus Carlstadii Onrlstaäii*, which is printed by J. C. O. [*Olearius*] in *Arnstadt*. [*Olearius*] in *Arnstadt* possesses" 2c. (according to *Kampschulte*, Erfurt, vol. II p. 88, probably promoted for printing by Luther); in *Böcking*, *opp. Hutteni*, tōm. I, p. 433 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. III, p. 8.

Good luck! I do not have time to write much, nor do you have time to read long letters, especially useless ones. Let it be enough for me to give a friendly greeting to our Martin, whom the goodness of heaven has given us as an evangelist in these corrupt times, although the hypocritical holy (*sanctuli*) fathers and the chaste theologians persecute [you] with such hatred that they would gladly allow the eradication of the doctrine of the Lord, if only they could do away with you. If such a reward is given to the warriors of Christ in these temporal floods, we rightly revere the saints who have suffered scorn and blows because of defending the truth, who have been cut up, sawn in pieces, and killed with the sword [Heb. 11:36. f.]. It is generally said how you are not at all frightened by the threats of tyrants, how you are an undaunted despiser of death, how you wish to take on a thousand dangers of your own free will for the sake of Christ: we approve of this courage and acknowledge the spirit of the Lord, but we fear that through this holy joyfulness of yours a danger may arise for the world. For after Martin is taken away, another will not soon appear who could do the same in the holy Scriptures. Make haste. When the roots of the holy doctrine shall be laid deeper (*jacti [sic!] fuerint*), as now is a good progress, then thou mayest say [Phil. 1:23.], "I desire to depart and be with Christ." Meanwhile, when you say [Rom. 8:31], "If God is for us, who can be against us?" we do not want to hear this in any other way than that you yourself also take care of your life. How many perish in war through excessive joyfulness of courage, while others perish through their

own guard be preserved! For the favor of God protects us in such a way that He wants our care to be awakened by His providence; He certainly wants to have joyful people, but not careless ones; brave, not daring ones; whoever neglects the care for himself seems to me to be tempting God. I believe that I appear to you as an ill-timed warner, but I gladly admit this guilt, in which I have many comrades, because they think that much danger threatens you everywhere through this apparent readiness of mind of yours, which many interpret as carelessness. I have heard with these ears of mine a strong horseman (*centaurum*) - it was a canon - who certainly said publicly that it would not be a difficult task for him, if he only wanted to steal Luther, and to deliver the stolen one into the hands of the pope. Be prudent, be an Argus. I don't know how many you make rich people: very many receive gold, not a few have been offered the titles (*vocabula*): bishops and cardinals, with tremendous rewards. An innumerable crowd is incited by envy. If my cologners have not shied away from burning the Gospel of Christ in your books, or rather, Christ with the Gospel in a public place, what will they not dare to do against your person? A great sum of money has been laid out for the burned books: how now? not against the author? Against this place is a heavy hatred of the heavenly celestial bodies, by whose influence the people subject to them race in constant nonsense. The old memory of the tragedy of the venerable Capnio 1) comes back to my mind, whose spectator I was a year ago. Both the tongue and the pen would not suffice if I wanted to describe the nonsense of the theologians, whose emotions I have found more agitated than those of angry women. Oh, that the dark ones would come forward with their cunning suggestion, so that the fathers in darkness would be illuminated anew according to their merit, who neither want nor can be illuminated in any other way than with their own light, that is, which they receive from their heaven. But I hope they will come forth. But the Louvain have not sinned so much, because all that is their nonsense in this judgment has come from the Cologne and from Hoogstraten; who will not rest until his wretched soul is

will wrestle with death in the ruined body. The error of the people of Louvain seems to me to deserve leniency in many things. The Cologne people sin deliberately, whose wicked leader would have perished by Hutten's sword not far from Louvain the other day, if the magnanimous youth had not considered it unworthy of him to kill the Hoogstraten; he dismissed him trembling and pale, but with very great threats, if he did not 2) stop disturbing you and the Capnio; but his rage knows no end. He has subsequently made many wicked plots, which would be too long to recount; time will make it known after revenge has been taken on the rebellious father. He [Hutten] was with me for five days at Fulda, a few days later than he had met with Hoogstraten. I wish you knew the artifices of the most holy fathers both in Italy and in Germany, for Rome has also migrated into this. I am not allowed to write it, it is so big; everywhere are great reenactments. We 3) have written something jocular about the arm of the Lord against the worldly arm, which is invoked by those who invoke everything ungodly. But where do I end up, since I wanted to be brief? I am carried away to the opposite error; forgive me, Martin, most holy pope, love for you has made me loquacious and taken away a part of the time.

I wanted to communicate this to the highly learned Philippus: he requested me to write again by a very learned letter; however, it was delivered to me late. For while he [the letter] is looking for me in Italy at the same time as yours, he finds me wandering around in Germany after a period of six months. For it was a very inactive year for me, both in Italy and in Germany; if I wanted to rest above all things, I had to wander above all things, which also happened in these days. Since I was recently on the journey to my Dornheim (*Rubianois*), I stopped here in Erfurt with old friends. Not two days had passed when they offered me, who did not suspect anything of the sort, the leadership of the scholastic order 4). I refused, but since I refused, I was forced, for the sake of shame, to accept it. Therefore, contrary to the duty of a caring householder, with neglect of my own duties, I bear

2) We have adopted *ni* instead of *in* with Böcking.

3) Crotus and huts. See No. 354.

4) On October 18, 1520, Crotus was elected Rector of the University of Erfurt.

new affairs Care for foreign things in the community of Franz Sickingen, because one must be careful not to the Studirendem, which your corner is endeavoring to arouse the envy of many, especially of the Franconian confuse. But you will respectfully greet Philip on our nobility. I am considering whether I could finally dedicate behalf, and obtain forgiveness from him if we write something to my Counts of Mansfeld,³⁾ since they have briefly or nothing. He has taken a wife; God grant to this long desired this and it is in my way that there are so many exceedingly holy communion his prosperity, that the happy father may see his children [like the olive of them. One will see what is most advisable. Farewell branches] 1) around his table [Ps. 128, 3.]. I have been and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1520, on the day before the arguing with Mutianus, the despiser of marriage and Conception [of Mary] [Dec. 7].

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 354.

No. 353.

Ebernburg.

December 9, 1520.

Wittenberg.

December 7, 1520.

Ulrich von Hütten to Luther.

To Spalatin.

About the pastor at Lochau. About the dedication of the aergernisse, which have their reason in the inconstancy of the Assertio to Fabian von Feilitzsch, which was already printed when crowd. He praises the steadfastness of Franz von Sickingen, who he died. Why the German translation of this book should not be had almost wavered, but was fortified again by him. Sickingen had a lot of influence with the emperor and would "intercede" for dedicated to Franz von Sickingen. About the dedication of a book Hutten; for the new doctrine, however, there was little to hope for from the emperor. Hutten sent several writings to Luther and asked for his. He also wrote to Spalatin to inquire about the Elector's views and, if necessary, to find refuge with him. Greetings from Sickingen, and to Melanchthon, Spalatin and to the Counts of Mansfeld.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Fach. Printed by Jo. -Frid. Hekel, *manipulus primus epistolarum singularium etc.. (Plaviae Variscorum. 1595), p. 105; in Burkhardt, de Ulrichi de Hutten fatis etc., Wolfenbutel 1717, tom. II, p. 127; in Hutten. opp. ed. Wagenseil, Lips. 1783, p. 284; in Hutt. opp. ed. Miinch, Berolini 1823, tom. III, p. 617; in Hutt. opp. ed. Bocking, tom. I, p. 435 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 13.*

To the godly and learned man, Georg Spalatin, court in Hutten. opp. ed. Wagenseil, Lips. 1783, p. 284; in Hutt. opp. ed. Miinch, Berolini 1823, tom. III, p. 617; in Hutt. opp. ed. Bocking, tom. I, p. 435 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 13.

Jesus.

Ulrich Hütten wishes salvation to the most insurmountable herald of the divine word, Martin Luther, his highly beloved brother and friend.

Hail! I send the letter, and I write to the pastor at Lochau,²⁾ my dear Spalatin, but you also do what you so often recommend to me, that you keep your mind a little in check. He will not soon be able to cause such a great conflagration in that corner, since he does not spread anything into the world. I have received the little stone picture. The book dedicated to Fabian Feilitzsch was on their minds that it is an unpunishable shameful already printed in that part, so it was not necessary to deed to oppose the Roman pope, even though he is make a change; but what is the point of dedicating it to the exceedingly godless and wicked. But I stand up there one who lives more now than before? It does not seem feasible to many to dedicate the German book to him!

1) It seems to us that instead of: *filiurum suorum* according to the Vulgate should be read: *filius sicut novellas olivarum*.

2) Franz Günther.

3) On Nov. 19, 1521, Luther dedicated the winter section of his Church Postil to Count Albrecht von Mansfeld. The letter is found in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XI, Col. XXXIV.

and never give way to adversities. Of all of them, only Franz protects us most steadfastly, but he was almost forced to waver the other day by those who had persuaded him that you had written some terrible things; but I believe that you never wrote them. As soon as I learned this, I immediately considered it my duty to make every effort to ensure that so great a protection would not be taken away from us by our adversaries. I did this by reading your writings, of which he had hardly tasted very few before. At first, as soon as I had taught him as much as I could, the thing began to please him; shortly after, when he saw on what ground and what a work (*molem*) you had built, he said: "Some dare to destroy this, but,¹⁾ if he dares, will he be able to? Gradually I have inflamed his mind more and more, so much so that I have now made him so devoted to us that he does not let any evening meal pass without hearing something of yours or mine. But he is a man of very keen judgment, and you would not find anyone more learned without having scientific education. Then, what eloquence he has; how does he take up any one thing, that he may elevate it and make it great! We could not find a better and more skillful *assertor*. And now there are people who continue to try to turn him away from us with great effort, but I know for sure that they will not be able to do so: I consider the man's loyalty to be so tried and tested. Yes, even when he was tempted a few days ago by some friends and relatives that he should leave the cause that was in such great doubt, he resisted most persistently, claiming that he was protecting a cause that was not at all doubtful, for it was the cause of Christ and of truth; moreover, it was the duty of the German community that our memories should be accepted, and also that the faith should be defended. However, dear Luther, I do not want it to remain hidden from you that he has caused me not to have done anything to this day; but with the intention that, if I held back longer, the cause would gain all the more favor, and the adversaries would become all the more insolent, thinking that I was defeated and crushed by the burden lying on me. I followed the memory of the friend. In the meantime, he also pleaded my cause with the emperor, who promised him that he would

I will not suffer to be oppressed, nor will I condemn myself unheard. Now we want to wait and see what will be decided in the next Diet (*concilio*). Everyone thinks that we will be negotiated, even with great strife. We will see what will happen. You remain firm and cling to the truth with a steady mind. But there is still little hope in the emperor, for he has large crowds of priests around him, and he is even subject to some of them; they all abuse his youth for advice that will never be of any use to him. But Francis' efforts are reliable, even though he thinks that at this assembly of princes the emperor will finally realize what to think of the faithless popes. And some think that this time will be the beginning of a great hostility between the two, where Francis will do his duty. He is very capable with the emperor, but he is preparing to attack at the appropriate time. But enough of that.

I send the bull [Leo's] of the tithe, which has been ridiculed by me for Christ's sake, as much as it could be done in an exceedingly short time and in only a few days, in several places. 2) It is said that you have also written, 3) which I have seen no more than other things that are said to be carried about. I wonder why you do not immediately send your things to me, since you can have people who can easily deliver many things to Franz. I am also writing a conversation, "Die Bulle", 4) as I think, not without a fine wit. As soon as this will be published, you will receive it immediately; at the same time I treat "the worldly arm", 5) I have also raised a complaint about the burning of your books in Latin and German verses,⁶⁾ both I send. Likewise a clear

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1425, no. 444. From our passage, the more precise time determination results: "Beginning of December 1520."

3) This refers to the text "Wider die Bulle des Endchrists," St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1460, no. 446.

4) *Dialogi Huttenici noui, perquam festiui. Bulla uel Bullicida* . . . (1521. Böcking, tom. IV, p. 309; I, 72"). "The bulla belongs to the most dramatically lively things that Hütten has written." (Strauß? 404, woselbst auch Inhaltsangabe.) (Erl. Briefw.)

5) This writing does not exist. As we learn elsewhere, it is a speech. Compare No. 352.

6) *In incendium Lutherianum exclamatio Vlrichi Hutteni Equitis. Anno Domini MDXXI*. "Ehn Klag über den Luterischen Brandt zu Metz durch Herr Vlrich vonn Hütten." Reprinted in Böcking, tom. III, x. 451 and 455.

1) Instead of *aut*, we have assumed *at*.

1) for which the measuring monkeys do not consider a punishment sufficient with which I would like to be tormented; so much, they say, have I transgressed all bounds of respectability. Let Christ judge what will be useful for his community, in which way these evils must be cured. Those, of course, have long since condemned me, but I hope that those whom they have condemned will be absolved by God. Your writings have already burned three times 2). How now? Do people abandon our cause because of this? No! Rather, I write you the truth, dear Luther, the crowd is more inflamed and more inflamed. It has helped them so much that they have burned one or two pieces of paper. Yes, my friends write that in Mainz even little was missing that Aleander was stoned. I have undertaken to publish a rather detailed epistle about this matter, in which I have summarized the whole thing, how they succeeded with this burning. Your name is held in high honor by everyone here. You will do something worth the effort if you write here in great detail what is being done there and what hope there is in each one, what each one would like to dare freely. I had written to Spalatin that he should investigate the prince's mind, and write to me about it in detail, as much as he is able; for I wish to miss what kind of assistance one can expect from him, for it seems useful that this is known not only to you, but also to those who want to lend a hand for this cause 3) and lead the weapons. You too, I beg you, direct your efforts to this, for you do not know how much it will help our cause if he either wants to help the armed men himself or turn a blind eye to a good deed, that is, that we are allowed to seek refuge in his lands if the occasion should require it. When I shall have learned this, I have resolved to visit you at last, for I do not think I can restrain myself any longer from flying here to see you, whom I love so much for the sake of his virtues. This I have written in haste, for I could not be careful as I was hurrying. Franz greets you on

the friendliest, and wishes that you are safe and sound, and of good cheer. And be also greeted by me, dearest and most valuable brother. At Ebernburg, December 9. Greetings to Philip, Spalatin, Fach and all of us.

Postscript. Because I suspected that you would have my writings reprinted there, I am sending carefully improved (*emendatiora*) copies from which they can be copied by a scribe (*notarium*). Write again very soon and quite a lot. Capnio will come here soon. He has written back to Franz that he will do so. 4) The preachers [monks] are trembling. We will see how it goes out.

No. 355 .

(Wittenberg.)

(December 10, 1520.)

Luther's call to the Wittenberg student body to show up for the burning of the ecclesiastical law books.

Handwritten in the Rathsschulbibliothek zu Zwickau in Peter Schumann's Annalen, I, 121. Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 26 and in Erl. German in Kolde's "Martin Luther", Vol. I, p.289. We reproduce this translation here.

Everyone who is seized with zeal for the evangelical truth should be outside the city walls at nine o'clock at the Holy Cross Church, where, according to ancient and apostolic custom, the ungodly books of the papal constitutions and scholastic theology are to be burned, because the audacity of the enemies of the gospel has progressed so far that they have burned the godly and evangelical books of Luther. ⁶⁾ Well then, you godly 5) studying youth, come together for this godly 5) and religious spectacle; perhaps now is the time in which the Antichrist shall be revealed.

4) The earlier verdict favorable to Reuchlin had been passed in Rome in the summer of 1520, and another had been passed in favor of Hoogstraten. Therefore, Sickingen invited him to the Ebernburg and Reuchlin accepted this invitation. But later he seemed to feel safe enough in Ingolstadt and did not come.

5) Kolde translates *pious* by "pious".

6) Instead of *exusserit* we have assumed *exusserint* (*exusserite*).

1) "Clag vnd vormanug gegen dem übermässigen Unchristlichen gewalt des Bapsts zu Rom, vnd der vngeistliche geistlichen" 2c. Böcking, tom. III, p. 473.

2) namely at Louvain, Cologne and Mainz.

3) Instead of *opponere* we have adopted *apponere*.

No. 356.

Wittenberg.

December 10, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther reports the burning of the books of spiritual law, the papal bull and other writings. He asks for a longer leave for the preacher at Eilenburg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 320. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 294; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 531 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III p. 18. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 732.

To the learned and godly man Georg Spalatin, princely court preacher and his [friend] in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! In the year 1520, on the tenth of December, at nine o'clock, all the books of the Pope were burned at Wittenberg in front of the eastern gate 1) at the Holy Cross Church: the Decret, the Decretals, the Sestes, the Clementines, the Extravagants 2) and the latest Bull of Leo X.; likewise the Summa Angelica, the Chrysopassus Ecks) and other writings of the same author, Emser's writings and several others which were written by others. The *Summa Angelica*,³⁾ the Chrysopassus Ecks⁴⁾ and other writings of the same author, Emser's writings, and several others added by others, so that the murderous papists see that it does not take great power to burn books which they cannot refute. This will be the news.

By the way, what you asked for the preacher in Eilenburg 5) that I should do, see, that I do now. For he desires that I, through you, should appeal to the most illustrious prince that he procure for him permission from his superiors to stay in Eilenburg for eight years 6).

1) This is the Elsterthor. See the "History of how the antichristian Decretals of D. M. Luther were burned". St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1616, no. 486.

2) These parts form the so-called *Corpus juris canonici*. See St. Louis edition, Vol. I V, 627, note 2.

3) This is a casuistry for the administration of the Sacrament of Penance, whose author is *Angelus Carletus*, from whose first name the 8nmma takes its name.

4) The *Chrysopassus* was written in 1512, printed in Augsburg in 1514, introduced by a poem of Urban *Rieger* (not Urbanus *Regius*, as the Erl. Briefw. indicates), who had already decorated Eck's *Orationes* in a similar way. See Wiedemann, "Eck," pp. 454 and 452.

5) Georg Kunzelt.

6) This is obviously a joke. Walch took it seriously and therefore made years into as many days. He translates: "that he be allowed to live eight days with his superior, where he might want to study diligently."

He may do as he pleases, perhaps in strenuous study; because he has been tossed about for many years by their commandments in various ways, it is fair that he should at last enjoy a time of rest for his benefit. This I have now done and do, asking that you also do it. See, there you have what you wanted! Farewell. Wittenberg, December 10.

Martin Luther.

No. 357.

December 15, 1520.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends a book by Hutten to the Elector for submission. All kinds of news.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 81 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 304. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 294b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 533 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 20. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 733.

To the godly and learned man, Georg Spalatin, princely court preacher, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! Behold, there is Hutt's book, 7) which, as you see, has been sent to me by Crotus, my dear Spalatin; you will see to it that the Prince receives his copy, I will keep mine. Dear God, what will be the end of this news? I am beginning to think that the hitherto unconquered papacy is one that can be overthrown even against the expectations of all, or the last day is imminent. I believe that the copies of the letters, which you have demanded back, have long since reached you.

It writes B[ernhard] Adelman⁸⁾ that the

7) Probably *Ulrichi de Hutten, Equitis Germani, ad Carolum Imperatorem adversus intentatam sibi a Romanistis vim et injuriam conquestio. Ejusdem alia ad Principes et viros Germaniae de eadem re conquestio. Ejusdem ad Albertum Brandenburgensem et Friderichum Saxoniae Ducem, Principes Electores, aliaeque ad alios epistolae*. In *Bocking*, tom. I, p. 371.

8) Eck had included him in the papal bull of excommunication. He feared for his sinecure and called the Bavarian dukes for protection. As early as November 8, he sought absolution from Eck and received it from him on the 15th.

The bishop of Augsburg would have taken action against him and others at Eck's instigation if the dukes of Bavaria had not stood up for him. This is how this restless man rages. He also writes that he heard from a credible man that the Parisian theologians considered all the articles condemned in the Bull to be entirely Christian, except for two which they considered disputable. We have heard the same from the Netherlands. May the Lord grant that it is and will be so!

The Cardinal 1) of Mainz has banned my writings in Magdeburg by public notice. In Halberstadt they have burned them, likewise the Minorites in Cottbus. The ass Alveld has again written against me, but I despise it and do not want to read it. You are well and pray to the Lord for me. 1520 On the Octave of the Conception [15 Dec].

Mart. Luther, Aug.

No. 35 8.

Coburg.

20 December 1520.

Duke John Frederick of Saxony to Luther.

He promises Luther his continued support and that he has also recommended his cause to your Elector.

The original is in the Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg. Printed in Burkhardt, "Luthers Briefwechsel," p. 35, with the correct note: "Ist jedenfalls die Antwort auf das Schreiben Luthers vom 30. Oct. 1520" [No. 341 in this volume], and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 22.

My greetings and gracious will before, respectable, worthy, dear doctor and spiritual father! I have read your letter and graciously understood it, and I also thank you graciously that you have given yourselves to my writing, even before and before it came to you, and preach and write as before, and do not let the papal bull (poul) deter you, and stand firmly by the Gospel as before. I will recognize this in all graces toward you, and I will gladly have you in gracious command together with the Christian truth, and I will gladly do my part. Please also graciously acknowledge that the highborn prince, my gracious dear cousin and va

ter,²⁾ on my writing, as I have sent you *Copia* before, again written the following opinion: "Highborn Prince, friendly dear cousin and son! I have heard your dear letter, concerning Doctor Martinus Lutter, all contents, and such kindly noted by E. L. E. L. should also not doubt, I will take care of the matter, as much as possible and as much as I want to suffer. In my gracious opinion, as my spiritual father, I did not want to do this to you. I am inclined to show you mercy; I hereby place myself in your prayers. Date at Coburg, on St. Thomas' Eve [Dec. 20] in the fifteen hundred and twentieth year.

No. 359.

December 21, 1520.

To Spalatin in Allstädt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1884, no. 574.

No. 360.

1520 or early 1521. 3)

Luther (?) to Bugenhagen.

For a true Christian, a moral doctrine is not necessary.

The original of these lines is on the title page of a copy of the *Epistola Lutheriana ad Leonem Decimum*, which belongs to the church library at Wolgast. Printed by Mohnike, "Luthers Lebensende," p. XIX, with the note that the name, which had been under the brieze, was cut away, but the similarity of the lettering with Luther's handwriting is unmistakable; by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 20 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol.

To D. Johann Bugenhagen.

You wrote that I would like to write for you a way how to live. A true Christian does not need the rules of morality, because the spirit of faith guides him to everything that God wants and brotherly love requires. Therefore, read this. ⁴⁾ Not all believe the gospel. Faith is felt in the heart.

2) This does not refer to Duke John, but to Elector Frederick. Compare No. 341.

3) The letter is to be placed in this period, because Bugenhagen was immatriculated in Wittenberg on April 29, 1521.

4) namely the *Tractatus de libertate christiana*, to which the letter to Leo X. is the dedicatory writing. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 783, no. 346. The writing "von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen" is found in the St. Louis edition, vol.

1) *galerus* == cardinal's hat.

No. 361 .

Wittenberg. January 14, 1521.

To Staupitz in Salzburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2422, annex, no. 20.

No. 362 .

Wittenberg. January 14, 1521.

To Wenceslaus Link.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2507, annex, no. 66.

No. 363 .

Wittenberg. January 16, 1521.

To Spalatin in Worms.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2505, annex, no. 65.

No. 364 .

Wittenberg. January 21, 1521.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2494, annex, no. 58.

No. 365 .

Wittenberg. January 22, 1521.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends Carlstadt for the Probstei, which was settled by Henning Göde's death, and Amsdorf for the Archidiaconate.

The original can be found in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 88 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 110. Printed by *Buddeus*, x. 14; in *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 547 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. II, p. 77. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 738.

His [friend] in the Lord, George Spalatin, your pious and learned man, Christ's servant.

JESus.

Hail! In a short space of time, I have sent you two letters with small works, my dear Spalatin; I do not know whether they reached you before this one. With regard to the new provost to be chosen, it would not seem unreasonable if you gave the prince the hand to appoint Carlstadt and Amsdorf his archidiaconate, so that this very good man would be provided with a richer salary; but in these matters you will use your better insight. Everything else you can see from the

previous letters. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, the second and twentieth of January, 1521. Mart. Luther, Aug.

No. 366 .

Wittenberg. January 25, 1521.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1887, no. 575.

No. 367.

Wittenberg. January 29, 1521.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks that Spalatin finally answer. He intercedes for Jodocus Mörlin.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 89 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 110. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 14; by *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 553 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. III, p. 78. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 740.

To the godly and learned man, Georg Spalatin, princely court preacher, who is staying in Worms, his [friend] in Christ.

JESus.

Hail! We expect that you will finally answer, my dear Spalatin; for there is nothing new here except what you have heard. I recently wrote foolishly about Provost Carlstadt. The German *Assertio* 1) is being worked on daily. By the way, the Magister Jodocus Mörlin 2) appointed for the parish of Westhausen is very poor; for the sake of Christ, he desires your and my mediation, so that the presentation at that court 3) will be less expensive for him as much as possible. So I ask, you also ask. I will see to it that he has at least something, a little. Be well and pray to the Lord for me. Soon more with him who is a reliable messenger, D. Jerome. 4) Wittenberg, 1521, January 29.

Mart. Luther, August.

1) "Reason and cause of all articles" 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1476, no. 448.

2) On Mörlin, see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1725, note 2.

3) This is the court of Margrave George of Brandenburg. Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 606, note 2.

4) D. Hieronymus Schürf, who left for Worms on February 3. - D. *Hierony.* is to be taken as *Doctore Hieronymo*; not as genitive.

No. 368.

Wittenberg. End of January or beginning of Feb. 1521.

To H[augold] E[insiedel].

Dedication of the manuscript: "Auf des Bocks zu Leipzig Antwort D.M. Luther." See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1256.

No. 369.

Wittenberg. End of January or beginning of Feb. 1521.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1710, no.527.

No. 370.

Wittenberg.

February 3, 1521.

To Spalatin.

About the death of two cardinals; about an accusation against Staupitz; about Luther's work for printing; about a writing sent to him from Bohemia; about the translation of some of Luther's writings into Bohemian, and so on.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 91 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 112. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 305; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 558 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 81. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 745. - Only the Erl. Briefw. and Burkhardt, p. 37 give the correct date according to the original: LX. [Sexagesima, 3 Feb.], while the other editions: *Quadragesima* [XL., the 17th of Feb.].

His [friend] in the Lord, Magister Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant.

JEsus.

Hail! It is a wonderful boldness of Christ that he dares to kill such a great cardinal 1) in the middle of the imperial diet, and has not shied away from the Creator 2) nor from the creature. Our Wenceslaus writes that such a creature also died suddenly in Hungary.

The Roman pope has accused our Staupitz to the Cardinal of Salzburg, as one who would stand with me. The latter has answered

1) William of Croy, Cardinal-Diacon tit. *S. Marine in Aquiro* since 1517, fell from his horse on the hunt near Worms on January 6 and died the same night. (Erl. Briefw.) According to the list of the princes and estates assembled at the Imperial Diet at Worms (St. L. Ausg., Vol. XV, 1874), he died "Thursday after the Three King's Days," that is, January 10. He was not yet 23 years old when he died.

2) The "creator" is the pope; the "creature" is the cardinal.

I do not know whether he will be expelled. 3) That beautiful Concilium in Florence will be published⁴⁾ and the articles for the consolation of those who want to confess, 5) although the presses are very busy. I had breakfast with Duke Bogislaw (*Bugsldao*) of Pomerania, and he also listened to my sermon in the parish church today.

From Bohemia, a learned young man has sent me a booklet in which he has endeavored to prove with eighteen conjectures that St. Peter never came to Rome or was there, but he does not prove it. They have sent my "Ten Commandments" and "The Lord's Prayer" 6), translated into the Bohemian language, printed with their own types, and they greatly promote the word among their own.

You will learn the rest from our Jerome. Farewell, and let the matter of Mörlin be your command. I am also waiting for the prince's answer for the Belzig castle. 7) Wittenberg, on the Sunday of SIXDAY [3 Feb] 1521.

Mart. Luther, Aug.

3) Walch translated the previous words as, "He answered: I don't know if he will get through." De Wette also has a colon after *respondit*, the Erl. Briefw. puts (as we nieinen, correctly) a semicolon. The sense would thus be: Jener [Staupitz] has responded; I [Luther] do not know 2c. - Incidentally, as Walch notes, *evellatur* can mean both: "whether he will get away with it" and "whether he will be destroyed". The sense is the same in both cases.

4) Aleander had referred to the Florentine Concilium of 1439 in December 1520. A print of the same is not known.

5) "Luther's Instruction to the Children of Confession," 2c., St. L. ed. vol. XIX, 808.

6) The title of the book is: *In hoc libello gravissimis, certissimisque, et in sacra scriptura fundatis rationibus variis probatur, Apostolum Petrum Romam non venisse, neque illic passum, proinde satis frivole, et temere Romanus Pontifex se Petri successorem jactat, et nominat etc.* 6 sheets in 4, without place and year. Another issue cited by Panzer, *Annal.* IX, 128, 180 has at the end the date: Nov. 24, 1520. At the beginning of the book the author calls himself: *Ulrichus Velenus*. Several counter-scripts have appeared against it. - The "Ten Commandments" are "Die zehn Gebote dem Volk zu Wittenberg gepredigt" 2c., St. Louis edition, vol. III, 1132. The Bohemian translation appeared at Prague on Nov. 9, 1520. (Erl. *exeg. opp. lat.*, tom. XII, p. VI.) - The "Auslegung deutsch des Vater-Uusers für die einfältigen Laien", St. L. edition, vol. VII, 752.

7) Walch makes *Peltizensi* a personal name: "for the castle Pelitzen".

No. 371.

Wittenberg.

February 9, 1521.

To Staupitz in Salzburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2424, annex, no. 21.

No. 372.

Wittenberg.

February 17, 1521.

To Spalatin in Worms.

Luther complains about letters and shipments being delayed or lost. About Emser's writings, which he wants to answer. About the reprinting of his "Works on the Psalter" at Basel. About the burning of his books by the bishop of Merseburg. About the reoccupation of the terminated Hebrew and medicinal professorships. He sends his lessons for the confessional children. Report of a mockery of the pope by the students in a carnival performance.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 94 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 114. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. 1, p. 305 b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 559 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 86. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 747.

To Magister Georg Spalatin, the pious and learned man, his [friend] in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! I hope that the letters and little books have finally come to you, my dear Spalatin. I wonder, however, what obstacle may have intervened that you have not received them long ago, since I have received two letters from you in the meantime, and there is no news of the ones I have received. What wind may have carried away the very detailed letters I wrote to Hütten? I don't know what to do henceforth with what I have to write and send. Six quatrains of my German writing "Grund und Ursach" I have already ordered to fly to you before, which were rippled damp from the press, but I see that they have become lame; I am sending the remaining ones, and will send the ones that the press will finish.

Emser has finally spit out his poison for the benefit of Duke George. ¹⁾ I am forced to answer the man, just because of his quite impure ²⁾ lies. To the

¹⁾ See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Einl., p. 40.

²⁾ In the original: *impurissima*; in the editions (except the Erl. Briefw.) *impudentissima*.

Murner I can not yet, and how could I answer all? My Psalter 3) is printed by Adam Petri at Bafel, which I would rather not have seen. The bishop of Merseburg has burned my books, the holy man, the pope's servant.

Matthew Adrian asked for permission to leave, which we immediately gave him. Therefore, we are freed from this man, since God wanted Aurogallus to deserve to be his successor. Moreover, it has been heard that our Prince will put a certain stranger in the place of the physician D. Peter Burkhard 4), although M. Augustin Schurs has long asked for it, and we for him; why is not rather one taken from our midst? Or, if our petitions could not obtain Augustin, it would be fair that D. Stephan Wild, the new son-in-law of the old Schösser, be put in his place. I say this so that you can suggest suitable persons from ours, if it should be necessary, and you can.

I am sending the instructions for the confessionals, 5) which you have requested. In Magdeburg, Emser's book is posted on the public scouring post with the title: Such a book is worthy of such a place. They add that it is accompanied by a rod, which should indicate his punishment. Incidentally, Emser rules in Leipzig and is able to do a lot and is subject to many things as one who soon wants to make an end with himself, as people of this kind are wont to do.

During these carnival days, our young people led a masked pope around in a highly exalted manner and with great pomp. At last, in the marketplace, by the brook, they stood as if to throw him in. As he fled with the cardinals, bishops and his servants, they scattered them in different parts of the city and pursued them according to a very witty and subtle plan. For the enemy

3) St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 198. - About the correct understanding of the words: "what I would rather not have seen", see the note there, Col. 200.

4) He went to Ingolstadt and died there in 1526. Compare No. 311.

5) "Luther's Instruction to the Children of Confession on the Forbidden Books," St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 808.

Christ, who mocks the highest kings, even Christ, is worthy of this mockery. Now this story is printed in learned verse.¹⁾ I believe that D. Jerome is with you today. And now farewell. Wittenberg, Sunday Invocavit [17 Feb] 1521.

Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 373.

Wittenberg.

February 27, 1521.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends several writings. About the reproach of bitterness,²⁾ which one makes to him. About the burning of his books. About the writing against Emser, the Magnificat and the Postillen. About a writing of Erasmus, which was printed in Leipzig. About the rage of the Romanists against the Gospel.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 90 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 111. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. 1, p. 306b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 56l and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 89. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 749.

His [friend] in the Lord, M. Georg Spalatin, princely Saxon court preacher, Christ's servant.

JEsus.

Hail! I have previously sent the German script "Grund und Ursach" up to the letter L; there are still L, M, N left, which I am sending; the last one will be ready on Saturday 2). I am surprised that my letters are delivered so late. The booklet that was issued by Confession 3) is being brought to you by the bookkeeper Schott.

But see to it that you do not also believe those who accuse me of excessive bitterness in my writings. For they go about defiling my name, since they can do nothing else; but first of all I learn that they are such people who do not read, but follow what others say, and then are not accustomed to vices being bitten. I am aware of such a

1) "The Latin poem about that farce: *Selneccer, vita Lutheri - disput. subj.*, J. F. Mayer. Witeb. 1687, p. 133." (Köstlin, M. Luther (3rd), vol. I, p. 798 ad p. 425, note 3.)

2) March 2. However, the writing was already completed on March 1. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1476, no. 448.

3) "The teaching of the confessionals? He had already sent it with the previous letter (?)." (De Wette.)

I was not yet aware of my great rage when they accused me. Enough of that.

My book written for the confessors is of no use to the people of Merseburg and Meissen; they burn whole wagonloads of my books. That is how those wretched saints rage. That Rhadinus is Emser, you cannot yet talk me out of it, my dear Spalatin; we also have our reasons, but that I answer him is the friends', not my advice. I had despised him, the beast, but it seemed good to him that the fool must be answered.

I am now working on the Canticum of Mary, 4) which is to be dedicated to your younger prince, so that I can finally give him an answer to his last and gracious letter addressed to me through the booklet. 5) The so-called Postillas, of which the Advent Epistles and Evangelia are finished, will go out in this Frankfurt fair, as a kind of foretaste, so that I can see what people think of this work.

No less [than you] we are annoyed that those sentences 6) of Erasmus and the answers of our prince have been printed at Leipzig, and I do not know where these are concerned, since we do not know and wonder very much where they may have gotten copies from; ours are with us. It is therefore nothing that you accuse us in this matter, which we have

4) The Magnificat, St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 1372.

5) No. 358.

6) *Axiomata D. Erasmi Roterodami pro causa Mar. Lutheri Theologi, Coloniae ex tempore scripta, et Georgio Spalatino, a colloquio sereniss. principis Friderici ducis Saxoniae, Electoris, tradita V. No- vemb. Anno 1520.* printed in the lat. Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, fol. 115 b; in the Jena (1566), tom. II, fol. 314 and in the Erlangen, *opp. var. arg.*, tom. V, p. 241. In the original edition, the *Axiomata* are followed by the "Report of the Action at Cologne between the Papal Envoys Caraccioli and Aleander and the Elector Frederick of Saxony, concerning Luther" (St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1612, no. 483); then a letter from the Elector to Peter Burkhard, Rector of the University of Wittenberg, dated t8. Nov. 1520, with which he sends a copy of the "Report" (this letter is found in the Erlangen edition, *opp. var. arg.*, tom. V, p. 248 sq., note), and finally some news with the heading: "Written by Heinrich, Prior zu Gent (*Gundensem*)" (in our edition, I. c. Col. 1615 from ? 14 to the end). Ans *Gundensis* have made the editions (except the Erlangen one) *Zudphaniensem*. See Köstlin, M. Luther (3.), vol. I, p. 796 ad p. 399.

are very unwilling about these publications, which also make us suspicious of fear and boasting. ¹⁾

Erasmus once wrote that there is nothing to be hoped for from Carl, who is besieged by Sophists and Papists.

2) The Lord Himself is the author and protector of His word alone, but it pleases us that for the time being their raging is postponed by the counsel of God; when it breaks out, everyone prophesies that it will become a riot similar to the Bohemian one, which will also rage against our clergy. I am without blame, since I have striven for this, that the nobility of Germany did not set a measure for those Romans with the sword, but with advice and decrees (which they can easily do). -For waging war against the defenseless clergy is the same as waging war against women and children.

But I fear that the rage of the Romans cannot be dampened by advice and decrees, and that this stubbornness in raging will bring misfortune upon itself. Amsdorf writes lovely things about the precentor (*de succentore januens*). Fare well and pray for me. Greetings to our courtiers. Wittenberg, the February before last, 1521. Martin Luther, August.

No. 374.

Wittenberg. (End of February) 1521.

To Conrad Pellican in Basel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 1224.

No. 375.

Wittenberg. March 3, 1521.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Dedication of the Latin Advent Postil.

The first printing has the title: *Enarrationes Epistolarum et Evangeliorum, quas postillas vocant, in IV. dominicas aduentus, D. Martini Lutheri Witten*

1s According to your sense, this passage is translated in the same way in the old edition: "and thereby we become suspicious, as if we feared and boasted". The words: *quae et nobis metu et jactantia suspectos faciunt* would literally be translated like this: which also make [people] suspicious against us because of fear and boasting.

2) The blocked words were underlined by Luther himself.

bergensis. Wittembergae 1521. At the end: *Wit-tembergae apud Johannem Grunenbergium Septima Marcii Anno M. D. XXI.* quart. Then in the Latin Jena edition (1566), tom. II, fol. 321; in Aurifaber, vol. 1, p. 308; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 563 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 94. In German, this letter appeared in 1522 in the "*Postil* Oder vßleg der Epistel vnd Euangelien durch den Advent, Doctor Martin Luthers" 2c. Without place and year. Probably Leo Judä in Zurich is the translator. This translation is printed in the St. Louis edition, vol. XI, col. XXX. Two different, much better translations are found in the old edition of Walch, Vol. XI, p. 41 and Vol. XXI, 751. In order to have a better translation in our edition than the un-German, difficult-to-understand one, which is already included in the 11th volume, we did not want to leave it at a mere reference, but provide here, as it has been done with all other letters, a new translation according to the Erlangen correspondence.

Martin Luther, Augustinian, wishes grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ to the most noble Prince and Lord, Frederick, Prince of the Empire, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, his most gracious Lord.

Most Serene and Gracious Prince! I do not know to whom I should attribute the fact that I have not yet been able to comply with the wishes of Your Electoral Grace, and, since from day to day more and more matters are arising from one another, I have been forced to postpone [the fulfillment of the wishes]. Of course, E. C. F. G.. has decided, according to very good advice, that I should devote myself to holy and quiet studies, setting aside the quarrelsome, biting and restless writings, with which I have now already lost the third year, and besides the work of explaining the Psalter, the interpretations of the Epistles and Gospels, which are generally called postils, for the common pastors and the people, in the opinion that in this way it would happen that I, taken up by the heavy burden of this work, would also have peace against the will of the adversaries. For such is E. C. F. G.'s innate nature, as their name indicates, peaceable, that they have made known to me with clear and frequent indications how annoying E. C. F. G. those quarrels and questions about useless things (*de lana caprina* 3) as one speaks) are (because it fei

3) *Horat. epist., lib. I, ep. XVIII, v. 15.*

I am allowed to despise those seemingly splendid to build the wall, lest, if I gave myself to only one of the disputes of spiritual greed and to make BethEl into two labors, I should not accomplish either of them. For BethAven with the prophet [Amos 5:5]). Jerome also says that he who does not resist the

But even I myself could not easily say how reluctantly adversaries does as much harm to the church as he does I have been tossed about by these disturbances and torn to the other side.

away from my studies, so that I have not been able to And the apostle commands [Titus 1:9] that a bishop control my flesh and blood completely, that I would not should not only be able to exhort by sound doctrine, but have treated these gross insolence of the godless people also to punish the gainsayers. Not as if I think that I am a more harshly than it befits a religious, yet with humility. bishop, since I lack both the riches and the bishop's miter As I do not reject the guilt in this matter, I hope that (*infula*) by which one is a bishop nowadays, but because forgiveness will not be denied to me by anyone who at he who executes the office of the word executes the office least considers how many lions Moab [Is. 15, 9], how of a bishop, who is an ehud [Judg. 3,15. ff.], who knows many Rabsakhs of the Assyrians [Is. 36, 2], yes, how how to use both hands with equal skill, and with the many extremely poisonous Simei [2 Sam. 16, 5. ff.] I warlike left, which is prepared for the time of war, must kill alone have been forced to suffer for so long, to my and the very fat Eglon by the sword thrust into it. And I, who many people's detriment, whom I could have benefited am a stouthearted despiser in the midst of the swords, with the word of God. Nevertheless, my mind stood in bulls, trumpets and war trumpets of the papists, who seek these storms in such a way that it never despaired of the to frighten me in vain, by the grace of God, do all the work of peace, and take before my hand the interpretations of peace, and take before my hand the interpretations which E. C. F. G. has desired of me. For what should I not to comply with E. C. F. G., through which, which cannot be doubted, the mercy of God has given your Gospel of be able to do in Him who makes me mighty? [If I wanted Christ no little encouragement. to look at my powers, I could not even devote myself to

But now that I see that my hope has been a mere the one Psalter, even if I were Luther seven times: so human thought, and that I am being drawn deeper into great intellect, scholarship, diligence, spirit and grace this great, deep sea every day, as innumerable boils, the does this book require, to say nothing of the fact that I great beasts, join their forces and efforts with the small have the task of preaching twice [daily]. ¹⁾ For of the other ones, I see at the same time that Satan, by challenging occupations, except the service of the word, I say nothing. my hope, has sought nothing else than that I, distracted But I fear that this work will turn out far worse than by the feeling of my insignificance, would finally was expected. For since in the hearts of all there is completely abandon my purpose, and that I would have nothing more sacred than the value of the Gospel, and to go to Babylon before I would provide my Jerusalem rightly so, whose ineffable majesty is to be duly with defense and food. So cunning is his wickedness. worshipped, then perhaps many will expect an interpretation befitting your Gospel, and it will finally Contemplating this, I remembered the holy man become of the birth of the mountains hurried Maus, 2) and Nehemiah, and, leaving the idle reflections to Ezra, the very learned scribe, began to despair of peace, preparing myself on both sides for the works of peace and war, seizing with one hand the sword to repulse my Arabs, and using the other to

1) Luther preached continuously twice a day, on the first book of Moses and on the Evangelia (Köstlin Vol. I, p. 433).

2) *Horat. ars poet.* v. 139.

having conceived with a great fieriness, I shall give birth to a [glimmeuden] straw. I do not say of eloquence and of the daintiness of Latin speech. For as I am inexperienced in these things, so I do not work this at all for the high scholars, but for the sake of the common people, and for those who have breath in their noses, who are highly esteemed by God, as Isaiah [Cap. 2, 22] says. I have to fear their judgment, no matter how coarsely they speak, especially yours, most noble prince, since you are not only favorable to the holy Scriptures with incomparable zeal, but are also so knowledgeable that you could trouble every theologian, even the greatest, if you even begin to raise questions; so much is lacking that the Romans E. C. F. G. with the empty pretense and buffoonery of their bulls, or could ensnare them with their godless laws of superstition, while nowadays they completely deprive all bishops of sense and reason with this crude jugglery.

But I will have done enough, if I have countered the unrhymed and ludicrous glosses of some people by bringing to light the quite pure and simple mind of the Gospel, and the people can at least hear the words of their God alone, purified from human dung, instead of fables and dreams. For apart from the purity and sincerity of the understanding of the Gospel, which is adapted to a lower capacity and that of the people, I promise nothing. But whether I have also fulfilled this, let others judge. But opinions and questions, which serve nothing for the matter, certainly no one will learn from me.

Therefore, most noble prince, accept this service of mine, which is not to be valued according to your dignity, but according to your grace, and for the gospel of Christ, as you do, keep us long the Friederich, the godly, great Duke of Saxony, Churfürsten, in the grace of Christ. E. C. F. G. be well in Christ. Amen. Wittenberg, in the year 1521, on the third day of March.

Martin Luther, August.

No. 376.	
Wittenberg.	March 6, 1521.
To Spalatin.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 2496, annex, no. 59.	
No. 377.	
Wittenberg.	March 6, 1521.
To Johann Lang.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2508, annex, no. 67.	
No. 378.	
Worms.	March 6, 1521...
Emperor Carl V's citation to Luther.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 1786, no. 543.	
No. 379.	
Worms.	March 6, 1521.
Carl V's escort letter for Luther.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1787, no. 544.	
No. 380.	
(Wittenberg.)	March 7, 1521.
To Wenceslaus Link.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2497, annex, no. 60.	
No. 381.	
Wittenberg.	March 7, 1521.
To Spalatin.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2498, annex, no. 61.	
No. 382.	
Worms.	March 8, 1521.
Duke George of Saxony's escort letter for Luther.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1790, no. 546.	
No. 383.	
Wittenberg.	March 10, 1521.
To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 1372.	

No. 384.

Worms.

March 11, 1521.

Elector Frederick of Saxony to Luther.

Letter accompanying his escort letter for Luther.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives E, fol. 20 k, 107. Printed from it in Burkhardt, p. 38 and in Erl. Also in Müller's "Entdecktes Staats-Cabinet" 2c, Jena 1714 ff, vol. VIII, p. 290. - There are many corrections in the concept.

God wills it. By the Grace of God. Our greeting before, venerable, ecclesiastic and reverend, dear devotee! We graciously inform you that the Roman Emperor's Majesty has requested us. Majesty has requested us to provide you with an escort at her Majesty's request. We hereby send you a written escort to our brothers and our [principality] 1) officials, cities and other our subjects, [that they] 1) shall provide you and those who will be with you at the ends where our brother and we have to escort, with sufficient escort and assurance. His Imperial Majesty also sends you an escort. Maj. also sends you an escort and writes to you, as you will hear. 2) We do not wish to be gracious to you, for we are inclined to be gracious to you. Date from the Imperial Diet at Worms, on the 11th day of March, Anno Domini 1521.

[To] D. Martinus. 3)

1) Inserted by us.

2) As Förstemann, "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 64 notes, instead of this sentence: "It sends" 2c. in the Concept was originally written: "Your Mt. has also requested us to write to you in addition to your Mt. writing, which we therefore do not want to have omitted on your Mt. intentions, and where you will come on kais. Mt. request to come, as we consider inconvenient according to the opportunity of the things, but on your favor, so you want to have your thing on the way and in hostels with food and drink and otherwise everywhere in good care." This passage is deleted and the above is written in the margin. - In the same place, Förstemann erroneously says: "Walch erroneously gives March 12 as the date," because Walch does not have this letter, but only the escort letter (the next number), to which this letter is the accompanying letter. Förstemann has considered these two documents to be identical and has given this letter the title: "Geleitsbrief für Dr. Luther. However, the Geleitsbrief has the same date in the concept as this letter. See Burkhardt, p. 38, note f).

3) We have taken this inscription from Förstemann 1. o.; in Burkhardt and in Erl. Briefw. it is missing.

No. 385.

Worms.

March 12, 1521.

The Elector Frederick's escort letter for Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1789, no. 545.

No. 386.

Wittenberg.

March 19, 1521.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1724, no. 535.

No. 387.

Wittenberg.

March 22, 1521.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Schneeberg.

Luther advised him either not to accept the pastorate in Zwickau offered to him or to be prepared for a fight with the papacy.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 122, kok 21, and in other copies at Zerbst, Zwickau, Wolfenbüttel and Hamburg. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 315; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 577 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 115. German in Etliche Trostschriften und Predigten" 2c., published by Georg Römer, Jena 1554, p. Svj; in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 30; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 555; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 302 and in Walch, vol. X, 1880. The fact that De Wette notes: "This letter is not to be found in Walch" has its reason in the fact that the latter has not provided any proof in the 21st volume. Although this letter is also found in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1606, we have nevertheless translated it according to the original in the Erl. Briefw. newly translated.

To the highly esteemed brother in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful servant of Christ in Schneeberg, his exceedingly dear [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I have received your letter, dearest Nicolaus, by which you indicate that you have been appointed to the parish office in Zwickau 4), and you desire comfort from me. You know how dangerous these times are, and

4) Since 1519 Hausmann had been a preacher (not yet a pastor) in Schneeberg, where he had a hard time with the pastor M. Wolfgang Krause, who was papal-minded. He accepted the call to Zwickau, where he was probably introduced on Pentecost (May 19) 1521.

It is entirely that time of flight of which Christ prophesied [Matth. 24, 16, 20. For it is the time when they suffer not sound doctrine [2 Tim. 4:3], and wolves have become the shepherds [Acts 20:29], so that we have no consolation but to beseech the Lord that either we also may be able to flee, or to stand fast in these evil days. Every day I learn more and more how far and deep Satan reigns, so that I am afraid to take a close look at the shape of the church, indeed, so far has it come with my conviction that no one can be saved who does not, in life and in death, fight with all his might against the statutes and commandments of the pope and the bishops. This may be strange and new to you, but that is how it is, dearest Nicolaus. If you cannot grasp this, you will not be able to grasp my consolation either. We have found that the pope with his own is entirely an abomination of Christ [2 Thess. 2:4], so that no one can preach but he who takes care to deprive him of the sheep and to cast him off as a wolf. You know with how great a clamor this offense is proclaimed nowadays as a *schism*, heresy and extraordinary evil; but what shall we do? There is no other way to be saved at this time of perdition.

Therefore, my dear Nicolaus, since my counsel, if it is evil, must be most pernicious to the counselor, I leave it entirely to your free will, and let you act at your peril. If you accept the priesthood, you will make yourself the enemy of the pope and the bishops by contradicting their decrees; but if you do not contradict, you will be Christ's enemy. The supremely free faith of Christ cannot stand with their cords and deceits. In all these things I prescribe nothing to thee, but advise thee as I would be advised. It was up to you either not to desire my advice or to bear this advice I gave you in a godly and kind way. I have (I call God to witness) nothing else; in Him you are quite at ease. Wittenberg, March 22, 1521.

Your Martin Luther, Aug.

No. 3 88 .

Wittenberg.

March 24, 1521.

To an unnamed person.

Luther is without concern for himself, and determined not to do the recantation at Worms that is demanded of him.

From a very faulty copy of a letter found on the back of a letter from Seb. Dietrich's letter to the Ansbach chancellor Georg Vogler, dated Dec. 4, 1540, printed with Veesenmeyer's improvements in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 579 and in Erl. Veesenmeyer assumes that the letter was addressed to Joh. Lang, but Luther had written to him on March 6; therefore, the beginning of the letter does not fit him. (De Wette.)

Hail! I do not write to you, my venerable father; it is your fault, since you sin twofold: first, because you too have written only once, then because you have sent no messenger to bring a letter to you; for where and from where else could I, who am hidden in this corner of the world, find a messenger? I write, and now I also beseech thee, that thou pray, not for me, but for the word of GOD with thine own. For I am not concerned for me, in whose still warm blood (it is strange to say) many thousands of murderers throughout the world have become guilty. And that most holy adversary of Christ, the supreme instigator and teacher of murderers, is laying all his might to destroy me, amen. Let the will of the Lord be done. My Christ will give me the spirit to despise these servants of Satan in life and to overcome them in death. You do not send money to your brother Peter, as he tells me; see that you provide for him. There is nothing new with us, and you wrote that all my things are sold with you. Then you hear from Worms sooner than I what is being negotiated about me. They are working to have me revoke many articles, but my revocation will be this one: Formerly I said that the pope was Christ's governor; now I recant it, and say, The pope is Christ's repugnant, and the devil's apostle. I am compelled to do this by the very wicked and blasphemous bull by which they evidently condemn Christ. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, 1521, on the day of Palmarum [March 24].

Martin Luther, August.

No. 3 89.

(Wittenberg.)

March 29, 1521.

To Johann Lang.

On March 26,¹⁾ Luther had received the Emperor's citation to Worms through the imperial herald Caspar Storm. Now he reports that he will probably come to Erfurt. He sends his writing "Antwort auf das überchristliche ... Buch des Bock Einsers" (St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1270).

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* V 399, fol. 132 d. Printed in Schütze vol. II, p. 40; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 580 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 118.

To the venerable father, Magister Johann Lang, Augustinian hermit, his [friend] in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! Next Thursday or Friday 2) I will visit you, venerable father, with the imperial Ernhold, who calls me to Worms, if there is no danger of going into Erfurt or an unknown case prevents it; then I will talk in more detail. But if not, you will certainly find me on Saturday in 3) Eisenach. I thank you for the Guldgulden (*aureo*) sent. You see how I treated my Emser, the donkey. Farewell. On Friday of the Passion of Christ [March 29] 1521.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 39 0.

Wittenberg.

March 31, 1521.

To Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony.

Luther answers the question about the good works of Christ and his sleeping. He sends the beginning of the Magnificat, which cannot be completed now because of his trip to Worms.

Printed from a copy of the original in the archives at Weimar, in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 30; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 581; in Walch, vol. XXI, 11 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 63. De Wette did not find the original, nor does Burkhardt mention it.

Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Sir! Your Princely Grace Grace Scripture

1) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 1787, No. 544. In this determination of time we followed Kolde, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 321.

2) That is, the 4th or 5th of April.

3) We have assumed De Weites Conjectur, *in* instead of: *ex*.

and content I have received submissively, namely from the good works of Christ and His sleeping.

Now it is true, one ran in the Gospel not more than once that he had slept, which E. F. G. reports. But if one should have written all his sleep, what kind of a book would have become from it? It is enough that once the natural true humanity is indicated in the piece. He may have prayed, fasted, walked, preached, and performed miraculous signs more than once, as is clearly written in the Gospel: But some are written to teach us and to make us believers 2c. But that he has always done the Father's good pleasure is true; his eating, drinking, sleeping, all things, are pleasing to the Father, as the highest miraculous works. For the Father looks not at works, but at the will in works, as I have superfluously taught in the book of good works 4). It is not necessary to believe that Christ on the cross prayed the whole Psalm [Ps. 22]: *Deus, Deus meus, rescipe, orally*, but it is also not unchristian if someone believes this. All this is in the good free will of each one; for the Scripture says nothing about it, so others do not need to believe.

I hereby send E. F. G. the Magnificat I have begun, the fourth quatern is still in the press, I must leave it until my return; for E. F. G. sees how I, called upon for the Reichstag, must leave everything. If God helps me back home, E. F. G. shall have it very quickly. Hereby I command myself to E. F. G., whom God let be in command of His grace, Amen. At Wittenberg on Easter Day [March 31] 1521

subservient
Martin Luther.

No. 391 .

Wittenberg.

April 1, 1521.

To Wenceslaus Link.

Letter and Epilogue to "Luther's Answer to the Book of the Eminent Magister noster, M. Ambrosius Catharinus" 2c.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1436 and 1580.

4) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1298.

No. 392 .

Frankfurt a. M.

(April 14) 1521.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1827, no. 553.

No 393.

Worms.

April 17, 1521.

To the Imperial Council Joh. Cuspinianus in Vienna.

Luther applies for Cuspinian's friendship at the instigation of the latter's brother, and gives news of his first interrogation before the imperial assembly in Worms.

From the original allegedly in the imperial library in Vienna in *Gleichen, Annal eccles.*, Dresden 1730, Vol. III, p. 823; in De Wette Vol. I, p. 587 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. ill, p. 128.

To the highly famous and highly learned man, Mr. Cuspinianus,¹⁾ the Imperial Majesty's librarian at Vienna, his [friend] in the Lord, salvation 2c.

Your love, highly famous Cuspinianus, has easily persuaded me that I dared to write to you in the midst of this unrest, since I previously, because of the fame of your name, wished to be exactly acquainted with you. Therefore, include me in the list of yours, so that I may test the truth of what your brother has praised to me with such a full mouth.

At this hour I stood before the Emperor and his brother and the Roman Empire 2) and was asked whether I wanted to revoke my books. There I answered: the books are certainly mine; by the way, what I would decide in relation to the revocation, I would say tomorrow, since from me no more space and time for thinking over is desired, and has been given to me from the other 3) side. But I will also not revoke even one tittle, so Chri

stus is gracious to me. Farewell, my dearest Cuspinianus. Worms, Wednesday after Misericordias Domini 4) [April 17] 1521.

No. 394.

Ebernburg.

April 17, 1521.

Ulrich von Hütten to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1845, no. 564.

No. 395 .

(Worms.)

(April 17, 1521.)

Luther's own handwritten account of his interrogation at the Diet of Worms.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. E. fol. 20 b* (incomplete). Printed by Burkhardt, p. 39 (with the wrong date: March 17) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. ill, p. 125.

Alls r. kais. Majesty's request and demand I appeared yesterday and still appear in God's [name] 5) Peace and His Imperial Maj. Maj. Christian free escort humbly and obediently to hear and receive [so] that which would be held against me according to Imperial mandate and content. Mandate and content would have to be held out to me.

However, after two pieces were held out to me on my arrival yesterday, namely whether I want to keep or revoke the books that went out under my name, as has been told, and confess them as mine, I first gave my correct answer and confessed all the same books and still confess them as mine, on which I also finally remain.

On the other part, which concerns the highest good in heaven and earth, the holy Word of God and faith, I have humbly requested [and obtained out of the kindness of R. Cai. Maj.

And howbeit under the speech is included, as....

1) Johann Cuspinian, actually Spießhaymer, born 1473 at Spießheim near Schweinfurt, died April 19, 1529 at Vienna; humanist and as such editor of a number of classics, physician, but especially diplomat and used for many legations.

2) Here the text seems to us not to be in order. Instead of: *et fratre Romano* should be read well: *et fratre et imperio Romano*. According to this we have translated.

3) Here we have assumed *ab altera parte* instead of: *parte*, from which we could not derive any sense.

4) The Latin editions given above offer *Quasimodogeniti*, which, as De Wette has already noted, is incorrect, for Luther did not arrive in Worms until April 16.

5) The words in [] in this writing Luther himself crossed out again.

No. 396.

Ebernburg. April 20, 1521.

Ulrich von Hütten to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1846, no. 564k.

No. 397.

Worms. April 26, 1521.

The Landgrave Philip of Hesse's escort briefs for the return journey.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1791, no. 547.

No. 398.

Frankfurt a. M. April 28, 1521.

To Lucas Cranach.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1935, no. 593.

No. 399.

Friedberg. April 28, 1521.

To Emperor Carl V

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1893, no. 580.

No. 400.

Friedberg. April 28, 1521.

To the Electors, Princes and Estates of the Empire.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1899, no. 581.

No. 401.

Friedberg. April 29, 1521.

To Spalatin in Worms.

Luther sends him the two previous letters, which Spalatin probably requested at the Elector's request, back through the herald. He reports that he will travel to Grünberg today. He sends greetings from himself and Amsdorf, namely to the von Pappenheim.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 96 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, kok 117. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 323k; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 601 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 143. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 756.

For the attention of Magister Spalatin in Worms.

Hail! Here you have the letters you requested, my dear Spalatin; you will take care of the rest. We have the Ernhold

Today we are leaving for Grünberg. ¹⁾ Greet all of us, especially Joachim and Ulrich von Pappenheim, also in the name of Amsdorf, to whom we could not say goodbye when we left. Fare well in the Lord. Friedberg, Monday after Cantate [April 29, early, 1521.

Mart. Luther, Aug.

No. 401.

Eisenach. May 3, 1521.

To the Grasen Albrecht zu Mansseld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1912, no. 591.

No. 402.

(Wartburg.) (Before May 12, 1521.)

To Melanchthon's

(Fragment.)

Luther reports that they were very worried that his whereabouts would become known, and hardly wanted to allow him to send the letter. He also admonishes to conceal him and to wait and see what God wants to do through his concealment.

Handwritten in *Cod.* Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 18; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 12 (to Spalatin, May or June 1521) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 146. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 769 (to Spalatin, 1522).

I have hardly been able to get it that I sent this letter, so much one fears that it would be revealed in some way where I am; therefore you also take care, if you believe that this is done for the honor of Christ, that it remains doubtful or becomes doubtful whether it is friends or enemies who keep me safe, and keep quiet. For it is not necessary that others besides you and Amsdorf know anything, except that I am still alive. Who knows what God has done through this counsel of silence?

1) In Upper Hesse.

2) *Buddeus*, who brings this document from Luther's original, notes that it could only be read so far, the rest was so faded that no one was able to read it. He assumes that it is addressed to Spalatin and assigns it to the year 1522. According to its content, it must have been written to a Wittenberg, probably Melanchthon. It was not necessary to advise Spalatin to keep Luther's whereabouts secret. Apparently, it was written in the first days after Luther's arrival at the Wartburg; the following three numbers are from May 12.

I want to work in these heights. The priests and the monks, who raged when I was free, are so afraid now that I am imprisoned that they are beginning to mitigate what they have done against me in a senseless way. They cannot bear the great multitude of the common people who threaten them, and do not know by what artifice they would like to escape. I see the hands of the mighty one in Jacob [Gen. 49, 24.], what he works while we are silent, tolerate, pray. Is not the word of Moses true [2 Mos. 14, 14.]: "You will be silent, and the Lord will fight for you"? A certain Romanist wrote to the Cardinal 1) of Mainz: We have lost Luther as we wanted, but the common people are so excited that I suspect we will hardly keep alive if we do not light candles and look for him everywhere and call him back. He was joking; but how, if the jest brings seriousness? [Ps. 4:5.:] "Speak with your heart upon your couch, and tarry" 2c.

No. 404.

Wartburg. May 12, 1521.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2513, annex, no. 69.

No. 405.

Wartburg. May 12, 1521.

To Amsdorf.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2516, annex, no. 70.

No. 406.

Wartburg. May 12, 1521.

To Johann Agricola.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2520, annex, no. 72.

No. 407.

Wartburg. May 14, 1521.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2510, annex, no. 68.

1) *Galeritae* == the one with the Cardinal's hat.

No. 408.

(Wartburg.) (Around mid-May 1521.)

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1906, no. 584.

No. 409.

Strasbourg. May 18, 1521.

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

Gerbet reports the various rumors about Luther's fate. He asks Luthern for news about it, also for the transmission of the writings he has published, and that he may soon complete the interpretations on Matthew. He sends greetings to Melanchthon, Carlstadt and Blaurer, and from Uringer, Otto Braunfels and Lucas Hackfurt (*Bathodius*).

Printed in *Jo. Fr. Hekel, Manipulus epistolarum* etc., p.65; in part in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib. I*, p. 161, add. III (with the wrong date: May 26) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. III, p. 159.

Nicolaus Gerbel wishes salvation in Christ Jesus, the crucified, to the generous man, D. Martin Luther, the theologian, his extremely dear Lord and teacher.

With respect to you, everything is so uncertain that you have never been able to see or hear anything more uncertain. For there is a constant rumor that you were attacked and captured, and then also killed by a sword being thrust into your neck. Some say that you returned safely to Wittenberg. Now one is in doubt which of these things is true. There is certainly no one among the learned or righteous people who would not wish the latter to be so. You cannot believe how the followers of the opposite party rejoice over the former, how they thank their gods. Truly, they are senseless people who do not know how much evil, even how much human blood your downfall would cost. Of course, we, all of us who have sought salvation and freedom and recognized that you are the champion of the gospel and the true faith, are of a completely different mind, and you do not believe how much we are concerned about your life. It is not that we envy you this glory, that you live with the heavenly ones, dead to the world, for which you have overcome with such sublime courage and with such unbelievable constancy these changeable events (*rerum motus*), but that you have been esteemed for treating with a few the gospel of Christ in the most correct manner, and under whose not deceptive

geric leadership, we drew hope that all that had been erased by the injustice and sloth of our ancestors could be restored.

Therefore, my highly learned Luther, if you love me, if you love the others who still care for you and the Gospel of God with me, which has been preached by you with such great work, with such great care, with such great efforts, with so many dangers, then let us know whether you are alive or imprisoned, whether you are deprived of the freedom to write and to teach us, or how your affairs stand. If the rumor is true, then water and fire will be denied to all who read your books, who will believe that you have taught the truth. You now see what the future shape of things is, which must be held against those who have confessed the gospel of the Son of God. May God grant that in sincere and true faith we may not receive all the wiles, wiles and wiles of all our enemies other than that they are utterly null and void.

By the way, I implore you, my dear Luther, in the name of our friendship, to send us secretly your books that have been published after your departure from Worms, if it can be done by any opportunity. But we all wish that the interpretations of the whole of Matthew, which you have begun, will be completed as soon as possible, for in these you can give us the most suitable form of the whole Christian doctrine.

Greet my Philip in my name; I ask you to recommend me to him in the best way. My wife sends her regards. Greetings from the house of Caspar Uringer,¹⁾ who is the librarian of our council. Greetings from Otto Braunfels, the Carthusian. Greetings to Lucas, 2) the priest. Greet in my name Carlstadt and Thomas Blaurer, the excellent young man, and farewell. Strasbourg, 1521, the day before Pentecost [May 18].

Postscript. I have written a letter 3) to you in the past few days, I don't know in what impetuosity of spirit, very hastily and with too little care, and since I have heard about my

Since I was pushed too much by my friends, who did not want to suffer any delay in the desire to visit you, something quite inconsistent has slipped my mind, which I ask you, by all that is holy and by our friendship, to improve before it gets into anyone's hands. The passage in question reads thus: *Aliis alia placentibus*. You put in this 4) place for the expression *placentibus*, which I dislike extraordinarily, *probantibus*. I cannot wonder enough through what sleepiness or carelessness such a word may have crept in. I am uncertain whether this has happened through the heat of the spirit, or through the all too great desire to please you, or through my occupations, which are all too contrary to better studies. You interpret this to my best advantage according to your admirable honesty.

No. 410.

Wartburg.

May 26, 1521.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2542, annex, no. 79.

No. 411.

Wartburg.

June 1, 1521.

To Franz von Sickingen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 814.

No. 412.

Wartburg.

June 8 and 20, 1521.

To Justus Jonas in Erfurt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1056 and 1199. 5)

No. 413.

Wartburg.

June 10, 1521.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition vol. XV, 2526, annex, no. 74.

No. 414.

Wartburg.

July 13, 1521.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2528, annex, no. 75.

1) In Luther's reply letter of November 1, 1521 (St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2520, annex, no. 71, § 8) he is called Urniger according to Aurifaber; according to *Fechti*us: Winzer.

2) Lucas Hackfurt, Bathodius. See vol. XV, appendix, no. 71.

3) This is Gerbel's letter mentioned on May 14, 1521 in the letter to Spalatin (vol. XV, appendix, no. 68 at the beginning). The same is not available.

4) Instead of *cum*, Wohl *eum* should be read.

5) 1. c. Col. 1201 to end read: "the 20th of June".

No. 415

Wartburg. (July 13) 1521.

To Amsdorf.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2550, annex, no. 81.

No. 416.

(Wartburg.) July 15, 1521.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2538, annex, no. 77.

No. 417

Wartburg. (Soon after July 15) 1521.

To Spalatin.

Luther wants to deceive about his whereabouts by an artifice, namely the following fingirten letter.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, ich. 85 and in *Cod. Jen.* ua, kok 108. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 8; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 31 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 201. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 743.

To Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, court preacher to the Elector of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Hail! I believe that my letter has reached you, my dear Spalatin, now I am sending another one and other things.
 1) Hear also my little friend. Since the rumor about my whereabouts is becoming so strong that, although they do not dare to claim it, they still cannot be dissuaded from it, 2) I would like this enclosed letter addressed to you to be lost through your or your people's deliberate carelessness in such a way that it would come into the hands of the adversaries, as it were stealthily, and as if it had to be kept hidden with great secrecy. 3) And would God that my manuscript would come into the hands of the pig of Dresden, who will undoubtedly make it known easily and gladly. You see what

1) Among them a piece of the Postille, which Spalatin forwarded to Melanchthon for printing.

2) Walch translates the preceding thus: "that, if I may not affirm it, I may not disguise it either, but deny it: so I would" 2c.

3) We do not know whether Spalatin responded to this suggestion. - The "pig at Dresden" is Duke Georg.

seem advisable. That I am well, you will learn from this bearer. For I hope it will be better. Fare well in the Lord. From the desert, 1521.

No. 418.

Wartburg.

Soon after July 15, 1521.

To Spalatin.

A letter from a friend. While people assume that Luther is at the Wartburg, he is safe in his place: nobody thinks of Bohemia. About Duke George's wrath. About the riots in Erfurt.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* u, fol. 10. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 8K; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 30 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 202. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 744.

Hail! I hear, my dear Spalatin, that the rumor is spreading that Luther is in Wartburg Castle (*Wartburg*) near Eisenach; and this leads people to suspect that I am imprisoned there in the forest. But while they have such a suspicion, in the meantime I am safely hidden here, if only the brothers keep faith who are with me. If my published books should betray me, I will change the place. It is astonishing that no one thinks of Bohemia now.

St. George, Duke of Saxony, is still very angry (*iraxit*), as I hear; it is well with him, and yet God wanted him to be angry as long as he is a pope. I will punish him as the Landgravine of Hesse, who is now the wife of Count von Solms, did; she knew how to answer such a great man properly, since she instructed her envoys [to say] that he should be mindful of his grandfather P[odiebrad] and his mother, P[odiebrad's] daughter. 4) Do you not know what she, the very perceptive woman, answered his envoys during the Diet of Worms?

4) Duke George will have reproached the Landgravine Anna of Hesse, the widow of Landgrave Wilhelm II, who married Count Otto of Solms-Laubach in 1519, about this miss-marriage, whereupon she reminded him that he was of Bohemian descent, descended from the marriage of his father Albrecht with the daughter of Podiebrad, Zdena or Sidonia, which was also considered a miss-marriage. Compare the Table Talks of Cordatus, No. 772, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 1902.

At Erfurt, Satan has stalked us by his own authority, so that he may brand our people with slander, but he will achieve nothing; it is not our people who are doing this. In this way, since he cannot resist the truth, he intends to defile it by the foolish zeal of fools against us. I am surprised that the council of this city suffers this. I am well now, thank God, and I have peace from the papists.¹⁾ Pray for me and be well. It is the will of our most noble prince that my whereabouts are not yet known, for this reason I write nothing to him. Again, I bid you farewell. From my place, 1521. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 419.

Wartburg.

July 31, 1521.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2540, annex, no. 78.

No. 420.

(Wartburg.)

August 1, 1521.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2585, annex, no. 99.

No. 421.

(Wartburg.)

. August 3, 1521.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2590, annex, no. 100.

No. 422.

(Wartburg.)

August 6, 1521.

To Spalatin.

Luther explains himself about Carlstadt's and another's writings against the unmarried state, because it does not want to occur to him that the monks are allowed to marry; he sends writings for printing and touches other printing matters.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 116. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 348 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 40 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 215. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 758.

His Georg Spalatin.

Hail! From my landlord 2) I have received the talks and two quatrains of Carlstadt. 3) Dear God, do our Wittenbergers also want to give wives to the monks? But they will not force a woman on me! The author of the conversations did not have enough gifts, not enough erudition. And yet God wanted Carlstadt's writings to be more luminous, since there is a great abundance of understanding and scholarship in them.

It is not my opinion that everything I send should be printed. Therefore, I would like the protective writing of Philip 4) to be postponed (if it should not please you otherwise) until the presses are unoccupied. The same should have been done with the Psalm *Exsurgate* 5) since there are plenty of such writings, which are necessary and urgent.

I ask you, is my Magnificat 6) not yet finished? I am surprised that the 118th 7) Psalm, which I am sure I added at the end of the Sermon of Confession, has been lost in such a way that one part of it was in the same quatern with the last part [of the Scripture of Confession], so that necessarily the Sermon of Confession must also have been mutilated. The remaining part, however, I have especially sent with the other bundle; 8) perhaps you are not looking carefully. . What I send back here [from the Scripture] against Catharinus, 9) send to its place; for I have the same whole.

2) the castle governor of Wartburg, Berlepsch.

3) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2590, note 2.

4) This does not refer to Melanchthon's Latin writing against the Parisian theologians, but to Luther's own translation of it, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 960. Melanchthon's writing had already appeared in June.

5) The 68th Psalm, St. Louis edition, vol. V, 656. See also the note there.

6) St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 1372. See also the note there.

7) According to the Vulgate count. This is the translation of the 119th Psalm, St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1252. See the note there.

8) "The other bundle" which contained the rest of the psalm will be one and the same with the "other things" in No. 417 at the beginning.

9) Probably several too many sheets of the manuscript were sent to Luthern, which he wants to have sent back to the printer. This will refer to the second edition, which appeared in July; the first came out in April.

1) The words: *et a papistis ferior* Walch translates: "and be beaten by the papists".

My obesity (as I see) will be permanent, and must always be alleviated with medicines; every four days, indeed generally only on the fifth day, I have an opening once. A strange stomach! Fare well and pray for me, and beware that you do not take a wife, lest you fall into tribulations of the flesh. ¹⁾ On the day of Sixtus [August 6] 1521.

Mart. Luther.

No. 423.

(Wartburg.)

(Before August 12, 1521.)

To the Christians of Wittenberg.

See St. Louis ed. vol. V, 306.

No. 424.

(Wartburg.)

August 15, 1521.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2521, annex, no. 73.

No. 425.

Wartburg Castle. '

September 9, 1521.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1794.

No. 426.

Wartburg.

September 9, 1521.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2535, annex, no. 76.

No. 427.

(Wartburg.)

September 9, 1521.

To Amsdorf.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2584, annex, no. 97.

No. 428.

(Wartburg.)

September 17, 1521.

To Spalatin.

Duke John had demanded from Luther an explanation of the passage about the ten lepers, because in it one could find reasons for refutation against his book about the

1) This will refer to the persecutions that the provost of Kemberg, Bartholomäus Bernhardt, had to suffer because of his marriage. Compare No. 629 and 630 in the 15th volume.

confession. Luther sent it to Spalatin with the request that he have it copied and forwarded to the duke. If he deemed it worthy of printing, he should prefix it with the enclosed Zueignung (the following number). This interpretation was at the same time to be a sample of the German postilla.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 100 and in *Cod. Jen. a.*, fol. 128. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 360; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 53 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 234. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 762.

To the Magister Spalatin's own hands.

Hail! Since Prince John was attacked with the passage of Lucas about the ten lepers! that one must believe that those sent by the Lord to the priests teach confession, he demanded, when he was here in the place, through my host 2) that I should interpret this gospel, so that he would have something to answer these gray Pharisees 3) and hypocrites, who, as it were, want to forestall my booklet on confession 4) and strive to capture the prince's mind in advance through this gospel and turn it away, because they have heard that the sermon on confession is under the press.

Therefore, I have had this interpretation 5) sent to you for the reason that you may see to it that it is carefully copied by a foreign and good hand, since you have a lot of such hands that have time for it, and my handwriting must be kept hidden; therefore, send my handwriting back to me, since I have no other copy, and it could not be given to anyone else to copy, so that I would not be betrayed.

And although I have dealt with this passage in the booklet on confession, I have nevertheless so despised [the opponents' interpretation] that a careful refutation seemed superfluous to me.

2) Duke Johann will not have seen Luthern during his presence, since he sends his request through Berlepsch.

3) This refers to the gray brethren (the Franciscans or clog-footed) at Weimar, who were fiercely hostile to Luther. Cf. St. Louis edition, Vol. XVIII, 1418 ff.

4) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 814. See also the introduction there, p. 38 f.

5) to *eum* is to be added: *evangelii commentarium*.

For I did not believe that anyone would be so limited that he would seriously want to prove confession from this passage. That is why I have treated the passage carefully and abundantly here, and refuted its nonsense. If you should now judge that it should be printed, then preface the preface which I have enclosed, attributed in my name to anyone you want, either to Haugold (*Hugbaldo*) Einsiedel, or to whom it seems good to you, only not to the prince. The cause you see. For I would have it printed primarily so that it would help my sermon on confession, then, because it covers almost the summa of the Christian being and amply exemplifies a godly life, so that the Germans would also get a foretaste of the postils. I would have added what Philip misses in this sermon, but I cannot yet understand what he misses. If it does not please you that it should be printed, then destroy the preface and give the rest to Prince John; you will send me my manuscript again.

I believe that you have heard what the Parisians have done against their sophists in my name for mockery. This priesthood of Baal and Peor begins to be despised, which is cursed by the Lord through the mouth of Paul. God be praised! And that which the pope counsels with the emperor has not yet come to maturity; both are guided by God as they deserve and where they should be led, but in the meantime they do not think about it until the iniquity 1) of the Amorites becomes full. I rejoice and begrudge the emperor this happiness, but because of the mystery of GOD. Fare well and pray for me. On the day of Lambert [Sept. 17] 1521. Mart. Luther, Aug.

No. 429.

(Wartburg.)

September 17, 1521.

**To Hangold von Einsiedel, Hans von Dolzk and
Bernhard von Hirschfeld.**

See St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 1438.

1) In the Erl. Briefw.: *iniquitatem* instead of *iniquitates*; probably a misprint.

No. 430.

(Wartburg.)

October 7, 1521.

To Spalatin.

Luther has recovered. He apologizes for not having been able to answer all the letters. He asks that Melancthon be removed from the danger of the plague and announces that he will publicly attack the indulgence mischief at Mainz. - Postscript. There is a mass priest in the castle who holds private masses daily. Luther wishes that an end be put to the corner masses.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. The postscript is enclosed on a separate sheet. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 101 (the postscript is marked as No. 102) and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 130. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 361; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 59 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. III, p. 236. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 764. In Aurifaber, De Wette and Walch, the postscript is attached to the letter of I. Nov. Nov.

His Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant.

Hail! I thank you for what you have sent. My back and my body are finally reconciled with me again, so that I no longer need any medicine, and, thank God, am quite healthy, as before. I was not able to write to Gerbel through this messenger, he was in such a hurry, nor to Taubenheim. I have been forced to receive yours in one and the same hour and to pour this out. At a later time, I will write more extensively.

I pray that Philip will not stay because of the plague. This head must be preserved, so that the word does not perish, which the Lord has commanded him for the salvation of souls. I will not be deterred from attacking privately and publicly the idol at Mainz with its whorehouse at Halle. 2) Farewell. In the greatest haste. Monday after Franciscus [Oct. 7]. Mar. Luther.

There is a mass-keeper in the castle who says mass daily, I fear, with great idolatry; so that nothing else may be added: yet God would that he [be abolished] and all such private mass-keepers (*privatarii*) at least be diminished, if they do not come to a

2) Luther did the former through his letter to the Archbishop of Mainz, Albrecht, on Dec. 1, 1521 (St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 548), the latter through a writing: "Wider den Abgott zu Halle" ("Against the God of Halle"), whose publication, however, was prevented by Spalatin, and which has disappeared without trace. Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 27.

times can be entirely detached. It is an injustice against the mass if it is held privately, since it has the name [assembly] and *communio* [communion], and Christ's and Paul's ordinance demands that it be celebrated publicly and held in a gathered congregation for the proclamation of the word, that is, in his memory. O thou Antichrist!

No. 431.

Wartburg.

November 1, 1521.

To Nicolaus Gerbel in Strasbourg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2517, annex, no. 71.

No. 432.

(Wartburg.)

November 1, 1521.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends letters and asks for them to be forwarded. He complains about challenges.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.*, No. 103 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 180. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 362; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 91 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 243. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 765.

To his extremely dear Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant and his friend.

Hail! You will see to it that this is given to Philip, my best Spalatin, but I am also sending my letter to Gerbel. You see that he wants my books; this requires your help and effort, I cannot arrange it. I have shown him a register of all of them; you can take care of the rest, if you wish. You will also give his letter to Taubenheim.

I have now nothing else what I could write. For you, who have to do with all occasions, it comes to you to write to me, who am only now truly and actually a monk (*monacho* == a single one). But I am not lonely (*monachus*), because there are many and wicked and cunning devils with me, who, as one is wont to say, pass the time, but in a troublesome way. Pray that Christ does not leave me to the end, and be well. On the day of all saints [Nov. 4] 1521. Mart. Luther.

No. 433.

Wartburg.

November 1521.

To the Augustinians at Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1068.

No. 434.

(Wartburg.) (Probably in November 1521.) 1)

To Melanchthon.

(Fragment.)

Luther throws the accusation that he does not write back on himself and asks him to write to Wider Emser, which he is obliged to do as Baccalaureus of Theology.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 359; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 92 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. III, p. 244. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 761.

You have no reason to accuse my silence at this time, because you yourself have not written anything here until now, which you were guilty of during the turmoil 2) in your affairs, unless you would have been so upset by the one voice of Emser, that you must not make a fuss. Eh, you theologians and brave defenders of the Christian doctrine, which one man, and a wicked one at that, and that in the matter of godliness, so submissively maintains! Why do you not oppose him? Why do you not bring out the learned weapons against him? Why do you not make known to your poor people the nonsense and godlessness of man? And although all who teach Christ should do so, it concerns you above all, who bear the theological laurel 3) and, if I am not mistaken, have bound yourself by oath to resist and refute heresies. When will we see something worthy of a baccalaureate of theology? If it has been correctly noted by the naturalists that the thunderbolts do not

1) This time determination has De Wette. The Erlanger Briefw.: "Anfang November 1521." Aurifaber places our writing i perhaps more correctly) among the letters written in September. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 41 d.

2) at the abolition of the Mass and the departure of many monks from the monasteries in Wittenberg (De Wette).

3) Melanchthon was a Baccalaureus of theology.

for even Tiberius, when the heavens thundered, had himself crowned with the same against the fear of the thunderbolts 1): why then are you so afraid of the Salmoenean thunderbolts of Emser, since you are adorned with laurels? Why are you not afraid of the inevitable thunderclaps of Christ [Marc. 8,38.]: "He who is ashamed of my words" 2c.? Since the seeress of Apollo, as it is read in Lycophron 2), had eaten the laurel, she received at the same time the divinity and the prophesying enthusiasm, and as the poet says: xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx xx
xxxxxx xxx [as he ate the laurel, enthusiastic speech sprang from his mouth]. How happy the theologians would be if they received the spirit of divine teaching at the same time as the laurel! But dare you; you have taken an oath to the holy scripture; why do you hesitate? why are you silent?

Even if I am only an inexperienced beginner, you will still have me as a companion, and it will not grieve me to take on the military service and the difficult work of war under you, such a master. Who should not rejoice to do military service under one who has brought such gifts to theological things, so much knowledge of things, who has studied natural things, since you have been engaged in the medical art for many years,³⁾ who knows all the sayings of the philosophers like his fingernails. For I believe that those who consider philosophy and the knowledge of nature to be useless for theology are very, indeed, completely mistaken; for what else should our professorships serve us for?

1) Compare *Plin hist. nat.* XV, 30. - Salmoneus, son of Aeolus, king of Elis, wanted to be like Jupiter and imitated Jupiter's lightning and thunder by throwing torches and driving with four-horse carriages over bronze bridges, but was struck dead by lightning. *Virg. Aen., lib.* VI, v. 585 seqq.
2) Lycophron, a poet from Chalcis in Enböa, around 280 BC, wrote among others a Cassandra or Alexandra, in which v. 6 the mentioned passage is found.
3) *versatus in Herculanis medicorum xxxxxxxx*, literally: who stayed in the warm baths of the physicians. *Erasm. Adag. s. v. Herculana balnea: Vulcanus muneris vice submisit Herculi fervida balnea, unde omnia calida balnea Herculana dici coepta sunt.*

	No. 435.	
(Wartburg.)		November 11, 1521.
	To Spalatin.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2548, annex, no. 80.		
	No. 436.	
Wartburg.		November 19, 1521.
	To Count Albrecht zu Mansfeld.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XI, XXXIV.		
	No. 437.	
Wartburg. -		November 21, 1521.
	To his father House Luther.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1500.		
	No. 438.	
Wartburg.		November 22, 1521.
	To Spalatin.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1800.		
	No. 439.	
Wartburg.		December 1, 1521.
	To Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 548.		
	No. 440.	
Wittenberg.		Between December 5 and 8, 1521.
	To Spalatin.	
See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 560.		
	No. 440a.	
(Wartburg.)		(Mid-December 1521.) 4)
	To Spalatin.	
	Luther agrees to postpone the printing of the book against the archbishop of Mainz, but reproaches Spalatin for his timidity; one must finally act for the sake of the gospel. He sends a document to be printed and asks that the missing sheets of Melanchthon's <i>loci be sent</i> to him.	
	4) Since Luther wrote this letter after his return from his stay in Wittenberg, which lasted until December 10, and has already received an answer to No. 440, it cannot be dated before the middle of the month.	

Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 221 (incorrectly placed in 1524); by De Wette, vol. II, p. 110 (beginning of Decembers) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 254. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 910.

that they might one day want to preach the gospel from the heart.

I ask you, if it is the truth that the celibate state and

Hail! See, so that it does not seem as if I had not granted you anything, my dear Spalatin, I allow that the publication of the booklet against the Mainz 1) is postponed, but I want you to hand it over to Philip, whom I have instructed to eradicate what is too sharp. For I absolutely want the letter 2) to be sent to him, and I will send a new one to him by my own messenger. I am too wise and too fearful. I will believe that the bishops will be satisfied that you write about his future sermon, and you do well that you do not judge presumptuously, but you do not do well that you do not finally believe me. I know the thoughts of Satan, my dear Spalatin, but nothing against the thoughts of the Lord; yes, I know that there will be another trick of Satan's, which would like to attack us with greater force than to now, because they vainly fear that heaven will invade this one, and I will not even fear him in this way. For the Lord lives, whom you, as befits courtiers, do not believe, if he does not arrange his works according to your will, so that zero belief is no longer necessary. In this court, nothing is so offensive to me as unbelief, which neither believes that what happens is done by the counsel of God alone, nor approves of anything unless there is hope that it can be accomplished by our powers. So far, nothing has been accomplished by so many experiences and examples in this matter alone. You write that the priests were let go by those, as if this letting go would not be seven times more cruel than imprisonment, if they had killed them right away, since they forced the poor people to take a false oath and to deny the truth of God. Namely, these are the people of whom you want to boast that they have returned to the good path, and of whom you expect

monasticism is condemned by God, as it undoubtedly is, why should it not be free to do the opposite and follow it? Or should one continue to argue about the words of God about the words of God? For putting them into practice? I am too wise and too fearful. I will believe that the bishops will be satisfied that you write about his future sermon, and you do well that you do not judge presumptuously, but you do not do well that you do not finally believe me. I know the thoughts of Satan, my dear Spalatin, but nothing against the thoughts of the Lord; yes, I know that there will be another trick of Satan's, which would like to attack us with greater force than to now, because they vainly fear that heaven will invade this one, and I will not even fear him in this way. For the Lord lives, whom you, as befits courtiers, do not believe, if he does not arrange his works according to your will, so that zero belief is no longer necessary. In this court, nothing is so offensive to me as unbelief, which neither believes that what happens is done by the counsel of God alone, nor approves of anything unless there is hope that it can be accomplished by our powers. So far, nothing has been accomplished by so many experiences and examples in this matter alone. You write that the priests were let go by those, as if this letting go would not be seven times more cruel than imprisonment, if they had killed them right away, since they forced the poor people to take a false oath and to deny the truth of God. Namely, these are the people of whom you want to boast that they have returned to the good path, and of whom you expect

If nothing else is to be done than what we have done so far, nothing else should have been taught. I also send the German exhortation, 3) which I would like to see published as soon as possible, to counter those crude and unruly boasters of our name. This quatern G of Methodus of Philippus I have too much, but I lack at the end the three last quaterns Q. R. S. which you will complete in due time. You will hand over the Greek testament to Philip, and be well with the whole court, which Christ finally wants to make believers in uncolored faith. Amen.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 441.

December 18, 1521.

To Joh. Lang in Erfurt.

Wartburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 2554, annex, no. 82.

1) "Against the Abgod at Halle." Spalatin did not send it to Melanchthon, however, but kept it back.

2) Luther did not know that Melanchthon, to whom it had come from Spalatin, had meanwhile sent the letter to the archbishop.

3) St. Louis ed. vol. x, 360.

No. 442.

Wartburg.

December 20, 1521.

To Wenc. Link in Nuremberg.

Luther seeks to convince him of the nullity of the monastic vows and of the impossibility of preventing the departure of many monks from the monastery, and wants him to declare publicly the freedom to leave. Of his presence in Wittenberg and his works.

Handwritten in the Börnersche Sammlung in Leipzig; in the Dresden Archives, Locat 10,299, Bl. 12a (with the date: *fer. 4ta post Lucia* [Dec. 18]; a simultaneous copy somehow procured for Duke Georg with abbreviatory notes) and *Cod. Seidel.* in Dresden, p. 351. Printed by- Schütze, vol. II, p. 41; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 116 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 257.

To the worthy and Christian man, Wenceslaus Link,
Vicar of the Augustinian Society, his superior in
Christ.

Hail and glory to your Lord! My dear Wenceslaus, that you liked my Catharinus, I am glad about it, because I give a lot to your judgment; but see that I may act with you as one says: He who admits the prefix of a good conclusion, cannot deny what follows from it. But that which follows from it is that which you now see in this monastery. For if it is contrary to the gospel to make sins from the use of food, place, person, time, and other things: where then will the vows, the monasteries, the rules, the statutes remain? For all these things are contrary to the gospel, and yet it is as true that it is contrary to the gospel to make sins in these things, as it is certain that the gospel is the gospel. What therefore wilt thou do? whom canst thou compel to obey? whom, having left, canst thou call back? whom canst thou accuse as an apostate, when thou shalt teach, as thou art guilty, that there is liberty here, and no sins? You may desire counsel from me; rather, you do not need my counsel. For I am sure that you will not do or suffer anything against the gospel, even if all monasteries would have to be destroyed. However, I am displeased with this departure from the gospel.

Noise of which I have heard. For they should part from each other with mutual consent and in peace, unless this is the punishment for a vow made in an evil and ungodly way, that it should be dissolved with disorder because it was entered into with ungodly concord. But that they could be recalled, I do not see for right and good au, although they have not acted right and good. Nor do I believe that you could prevent it if, in addition, there should be some who want to leave; therefore it would be best for you to see to it at this imperial diet of yours 2) that, after the example of Cyrus,³⁾ that freedom be given by public edict to those who want to leave, that no one be expelled, that no one be held back by force. But you should remain in the service of Babylon like Jeremiah for the time being [Jer. 40, 6], because I will also remain in this clothing and in this way of life, unless the world becomes a different one.

I do not see what you could do differently here. For I do not want you to encourage ungodliness or to be a leader in ungodliness. When you read my booklet on the vows, you will see my opinion. I was in Wittenberg, but I was not allowed to go to the monastery, 4) so that I would not be betrayed. Therefore, you must dare something here, since you see that the time and the work of God demand it. I confess, it is unheard of, but at the same time also insurmountable. I have been convicted by vivid things (*demonstrative*). You have Philip Melanchthon and others whom you can consult. For it pleased me that you held this meeting in Wittenberg. I do not know where our dearest father Staupitz may be. But I hear that he is a courtier at the Salzburg idol 5), which I do not begrudge the very good man. You will greet him. For I believe, from my books he will

2) Link, as vicar of the order, had called together a convent of the Augustinians, which gathered in Wittenberg around Epiphany 1522.

3) Ezra, Cap. 1.

4) That is, I was not allowed to do anything in the monastery regarding this matter.

5) Cardinal Matthew Lang.

1) "Vicar" set by us according to the variants given by De Wette-Seidemaun, vol. VI, p. 538, note 5 from the Dresden manuscript.

to know who I am and what I am dealing with. Now I am working on the Postille and on the translation of the Bible into German. Farewell. From the desert, on Friday after St. Lucy the Virgin [Dec. 20].

Your Martin Luther.

No. 443.

Halle.

December 20 and 21, 1521.

Capito to Luther.

Capito wrote that he had another way of serving the Gospel than Luther, namely, that he had worked with his prince over and over again so that nothing decisive was done against the person of Luther and the Gospel. He encouraged his prince to read the Scriptures and some of Luther's books, which strengthened him in the truth. He excuses and glosses over the behavior of his lord. About the marriage case of the priest at Vatterode in Mansfeld. About the kind and gracious answer of the Elector to Luther's letter, to whom one must be gentle and not challenge like a gladiator to a fight.

Manuscript in Bern in *Cod. Spalatini* == *Epp. variae* XVII, 4^o, fol. 8 a. and 7 b and in Strasbourg in Thes. Printed in Krafft, Briefe und Documente, p. 35 and 38 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. III, p. 259. Luther replied on January 17, 1522.

Greetings! I have not written to you for a long time, firstly because I did not want to confront this course, which I would like to be as happy as possible; secondly, because I have adopted a way of promoting things that is different from yours, which you are certainly quite capable of asserting your position in open combat and displaying a fierceness of spirit that no one can resist. That is why I thought I could come to your aid with mines. And indeed, something seems to be in place. For Erasmus, who has a fine nose and a sharp mind, and who is very sympathetic to the affairs of our religion, although he has a different kind of judgment, publicly advised at Cologne 1) that I should see to it that the matter was postponed; victory lies in the recognition of the matter, which requires time. I have carefully followed this advice and have so far worked through my prince to ensure that nothing is decided against you too soon. What have I not tried in Cologne, what have I not endured?

by whichever means I could come to the aid of your troops. And with this I have not earned great thanks from the Romans, whose counsels and undertakings, as I believe, did not fall by without common benefit through these diligent efforts. How often, moreover, did my prince, the Mainzer, at Worms, while it was being discussed whether to exterminate you, sometimes by hesitating, sometimes by advising something quite different, bring it about that the minds of most decided in favor of postponing the matter. Although he has often gone astray by certain artifices, because he is a prince and inexperienced in the text of the Holy Scriptures, he has nevertheless always been brought back to the right path without much reluctance. But in the meantime, while I was with him, he tasted something of the Holy Scriptures, not without fruit, and even instilled in me the not at all vain hope that with him there would one day be something more decisive. I will say no more, lest you think that I am either inventing something or expressing myself too ambitiously, since I desire nothing so much as that the leniency of Christ should prevail in general against the tyranny of men. I have left the most substantial studies 2) I have adopted a way of life that is foreign to my customs, so that I could thus remove the obstacles from the way for you who walk godly. And it did not turn out unhappily at all. For everyone who knows can testify to me how often the Cardinal of Mainz has stood on our side, how often he has aroused the displeasure of the Romans, yes, how often they in their writings have rebuked him in a hidden way, but me openly, as if he, influenced by me, was protecting them too indolently. I have - what should I hide it from you - acted cunningly, but godly, and used human diligence to promote the service of faith. By the way, in order to obtain such things, I have often promised my prince that no one of our order would be the least bit repugnant to him, that not all should accept with open hands the confession and the sincerity of his faith, if only he would continue to understand the purpose of the thing rightly and make an effort to express it in life, since much is at stake that no one should think that vain things are preferable to true ones. For in the meantime he has appeared as if he were too attached to ceremonies.

On the other hand, I persuaded him and drove the man to read the Scriptures, esp.

1) In November 1520 after the coronation of Carl V at Aachen.

2) in Basel.

He has already had these things in his hands for eight days and is occupied with them; as far as I can see, they promote his Christian judgment quite nicely. He has already had these things in his hands for eight days and is occupied with them; as far as I can see, he is beautifully encouraged in his Christian judgment by them. But after the return to Halle, he immediately, because he was not accustomed to what he had read, without my knowledge, I do not know what he did with regard to indulgences 1), which I had only learned late; but nevertheless I opposed it so that he was undoubtedly moved by remorse over his deed. Also, as far as I know, he has done nothing from that day on to get the indulgence going again, but rather, through reading and daily conversations, he draws more and more the light of truth, as he is by no means an ignorant man. I am happy about your letter. What I have already done, you now accomplish through this letter. His mind will be fortified, but I expect it to become exceedingly firm after he has become accustomed to stronger food, and nothing stands in the way of this except that he is a man, as he says, not inaccessible to flattery, because he is a born prince and a young man. I see that you have sought nothing else than that he should not retrieve the buried indulgence, lest he should deceive the people by his prestige. Therefore, you work very beautifully with me, and I thank you. Only I ask that you do not do something careless, that you do not heckle the one who continues well, that you do not deter the one who starts fine, but rather continues, by insults, that you do not miss something out of zeal and diligence, and give me at least some small things, if he has any, and exercise leniency against them for a while, as those that are to be improved next, if, I say, there will be hope that he will become better. How righteously he insists with me that the Christian sermons should be heard! By his command, the Gospel of Matthew is freely preached here from the day he stopped the indulgences. In his own words, he refused the monks who sought permission to preach against you, even though they were instructed to do so by papal bulls. In my absence, he said: "If you preach the gospel, without anyone

I will not be against them, but I will never be an inducer of those who speak of strife. Then, when they stopped in an impetuous way, he had me answer them in the same way, but a little later. Such things have happened innumerable times, of which the physician Stromer,³⁾ the godly and extremely devoted man, knows a good part. All this is proof to me that the cause of this error, if he still harbors one, is the insolence of the flatterers, whose enmity against the gospel I have to suffer, even though they cleverly pretend otherwise. But in the meantime such things occur, which I do not approve of. How now? Are we out of this world, that we want to wipe away all stains with impetuous remedies at once? One must close one's eyes to small things and direct one's mind to the truth, then what is wrong will fall away of its own accord. I therefore urgently request, even for the sake of Christ, that you handle the matter in and for itself, without reference either to me or to another, the prince, so that the one who has long since been attacked will have more strength left to resist. Consider the judgment of the common people, who have a disgust for the bravery and insolence in speech.⁴⁾ You may also be moved by my danger if it seems to you that something must be added to friendship in this matter, since I have promised the prince all security with regard to you and have brought it about by the fact that something was not decided against you by the Germans until late, and then that the decision did not come to any force, so that your cause gained strength through void edicts. For it would have been full of danger if these people had fought the cause too spitefully by force sooner than it had become known to the people other than orally. Through trembling, your followers' courage grew and returned, which, as I had foreseen, would occur. This I write casually, as it were, no less sure of your faith than of your spirit, because I know that you will interpret everything for the best. For I seek nothing but the prosperity of the Gospel and the safety of my innocent prince, lest in the meantime a union of the great should finally come about, and, as hitherto in pretense, all freedom to write should now be seriously cut off, which I fear will happen,

3) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1168, note 1.

4) Luther expresses this in his reply of Jan. 17.

1522: "The common people are annoyed when you bite so hard.

1) On Sunday after the Nativity of Mary [Sept. 15], Cardinal Albrecht had the sanctuaries of the collegiate church in Halle displayed and proclaimed an indulgence to the visitors.

2) Gellius 14, 4, 3.

will happen, not without the infinite shedding of Christian blood. If you now have something with my prince, you may communicate it privately to me and to him, and I will gently bring him back on the right path, for through reading he has become more compliant and is becoming more so day by day.

With regard to married priests, many things are suspicious to me, and I fear such cases very much, as if they were festering, especially that those who have entered the marriage state with the consent of the people, after perhaps living badly with each other or having grown tired of the discomforts of the marriage state, might divorce again by force of their superiors, and therefore have not far-fetched excuses for their attitudes on both sides, which would provoke the people against us. If a few good and steady men would dare the matter first or otherwise see a suitable way, I would indeed hope more for success. But with regard to our priest in Vatterode 1) (*Vatterode*) look at the matter like this: He took a certain whore, who had strayed from Switzerland, to live with him, and since he had a love affair with her, the Grasen, incited by a certain nobleman, who was very hostile to him, expelled him from their territory, where he resides. The man defended himself, saying that he had her as his wife and that it was wrong for any power to separate those who were bound by God. Soon they showed him to my prince that he should punish him as a pernicious innovator, and with such urgent words that they finally drove him to it against his will and in spite of his refusal. But now he has become free and is again applying for the priesthood, which I hope we will soon obtain for him under some good pretext (*ingenio*). Finally, so that I may fully reveal myself to you: if the prince does not increase in heart and spirit, then

1) On July 2, 1521, Balthasar Zeiger from Oschatz (inscribed in 1503) had boldly defended himself in a letter against Hans von Trotte, Count Hoyer of Mansfeld's marshal, because of his marriage. Count Hoyer himself reported this to the Elector of Mainz, and Zeiger was thrown into prison until he recognized his error and offered to amend. Through the intercession of many pious people, he was released from prison, but had to swear a vow of reconciliation at Calbe on Nov. 4. The chancellor of the Elector, Laurentius Hoch, and Capito were present at the notarial execution of the vow. Zeiger, however, took his wife back and had to leave Mansfeld. Later (since 1523) we find him again as a preacher in Belgem. See Luther's letter to the Elector John of Sept. 10, 1527.

Henceforth, there will be nothing to cause me to torture myself almost to death with this morose court life, and I will no longer serve him for four months, even if I serve this expectation as a desperate one for a little while. Yes, I will soon devote myself completely to the holy scriptures again, which I now only enjoy in passing, looking at them as it were through a veil. For it is not given to the heart that is weary with the turmoil of business to enjoy it fully and completely for consolation. Fare well and love us again in the bond of love; we desire no further favor; and answer through Melanchthon when he has time. Given at Halle, on the 20th of December, Anno 1521.

Your devoted

W. Fabricius Capito.

Postscript. The prince has answered your letter; if he were a private citizen, he could not have done it more kindly or submissively. It will be up to us to show a not in the least insolent disposition, so that we do not appear to seek and excite battle in the attitude of a gladiator. I have said many things to Jonas that I thought were relevant to the matter. Your love will take it for the best and in the meantime try to answer us, so that I can help with all my power for the best. Fare well. On the day of St. Thomas [Dec. 21] Anno 1521.

From the heart your Capito.

No. 444.

Hall.

December 21, 1521.

Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz, to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 552.

No. 444a .

1521 To an unnamed person.

This writing is in all previous editions after process of the Wittenberger, Bd. IX, Bl. 304, in the year 1529 set, but it belongs (Erlanger Briefw., Bd. III, S.448) to the year 1521, to which it is assigned by the manuscript 8. 22 of the Königsberg library, which was already completed in 1523. The locations find St. Louiser Ausg., Bd. X, Vorrede, Col. 147 given, but it is to be added here that the 142nd Psalm is found with De Wette, Bd. VI, p. 110.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1732. - There Col. 1735, line 2 read: on the blessed side. Thinks the soul 2c. The same Col. 1736 f. does not include the sayings from the first book of Moses and from Zechariah; these were first added by the Jena edition.

No. 445.

(Wartburg.)

January 13, 1622.

To Amsdorf.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2557, annex, no. 85.

No. 446.

(Wartburg.)

January 13, 1522.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2599, annex, no. 103.

No. 447.

Wartburg.

January 17, 1522.

To Wolfgang Fabricius Capito.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 554.

No. 448.

Wartburg.

January 17, 1522.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2606, annex, no. 104.

No. 449.

(Wartburg.)

January 22, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther rebukes Spalatin for being unjust and harsh to a certain "Creuze" who wanted to exchange his parish for another so that he would not have to say mass.

Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p.76b; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 246 (wrongly dated: 10. Sept.) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p.287. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 800.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have seen your letter, which you wrote to Amsdorf about Creuzen's 1) priesthood 2c., and I am very saddened, not so much for his sake as for yours, that you are so taken in by courtly sentiments and immersed in them, that you think and write so little Christianly about your brother. You say that you will henceforth be more careful and do not want to interfere with other people's inconstancy, and I do not know what great things, so that you have forced me to write this to you, certainly out of a brotherly heart.

1) Michael Creuzen. See vol. XV, appendix, no. 61.

I ask you to receive me with a brotherly heart for the sake of Christ. But if not, show it to me; and I shall be more dumb than a fish.

If you consider the matter rightly, you know that man is not evil, then also that he is not guided in what he does in the change of the priesthood by recklessness nor inconstancy, but by the highest necessity and the power of conscience (which is the greatest in all creation), unless you do not know with how great tyranny and impiety such priesthoods are possessed and are to be possessed, and with what difficulty they are to be obtained. I confess that he obtained them before through us without knowing what he was applying for; now that he has recognized the matter and understood the danger, he jumps back and thinks of changing what you should approve, praise and extol with the greatest willingness; and you accuse and condemn him with such great impetuosity of mind that you promise that henceforth you will serve no one. Because you think and teach like this in the court, it would be better if you were eternally mute. Here comes to light what I always suspected at this court; now I understand why he rejected Pfaffenbeck so completely. 2) But there is hidden that secret evil of revenge and the ignorance of the long-suffering found in all of Christ and highly praised in all of Paul's letters, which is a slowness to take revenge, even if mau, provoked to it, would have just cause. Or do you think that this is not revenge, if you do no harm, but still deprive the brotherly service, so that he either cannot overcome the evil or cannot ward it off, which he could avoid through your help? My dear Spalatin, do not be mistaken: God cannot be mocked, not even by the court, however good a hypocrite it may be. For even you did not want anyone to do to you what you intend to do to this man, and you are now sinning against the whole law and love; lest I allow you to be lost in this sin, brotherly concern surely compels me to admonish you. Your glory is not fine!

2) It was a matter of money matters in which Pfaffenbeck was in the right.

But (you say) the sacrilege and the inconstancy must be chastised, lest there be occasion for an evil example. Quite right; but first it must be seen whether it is wickedness or rather godliness that is to be chastised, lest there also be occasion for an evil example to punish innocence and godliness. But here godliness is at the bottom, because he does not dare to take upon himself and administer the ungodly nature of the masses. Now even if it is sacrilege, it must of course be chastised in such a way that it is chastised and corrected, not that it remains unchastised and the brother is abandoned in his misfortune. But if you carry on the matter here with such great severity, you will not only deprive the man of the priesthood, but also deliver him into the hands of his superiors (*parentibus*) to his greatest danger and utmost harm; in short, you will have ruined him. But thou, I beseech thee, wilt thou dare to call this a chastened sacrilege, who teachest the gospel? I do not expect such a thing from you. But suppose you could not do otherwise, for such is the custom of the court and the manner of the prince. I hear that; now what do you do as an evangelist at court? For you must work toward this with the word that this custom and such a manner is not there, or at least that it is there for you without an evil conscience, that is, that you denounce the sin of the wicked and save your soul, as Ezekiel Cap. 3, 19. You know with what powerful words you courtiers have so often punished my sharpness; but now see, I ask you what is to be thought of you, whether it is not more wholesome to treat ungodliness sharply, even with many people's annoyance, than to flatter it, so that peace and tranquility may be preserved. If then you are so patient in chastising the attitudes of the court, which are incomparably worse than even the inconstancy of this man, will you not be found to be one who judges unjustly? For I do not expect that you would thunder about the court or about a misstep of the prince as you thunder about the inconstancy of this man. Why then are you different against this one than against that one? Only because you do not have the

You should not look at the person who serves you, but at the person. Therefore, either you must also receive this one with the patience and kindness with which you receive the missteps at court, or you should know that Christ has been rejected by you.

O wretched people, who in such a way deceive ourselves with human pleasing and false appearances, and do not realize the secret omission of Christian love. The cause of the brethren we act coldly, even ungodly. Why is that? Because we treat it as if it were someone else's, not ours. But love, on the other hand, cares for what is foreign as for what is its own, as it is written [Gal. 6:2], "Bear one another's burdens," and again [Phil. 2:4], "Look not every man on his own, but on the things of others." Love also chastises error, but does not abandon it. Certainly, this peculiar evil of this court has often annoyed me, that it does not harm those who have once given offense (in which it has the fame of not being bloodthirsty), but nevertheless rages so persistently by withdrawing help that it would be better to suffer a bloodthirsty man from time to time than one who withdraws. Whoever may praise this, I condemn it as contrary to Christian long-suffering. See to it, therefore, that you do not, by wriggling out of foreign inconstancy (carefully, as it seems to you), entangle yourself on the other side in foreign cruelty (carelessly, as it seems to me).

God would have you receive this with a brotherly and grateful heart, that you may see how great and glorious a thing it is to instruct the wicked and to act upon the word of God, and how few there are who undertake this purely and freely. I therefore ask, if you can help this Creuzen (*Creytz*), that you not only not be offended, but also take care that the prince does not become too ungracious against him. Then, if it is possible, that he exchange this priestly position for another one in which it is not necessary to say mass. to say mass; but if you cannot, that you receive the man gently and graciously. For we are brothers, and he has done nothing wrong, but intends to act godly and Christian, wherein

we owe it to him to help him. If you do not want to help, I will have fulfilled my duty to you and to him through this letter, and my conscience will be saved. See to it that you teach Christ, acknowledge Christ in your brother, and act accordingly. Fare well in the Lord, who enlightens and enkindles you in his knowledge, amen. Wednesday after Marcelli [22 Jan.] 1522. Martin Luther.

No. 450

To the Wittenbergers.

The document, which the Erl. Briefw. inserts here with the time determination: "end of February 1522", is not a letter, but a Summarium of the first five Sermons, which Luther preached at Wittenberg the 9th to 13th March 1522.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1979, no. 641. - The locations of this writing are given in our edition, vol. XX, col. 6, note.

No. 451.

(Wartburg.)

(End of February 1522.)

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1984, no. 643.

No. 452.

(Lochau.)

(End of February 1522.)

Instruction of the Elector Friedrich for Johann Oswald.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1985, no. 644.

No. 453.

Borna.

March 5, 1522.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1989, no. 645.

No. 454.

Lochau.

March 7, 1522.

Instruction of the Elector Friedrich to D. Hier. Prospect.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1994, no. 646.

No. 455.

Wittenberg.

7 Mar; 1522.

To the Elector Friedrich zu Lochau.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 1998 ff, No. 648 and 649.

No. 456.

(Wittenberg.)

March 7, 1522.

To Spalatin.

This letter is spurious, as we have already noted in the 20th volume, Introduction, p. 16, note 1; it is a part of the letter to Nic. Hausmann of March 17, 1522, which we have included in Vol. XV, 2011, No. 658. We refer to it here because it is found in all previous editions, namely in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 146; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 71 b; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 92; in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 273; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 112; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 145 and in Walch.-Bd. XXI, 14. See the introduction to No. 658 of the 15th volume of our edition.

No. 457.

Wittenberg.

March 9, 1522.

Here. Schürf an den Churfürsten Friedrich.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1995, no. 647.

No. 458.

Lochau.

March 11, 1522.

Letter from Elector Frederick to Hier. Schurs.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2002, No. 650.

No. 459.

Wittenberg.

March 12, 1522.

To the Elector Friedrich in Lochau.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2005, No. 652.

No. 460.

(Wittenberg.)

March 13, 1522.

To Spalatin in Lochau.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2003, No. 651.

No. 461.

Wittenberg.

March 15, 1522.

Here. Schürf an den Churfürsten Friedrich in Lochau.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2008, No. 653.

No. 462.

(Wittenberg.)

(Mid-March 1522.)

To Hartmuth in Kronberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1662, no. 507.

No. 463.

Wittenberg.

March 17, 1522.

To Nic. Househusband.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2011, no. 658.

No. 464.

Wittenberg.

March 18, 1522.

To Mc. Gerbet in Strasbourg.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2013, No. 659.

No. 465.

Wittenberg.

March 18, 1522.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2226.

No 466.

Wittenberg.

March 19, 1522.

To Wenc. Link.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2609, annex, no. 107.

No. 467.

(Wittenberg.)

March 24, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends several letters to him asking if he may dedicate a paper to his Wartburgwirth.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 107 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 136. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 52; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 158 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 317. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 771.

To the evangelist of Christ, Georg Spalatin, his [friend] in the Lord.

Hail! I am sending you these letters from Hartmann von Kronberg 1) for the sake of your

1) These will be the "Uier Christliche schriftt des Edle vnd Ernuesten Hartmundts von Cronenberg" 2c., which were published in Wittenberg in 1522. These are printed in our edition, Vol. XV, No. 503 to 506. From this letter it follows with certainty that the remark of the Wittenberg and Jena editions given in the introduction to No. 503 is wrong, and that Luther was not the author.

you send them back to us, copied by another hand, with your advice that they should be printed. For ours have despised them too much, so that I cannot well publish them if I do not take your name and your advice as a pretext.

You also see the letter of Duke Albrecht, 2) the Margrave. If something of such books should reach the prince, then inform me about it and send it back. Read also the letter of Duke Carl,³⁾ for the sake of the attitude, and send it back; likewise the letter of Duke Johann Friedrich. By the way, I want your advice. In my desert, I have decided to dedicate a booklet of the statutes of men to my host, 4) because he wanted to be informed about it by me; but I fear that the place of my imprisonment would be betrayed by it. 5) And so write, so that I can send him your judgment, if you should advise against it, and I will attribute it to another. I wish to write to him also and send to him what is printed, if you had a messenger to him. Farewell and pray for me. On the Monday after Oculi [March 24] 1522.

Martin Luther.

No. 468.

Wittenberg.

March 25, 1522.

To Johann Heß in Oels.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2015, no. 662.

No. 469.

Wittenberg.

March 26, 1522.

To Nic. Hausmann in Zwickau.

This letter contains the answer to some questions and advice regarding the celebration of Holy Communion.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Manuscript in the Zwickau Rathsschulbibliothek XXXIV; in *Cod. Goth. A* 122, fol. 20 b; in the Franciscanum in Zerbst, Ms. 26, fol 6b; in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Aug.* 19, 15, tob 152b; there *Cod. Aug.* 20, 5, fol. 207b

2) of Prussia.

3) Duke Carl of Münsterberg in Silesia.

4) "To be Shunned by Human Doctrine," St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 598.

5) Therefore, the dedication was omitted.

and in the Hamburg City Library, Ms. 46,4, 86. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 52 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 160 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 320. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 772.

To Nicolaus Hausmann, evangelist in Zwickau, his brother in Christ.

Hail! This man, your messenger, my dear Nicolaus, has submitted to me in your name questions of funerals, of confessions, of sermons of the Minorites and their privileges (*privilegiis*). Above all, my advice is that you attack and fight all this with words alone, and let those cry out and blaspheme, deceiving and seducing those who deceive them. For this is what Christ and the apostles did: they let go those who could not keep them by word. By the way, it is the duty of the authorities to forbid those things which they do not like. And they are obliged to obey them for the sake of the common peace, to which all privileges must give way, yes, also help to it. They have nothing to say against it, since their mouths can be stopped up with the privileges by the gospel, since it says [Eph. 4:3. f], "Be diligent to keep the bond of peace." But since your part acts what is gospel, but their part pursues human things, they must give up theirs for the sake of peace. Now if they will not hear the Senate, let them shout and rave, and turn the people away from them as much as is possible, as Peter said in Acts, Cap. 2, 40: "Let these naughty people help you."

About the innovation in other things I have written to you before, and now I write that you may follow our institution at Wittenberg if it pleases you; you will hear about it shortly. ¹⁾ For we have made both forms free, but only for those who are worthy and stand in fear. ²⁾

1) This was done by the writing: "Von beider Gestalt des Sacraments zu nehmen und anderer Neuerung" (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 62), which appeared in mid-April.

2) *et timorati fuerint*. Thus read all editions and all manuscripts with the exception of the Zerbst, which offers *honorati*. Burkhardt, p. 44, states that the original reads *donorati*; the Erl. Briefw. doubts this.- Perhaps: *onerati*?

We leave everything else to its use, and each one to his own mind. But we act by the word alone, teaching what the Gospel says about the Mass and Communion, and not forcing anyone to abstain from it or to celebrate it. Let the conscience of every one see to it that he keep himself according to the Gospel, until all grow and all become evangelical. For in this matter the people must be governed, not according to what the gospel contains, but according to how the gospel is apprehended; for not all apprehend the gospel, therefore not all can be governed in an evangelical manner. But all must be taught evangelically until all grasp it. In the meantime, others who do not yet grasp it must be carried. Greet Mayor Mühlport, and tell him in my name that he should stand by the Gospel. I would have written to him if I were not overwhelmed with many writings. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Oculi [March 26] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 470.

(Wittenberg.)

March 28, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends letters and books to be forwarded to the main mason of Wartburg Castle; likewise an intercession for Christoph Pfaffenbeck, which he asks to be handed over to the Elector.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 108 and in *Cod. Jen a*, Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 53 V; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 172 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 321. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 774.

His brother in Christ, Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court.

Hail in the Lord! As I wrote the other day, ³⁾ I am now sending letters and books to be sent to my hermit; you will see to it, as you promised, that they are brought there. And this intercession for Pfaffenbeck you will faithfully hand over to the prince, and help the poor man, so that he may receive from the court his

³⁾ in No. 467. The "hermit" is Hans von Berlepsh, the castle captain of the Wartburg.

I do not want to get a livelihood. For I am very sorry for him, and I do not believe that he is making light of his distress, for he is doing his work for me with such warm words. Behold, God, who casteth down the mighty from their seats, and humbleth the proud, that they come to nought; but he will also raise up the humble again, if he believe. 1) You are well, and pray for me also. The Lord be with you, Amen. Friday after Oculi [March 28] 1522.
Yours, Martin Luther.

Be mindful that the prince, since he is able, is obliged to help such people. For love prescribes such things, and makes us servants and debtors even to our enemies, as Paul confesses [Rom. 1:14] that he is a debtor both to the wise and to the unwise. For it is not enough "to do no wrong," but "to do well" is also required, and "to do him his right" not in a casual manner. 2)

No. 471

(Wittenberg.) (March 28, 1522.) 3)

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Intercession for Christoph Pfaffenbeck.

This letter is found twice in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 189; in the Jena edition, namely (1586) vol. II, p. 354 and (1553) vol. III, p.435.; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 491; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 548; in Walch, vol. XXI, 33; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 129 and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 173.

Favor and peace in Christo, Amen, and my most humble services, most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! I do not like to trouble Your Lordship with intercession and intercession for other people; the pleasure, if I have it, I would like to do without.

1) Aurifaber, De Wette and Walch have inserted the postscript here.
2) *non requiritur* in the editions is a conjecture for non *requitur*, which should be in the original. We have conjoined *non segniter* instead, since the other conjecture, "to do him his right is not required," does not satisfy us.
3) The Wittenberg and Jena editions place this letter in the year 1523, but there can be no doubt that it is the intercessory letter to the Elector mentioned in the previous letter to Spalatin, and must therefore be given the same date.

Necessity presses and love compels us to do so. I have previously written from my desert 4) to your churfl. N. [Pfaffenbeck], who has asked me so far out of necessity, but has finally come to me again; now he asks me again so piteously that I am moved, and his misery is heartily painful to me, so that I have immediately become scanty in writing to your church. I have been forced to write to your honorable Grace, because I did not think that there would be such need.

I do not want to be right with your Lord. I will let it be, he deserves it, he is worth even more aggravation, I know well that the mind of your electoral grace is sincere. Grace's mind is sincere not to do injustice to anyone. Again, I also know that no prince can be so pious, so wise, that he or his officials will not do someone a disservice. David was the core of all princes on earth, nor does he do wrong to poor Mephibosheth by showing off Ziba, yet he thinks he has not done wrong [2 Sam. 16, 1. ff]. A prince must consider that his rule is mixed with injustice, even he who has it least: therefore he also needs to show the more mercy and charity against it, so that the mercy against the judgment keeps the protection, as St. Jacob says [Cap. 2,13].

Therefore, I fall at the feet of your electorate. I therefore fall at your feet, and humbly beg your honorable Grace to have mercy on this poor man. Please have mercy on this poor man and feed him to the end of his old age. It is never enough to let him perish and go begging; for I feel that poverty hurts him so much that he may finally lose his senses. And E. churfl. Gn. can easily help him with a table, food and drink, or otherwise. God has even more snow mountains, 5) that E. churfl. Gn. Principality must not worry that it will become poor from spending so much, and has not become poor from it until now. *Quia verum est, date et dabitur vobis* [Luc. 6,38.], where *date* [prayer] is rich, there *dabitur* [so you will be given] is still much richer, and to whom much is given, from him much will be demanded.

Your Elector. Grace should be certain that

4) This letter does not exist.
5) In Schneeberg there are rich silver mines, which in 1520 produced a particularly large yield.

I will not leave the man like this, I will beg for him myself, and if that does not help, I will also rob and steal, mostly from the Elector of Saxony, which I find closest; because E. churf. G. owes me to feed him. Therefore, I ask that E. C. F. G. also graciously hear me in this, so that it is not necessary for me to steal and take; for I still want to be unhanged by E. C. F. G., if I already robbed all the saints 1) of a treasure in such distress.

Such my poor or foolish letter, I humbly ask, E. C. F. Gn. will not take it ungraciously. My heart is in God, as much as I feel his. The Almighty God spare E. churf. Gn. healthy and blessed according to His mercy, Amen.

E. churf. Gn.
subservient servant Martinus Luther, D.

No. 472.

Wittenberg.

March 28, 1522.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2596, annex, no. 101.

No. 473.

Wittenberg.

March 30, 1522.

To Spalatin in Lochau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2555, annex, no. 83.

No. 474.

(Wittenberg.)

March 30, 1522.

To Caspar Güttel, Augustinian prior in Eisleben.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2016, No. 663.

No. 475.

(Wittenberg.)

April 12, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther fears that his use of Pfaffenbeck has harmed him; he has another petition for the pastor at Lochau. About Jakob Probst's case. Of Luther's negotiation with the new prophets. Finally, interpretation of two Bible passages for Spalatin.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. III and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 139. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 57d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 178 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 327. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 775.

To Georg Spalatin, ducal evangelist, his superior in the Lord.

Hail! I wonder very much what Pfaffenheck's fault may be that he has made the prince so hard against him. I also suspect that perhaps my use of him was detrimental, that the prince wanted to make it known through this universal sign that my use of him was unpleasant. Therefore, you see to it that I find out about this. Henceforth I will not burden the prince with such scribbles, but not without his harm. For I do not want to drive anyone to good against his will; he does what he can answer for against God. I have another intercession for the pastor at Lochau, 2) who is seeking the parish at Herzberg, since he hopes to preach the gospel with greater fruit to a large crowd than to a few people. But I will not ask until you have written again. I have a natural abhorrence of the court, so this will not be an undesirable opportunity for me if I never have anything to do with it, even with writings.

I have read the letter of the exceedingly clever apostate Minisch 3), and as much as I grieve over the lamentable fall of Jacob, I am indignant over the exceedingly godless hypocrisy of this man.

I have suffered the new prophets, and Satan has been found to have shamed himself in his wisdom. Their spirit is very hopeful and impatient, since it cannot stand even friendly exhortations, but wants to be believed at the first word with complete certainty, also wants that no one disputes, nor resists. I

2) Franz Günther. He did not receive the parish of Herzberg, but remained in Lochau until the end of his life in 1528.

3) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, annex, no. 105, col. 2608, note 4; about Jakob Probst *ibid.* note 3. - Instead of "Spreng", at De Wette, *Iperensis* (from Ypres) is to be read. After his revocation on 9 Feb. in the Gndula church in Brussels, Probst was sent to a monastery at APern, hence called *Iperensis*.

1) This is an allusion to the All Saints' Monastery and the relics of the Castle Church in Wittenberg.

Since they were so obstinate, I also caught them in blatant lies, and since they tried to escape by miserable, slippery words, so that one could recognize the old serpent, I finally asked them to prove their doctrine by miracles, which boasted about and against the Scriptures. They refused the miracles, but threatened that I would finally be forced to believe them. At this, Magister Martin, 1) who had neither been asked nor asked to speak, foamed and raged, so that he did not leave room for me to speak either. When I dismissed them, I forbade their God that he should not do any miracles against the will of my God. Thus we parted.

"Blessed are they that hear and keep the word of God" [Luc. 11, 28.], and, "If any man keep my word, he shall not die" 2c. [Jn. 8, 50.] This is absolutely said of faith, so that. "To keep" and "to hold" is not to do a work, but to firmly adhere to the word of promise, and to live and work in it. Christ certainly teaches faith, not works. Therefore, these passages 2) are quite without evidence for works, but very strong for faith, for the word of faith that is kept maintains that one does not see death. Herewith farewell and pray for me. Greetings to all of us. On the day before Palmarum [April 12] 1522, Martin Luther.

No. 476.

Wittenberg.

April 12, 1522.

To Joh. Lang in Erfurt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2607, anh., no, 105.

No. 477.

(Wittenberg.)

April 12, 1522.

To Wenceslaus Link in Eisleben.

Luther invites Link to come to Wittenberg before Easter, where he null give him the letter of Melchior Mirisch to read.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 60; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 181 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 332. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 777.

Hail in Christ, venerable Father! I will not write anything to you, but talk everything with you, that is, I await your arrival, which I would like you to hurry up and come before Easter (because I did not know that you would be in Eisleben), because during the feast days, the doctor and father, Magister Caspar,³⁾ can preach enough. For after Easter I will go out to visit the villages and towns. I have promised to do so, so that you can hardly find me thereafter, for two weeks after Easter. But if I should learn that you are there, I will turn back to Wittenberg, wherever I will be. You can read the letter of the exceedingly glorious Solon with us, I am talking about Mirish, who denied Christ so cleverly that no one dares to call this a denial of Christ, except for everything that is not Mirish, the measurer 4). Fare well in Christ and come soon. On the day before Palmarum [April 12] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 478.

(Altenburg.)

(Around April 12, 1522.)

The City Council of Altenburg to Luther.

Request for an orthodox learned preacher by May 2. On the upcoming feast days, Luther himself may come and preach there.

Printed in the Mittheilungen der Geschicht- und Alterthumforschenden Gesellschaft des Osterlandes, vol. VI, p. 42 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. III, p. 333.

Respectable, worthy, highly esteemed, especially in Christ beloved Doctor! Our very willing and undaunted services are E. A. W. always before. And since we poor people are very badly supplied with preachers who are to instruct and teach us and our poor congregation Christian truth, in which our salvation stands, even though we have a large number of clergy with us,

1) Martin Cellarius. Cf. Tischreden, cap. 37, s 2. St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, M1 f.; ibid. Col.1820, No. 113; ibid. Col. 1822, No. 125. See also vol. XX, Introduction, p. 11.

2) *tormenta* == guns or projectiles; this is the name given here to the biblical passages invoked as proof.

3) Güttel.

4) *Meslerus*. To this D. Enders: "This word weih I not to explain." Also Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 683, Weih nothing to say about it. We have taken the expression "Meßler" (perhaps == Meßpfaff) from the old edition of Walch.

who would much sooner and rather collect treasure and combine fields and grounds for their own use, than seek the salvation of our souls 1) as in the daytime; for the mouth of truth speaks in the Gospel itself that no one can serve two masters; for which reason we have refused our provost 2) of the monastery on the mountain the preacher's chair at future Walpurg 3), therefore we need to provide the same again with a Christian, evangelical, learned preacher. Because in this case, according to our most gracious Lord, to whom this is not known, we have nowhere to go but to E. A. W., as a Christian doctor and teacher of Christian truth, we humbly ask E. A. W., for the sake of God, to provide the poor common people with a Christian, evangelical and learned preacher for the special consolation of their souls, towards the aforementioned time of Walpurg or before, in the most conducive manner without delay, who would also fearlessly resist the clergymen who would oppose him. He shall be adequately provided for his efforts with his own dwelling and honorable remuneration. E. A. W., if it were not possible for him to do so sooner, would also like to join us and preach in his own person on these Easter holidays, or if it is convenient for E. A. W., so that the common poor people are relieved of the suspicion of the alleged heresy, into which they are daily led by the other, disinclined preachers, and their useless chatter is stopped. And whether E. A. W. is also afraid of some uncertainty, we ask for all information, how far and how we should forward to E. A. W.; nothing should weigh against us, whether it should also extend to Eilenburg. For God's sake, E. A. W. wanted to show a Christian will towards us and the poor community in these two cases, as we undoubtedly hope for comfort. We do not want to omit to ask the Almighty for you and to deserve our highest fortune. Request E. W. described and reliable answer with present. 5)

1) Erl. Letter: "our salvation".

2) Benedict Bischofs, provost of the regular Augustinians in the monastery of Our Lady on the Mountain, outside the city, who did not administer the parish in the church of St. Bartholomew himself, but had it administered by M. Koler. He was the last provost and after the monastery's confiscation he converted to the Reformation and married.

3) May 2.

4) Erl. The same" in the letter.

5) That is, by the messenger who delivers.

No. 479.

(Kronberg.)

April 14, 1522.

Hartmuth von Kronberg to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1672, no. 508.

No. 480.

Wittenberg.

April 17, 1522,

To the mayor and council of Altenburg.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2018, No. 665.

No. 481.

Wittenberg.

April 17, 1522.

To Gabriel Zwilling in Düben.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2019, No. 666.

No. 482.

(Wittenberg.)

April 21, 1522.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2615, annex, no. 111.

No. 483.

(Wittenberg.)

April 24, 1522.

To Johann Brismann in Cottbus.

Since Brismann had become a doctor of theology in Wittenberg and preached the gospel in Cottbus, his birthplace (born 1488), he had to suffer the hatred and persecution of his Franciscan brothers. He therefore sought to gain an accommodation elsewhere. Luther advised him to come to Wittenberg, where he would find lodging in the Franciscan monastery.

The original is in the von Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg. Printed in "Erläutertes Preußen," vol. II (1725), p. 304; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 82; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 187 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. III, p. 344.

To the venerable Father Brismann, the theologian and sincere disciple of Franciscus, his superior in Christ.

Hail! I am mindful of you, venerable father, and will be mindful of you, but you know the dithering of this court, and, as one is wont to say, its exceeding caution. And as yet I have received no answer from Spalatin. But I will press him as soon as possible, so that I may be sure whether the question concerning you is affirmative or negative.

I will receive a negative answer. In the meantime, suffer as you can, or if you can, break away and fly here. ¹⁾ For I believe that you can be fed in your monastery with us, as before, even if the prince adds nothing besides. For I will not suffer it to come to my knowledge that your monastery is being spoiled by lack, just as I preach that they should either feed them from their own, or again allow them to beg, which has also been done. I have nothing else to write now, and you can learn everything from your brothers what is going on here. May the Lord keep you and multiply you to His glory with all yours; in Him be well. On the Thursday after Easter [April 24] 1522, D. Martin Luther.

No. 484.

(Wittenberg.)

April 24, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends a clergyman to him. Wishes to know if his intercession is pleasant at court, then he wants to ask for Brismann. News about Link, Carlstadt and the exhibition of relics in the collegiate church.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 113 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 140. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II p. 61; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 186 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 345. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 778.

To the godly and learned man, Georg Spalatin, evangelist of the Prince of Saxony, his [friend] in Christ.

Hail! First of all, I recommend this priest to you, my dear Spalatin, who has a request to the prince, because that is what he asked me for; but what he seeks, you will learn from him.

By the way, write to me, as I asked earlier, whether my letters and intercessions are held in contempt (*sordeant*) at court or not. For in regard to the father Johann Brismann, Doctor of Theology, a Minorite, who is now a displaced person in Cottbus, I have something I would like to ask. For he would like to be here at Wittenberg, if he can be

1) Brismann went to Wittenberg toward the end of 1522 and remained there until he received a call to Prussia in December 1523.

could be fed, and I promised him to write to you about it.

Vicar Wenceslaus is with us and will stay here for several days.

I hear that Carlstadt was refused the publication of the book 3) by the Rector and the authorities.

I think of the exhibition of the relics 4) in this way, because they have already been shown enough, and very much exhibited and held up in the whole world for show; but they will arrange it in such a way that they will be publicly presented in the middle of the choir, so that they can all be seen on one table, while all other ceremonies will be maintained, as is the custom. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1522, on the Thursday after Easter [April 24]. Martin Luther.

At this hour, I set out for Borna, 5) to do enough for my promise.

No. 485.

Wittenberg.

April 25, 1522.

To Count Ludwig zu Stolberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 194.

No. 486.

(Altenburg.)

(April 28, 6) 1522.)

Luther's draft of a complaint for the council at Altenburg.

The original concept, in Luther's own handwriting, is in the city archives at Altenburg. Printed in the third

2) Link. See No. 477.

3) against Emser, in which he also attacked Luther. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p. 17b f.

4) The relics of the collegiate church were exhibited Monday after Jubilate [May 12] (not "after Misericordias Domini" as the Erl. Briefw. says).

5) Luther will not have left on April 24, because the next letter is dated in the original: "Wittenberg, on Friday after Easter." The destination of the journey was Zwickau. In Borna Luther preached twice on April 27 (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XII, 1830 and 1834); in Altenburg on April 28 also twice (ibid. Col. 1836 and 1838). In the evening of the same day he arrived in Zwickau, and held there several sermons (ibid. Col. 1842 to 1855) until May 2. Then he returned to Borna and preached there again on May 4 (ibid. Col. 1854). Via Eilenburg he then went to Wittenberg, where he arrived on May 6.

6) Luther set this writing during his presence in Altenburg (see the last note to

The first report on the existence and work of the Geschicht- und Alterthumforschende Gesellschaft des Osterlandes 2c, Altenburg (1842), p. 68; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 30 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 347.

First of all, we confess and know that in temporal goods no one should interfere with another's, especially not in the rights or goods of the sovereigns.

But when it comes to the doctrine and salvation of souls, no one is obligated to yield to another, to follow, to do, or to refrain from doing what is contrary to right doctrine.

But now that we find our provost and pastors not only not teaching the gospel, but also refusing and persecuting it, we are moved by our own conscience to act and do what is necessary for our own and our neighbor's salvation, the city of Altenburg, as we are obliged to serve them out of two duties, namely, for the sake of physical rule and brotherly Christian love.

Therefore we intend to have an evangelical preacher, want to and shall also be unhindered by it, even if an angel from heaven wants to prevent it, let alone that men on earth should hinder us. Therefore we do not want to enter into law or dispute with the provost in such a case, but freely, regardless of whom it deems unjust and complains about it. And we state our reason as follows:

In the first place Christ says Matth. 7, 15: "Beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing, and inwardly are ravening wolves. This saying is said to all Christians, universally and especially; from which we derive such power and right that, if we wanted to act Christianly, we should have appointed a Protestant preacher long ago, and, if we wanted to follow this right strictly, we should have expelled the provost and his people from Altenburg, as they are certainly found to be ravening wolves.

Now let us do him the favor and let them stay, but still their wolfish sermon

No. 484), presumably for the negotiations to be held on April 29 with the commission appointed by the Elector, which consisted of Günther von Büнау auf Breitenhain, Michael von der Straßen, Geleitsmann zu Borna, and Jan von Wernstorf, Amtsverweser zu Altenburg.

We do not suffer from our people, and we know that we do them no wrong in this, but too little right. But so far they have harmed our souls and taken the interest with all injustice. For St. Paul says 1 Cor. 5:13: *Auferte malum ex vobis ipsis; modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit* [1 Cor. 5:6]. Now they are not only evil, but also harmful ravening wolves, which here St. Paul calls to be put away and chased away; which right we herewith do not want to forgive ourselves for tolerating them among us, but want to be content for a while that they keep quiet or preach the true gospel themselves.

And whether they say that it is not our place to judge which is the gospel, or that it has not yet been decided by a council, we do not admit to them, for the Scriptures do not give authority to a council, but to every Christian to judge the doctrine, 1 Cor. 14:29. and to know and avoid the wolves, Matth. 7, 15. and do not stand on what other people conclude, even if they were angels, but on every man's conscience, for every man must believe for himself and know the difference between right and wrong doctrine, *quia quicumque crediderit, salvus erit* Marc. 16,16].

So the church and the space are ours, they have built nothing on it or in it; if they want to have their spiritual authority or district unharmed, we let it happen, provided that they leave the gospel and our souls' salvation unhindered and unharmed; if not, they violate their authority themselves. For the interest is not given to them to murder souls, but to preach the gospel; if they do not do this, we will not leave it to them, *juxta illud: qui von laborat, von manducet* [2 Thess. 3, 10]. We want to restrain our souls, not add money to them.

Even so, their power is already taken from God Himself, where they strive against the gospel, because St. Paul 2 Cor. 13, 1) 10. says: There is no power given by God in Christianity to corrupt the people, but only to improve them. Now they only want

and have power to do so, our conscience and guilty love compels us to protect the people from the wolves and to warn them, *q[ua] oportet Deo mag[is] obedire q[uam] hominibus* [Apost. 5, 29].

Summa Summarum: if we are Christians, this matter may neither be right nor wrong. God has already judged it and pronounced the verdict Himself: *Attendite a falsis prophetis et lupis rapacibus; it[em]: Expurgate vetus fermentum....* Therefore, we kindly offer the provost *haec duo*:

Aut taceant et non praedicent nobis, omissis tam potestatibus q[uam] censibus; aut solum et purum Evangelion doceant, retentis tam potestatibus q[uam] censibus.... [Either they may be silent and not preach to us, and let go both the power and the interest; or they may teach the gospel alone and purely, and keep both the power and the interest.]

No. 487.

Eilenburg.

May 5, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther reports on his trip to Zwickau and Eilenburg and wishes that the Elector request the council of the latter town to hire a Protestant preacher. Last of the counter-scripts that appeared.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 114 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 140. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 61 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 189 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 350. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 779.

To the worthy man, Georg Spalatin, ducal evangelist, his friend in the Lord. .

Hail! I do not know whether I received your letter, which you mention so often, nor do I remember what you wrote. But the bearer assures me that it was handed over to me; I will check on it in Wittenberg. By the way, what I have done with this journey, you will learn from others or have already learned.

That Doctor of Cologne is called Gerhard, 1) from

a rich Cologne bourgeois family, a sincere man who came here to seek the truth and first fell into the teachings of the Zwickau prophets, from whose number he had provided a young man in Cologne with sustenance and had heard them, and even now (as a newcomer) he is very much moved by their dreams. But gradually he is gaining ground on the right path.

At Zwickau, Thomas 2) had done monstrous things with his own.

Egranus is still sowing strange things; Satan is raging everywhere and is persecuting the gospel. But Zwickau is now well supplied with three excellent men 3) who preach the gospel, with the pastor himself, a very good man, and two other priests who are masters.

I see, however, that some Eilenburgers are tardy in appointing an evangelist, but others desire that our prince would exhort the council by letter that they yield to the poor people in this necessary and holy matter and either appoint Andreas Kaugsdorf⁴) or a certain Thomas at Wittenberg. So you see that there is also an opportunity for your love here, if you could obtain such an admonition from the prince. For the prince, too, as a Christian brother, also because he is a prince, 5) is concerned that the wolves be fought off and that he be concerned for the salvation of his people. Therefore I commend this concern to you. Ge

He apparently also became a doctor. Returning to Cologne, he became acquainted with an emissary of the Zwickau prophet Nic. Storch, then went to Wittenberg and there came into contact with the Zwickau prophets again. His life is eventful, as a Carlstadtian, as an instigator of the civil uprising in Frankfurt, Easter 152], as an Anabaptist, until he finally entered the community of the Reformed Church and is said to have died in East Frisia (at Neustadt-Gödens?) as a preacher (?) (1558?).

2) Coiner.

3) Nic. Hausmann, pastor at the church of Unser Lieben Frauen, M. Joh. Zeidler, preacher at the same church (not Paul Lindenau, as Seidemann assumes in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 675), and M. Wolfgang Zeuner, preacher at the church of St. Catharine.

4) Kaugsdorf had been cathedral preacher in Magdeburg since 1516, but after various persecutions he was removed from his office in September 1521 and expelled (compare Luther's letter to Capito of Jan. 17, 1522, St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 559), then through Luther's use he came to Eilenburg after Easter 1522, where he died in 1543.

5) Walch offers: "Because it is also vom Fürsten und dem Bruder Christian, des Fürsten wegen daran gelegen" ro.

1) Gerhard Westerburg, born in Cologne at the end of the 15th century, matriculated in Cologne in 1514, studied jurisprudence around 1515 to 1517 in Bologna, where he became a true lawyer.

farewell. From the Schlöffe at Eilenburg, on Monday after Misericordias Domini 1) [May 5] 1522. Martin Luther.

I have received Catharinus 2) and the Venetian archbishop, who wrote against me, and finally it is good for Italy that it also has such people as Rubeus and Alveld are, so that not only the Germans would like to boast about such a great glory. They are not worth reading, let alone worth answering. A book of equal value was brought to me by Mr. Gerhard from Leipzig, namely a book by Hochstraten against me, in which, however, he did not mention his name, but by his style and manner shows himself as the donkey under the lion's skin shows himself by his ears. This we have delivered to the fire. Christ makes his adversaries even glorious fools.

No. 488.

Altenburg.

May 6, 1522.

The city council of Altenburg to Luther.

The council of Altenburg asks Luthern to help him and the congregation to retain M. Gabriel Zwilling as preacher.

Printed in the Mittheilungen der Geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft des Osterlandes, vol. VI, p. 51 (Appendix V ibid. p. 50; Appendix L p. 51) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 353.

2c. 2c. After we have been christianly comforted by Ew. A. W. in our proposal against the provost of the preaching chair 3) we hope that we will also obtain the same [preaching chair] by us without doubt, although such in recent action of the commissaries 4) its

1) Luther made a mistake in the Sunday. In the original it says: *post Jubilate*, but Spalatin has here in the margin, as Correctur, and also in the inscription made by him the time determination set by us.

2) Here is meant the writing of Catharinus, which has the title: *Fratri Ambrosii Chatarini (sic!) Ord. Praedic. Congregat. S. Marci de Florentia Excusatio etc.* - The "Archbishop of Venice" is Christophorus Marcellus, Venetian Patrician, Archbishop of Corchra, who published a writing against Luther under the title: *De potestate summi Pontificis*.

3) Original: "Christian confident".

4) The protocol of the action taken on April 29 was sent by the commissioners on Friday Walpurgis, May 2.

not want to attain finality, and it is still with our most gracious lord 2c. we had not omitted, as soon as Mgr. Gabriel come to us, Saturday, the day after Walpurgis [May 3], 5) under other action had report, highly thought of our most gracious on account of Mgr. Gabrielis at the diligent request and suggestion of the community, to write Laut's copy enclosed here [and have] 6) enclosed a note, on which S. churf. G. wrote to our bailiff, Laut's the other copy, 7) which copies we are sending both to E. A. W. in special trust to hear about the matter. Because E. A. W. had previously advised us faithfully to the aforementioned Magister Gabriel, and we also heard him preach on the next Sunday [May 4], although without the will of the provost, so that he pleased us and the common city very well, we wanted to keep him with pleasure. However, because the matter is so poisonous for our most gracious Lord, we consider that, as we also diligently ask for it, as E. A. W. would, according to the occasion, want to excuse Mgr. Gabriel of such suspicion to his Lordship by a small document 8) and have such document delivered by this messenger, however, this our document still inserted copy not to be sent to his Lordship. G., as E. A. W. would like to note the reason for this, and E. A. W. out of Christian, brotherly love would like to be helpful, gracious and helpful to us poor people in this, so that we would like to keep Mgr. Gabriel with us without disgrace from our most gracious Lord 2c. 2c. Date Tuesday after Mis. Dmi. [May 6] Anno 1522.

The Altenburg City Council.

Attachment .

Inserted note to the letter from the Altenburg City Council to the Elector.

(No date.)

Also, most gracious Elector and Lord, we are today and the hour at One Hora a Mgr. called Gabriel, to whom Doctor Martinus has sent us with

to the Elector, according to which the dispute over the unpaid interest was settled, but no settlement was reached for the sake of the preacher's chair.

5) Here is a gap to be filled in this way.

6) Supplemented by us. - In an undated letter written before May 2, the city council presented the spiritual needs of the city to the Elector and apologized for his actions regarding the appointment of a preacher. To this letter he enclosed the note printed in appendix V.

7) Appendix B.

8) This Luther did in the letter to the Elector, May 8, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XV, 2020, No. 667.

The congregation is also requested by the congregation that they keep him on their own diet until the things have been discharged and put in order, and that they neither hinder nor prevent the provost from preaching in the usual hours, except that they may 1) outside of other offices, set up the churches for him after noon or without danger, so ardent and eager are they to hear the word of God. Therefore, we humbly ask Your Lordship to graciously grant this to the community and to us, because the Word of God, as mentioned above, should be free and unrestricted. This they will undoubtedly not refrain from doing in addition to us, E. C. G., in Christian love towards God, and to earn obedience, as we are obliged to do.

Attachment B.

The Elector to the Amtmann 2) Jhan von Wernstorff.
May 5, 1522.

2c. 2c. We are now requested by the council of Altenburg, among others, with the enclosed note, as you will hear. Now we would like to grant them that the city would be provided with a skilled and good preacher. But that they indicate, as if Doctor Martinus had faithfully advised them to Magister Gabriel, we will report, how Doctor Martinus never had any pleasure in the same Gabriel's preaching, because he has introduced and aroused much error and displeasure in Eilenburg and in other places with his preaching and preaching. Therefore, we request that you summon two of the council of Altenburg before you and report this to them on our behalf, with the request that they renounce the same monk and speak out as may be appropriate. Then, when the matter between them and the provost reaches a conclusion, we would like to help them to get a skilled and learned preacher 2c. Datum Colditz, Montag [nach] Misericordia Dom. [5 May] 1522.

No. 489.

Wittenberg. May 8, 1522.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2020, no. 667.

1) that is, to the M. Gabriel. In the original "them", which also otherwise stands for "him" and "him".

2) The Erlangen correspondence erroneously has "Geleitsmann" instead of "Amtmann".

No. 490.

Wittenberg. (May 8) 1522.

To the Altenburg City Council.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2023, no. 668.

No. 491.

(Wittenberg.) May 8, 1522.

To Gabriel Zwilling in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2024, no. 670.

No. 492.

(Wittenberg.) May 10, 1522.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2556, annex, no. 84.

No. 493.

(Wittenberg.) May 15, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther explains the passage Joh. 16, 8. About the treacherous behavior of Erasmus against Luther. He asks for a German expression for eunuch. - Postscript A. Request for return of the letters sent over. - Postscript B. Intercession for an injured forester. News about Specatus 2c.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. The first postscript is under the letter itself, the second on a special sheet, without address, is also not folded like a letter. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 142; the postscript fol. 236. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 63, without the postscripts; in De Wette the letter vol. II, p. 195; postscript B, vol. II, p. 447 placed in the year 1523; in *Buddeus*, p. 30 only the postscript L, without the letter. Complete in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. III, p. 359. German in Walch: the letter vol. XXI, 781 and the postscript 13 idick. Col. 882.

To his extremely dear brother, Magister Georg Spalatin, his [friend] in Christ.

Hail! I am almost overwhelmed by reading letters; how much time do you think I have to waste answering them? About the passage Joh. 16,8. ff. hear my opinion. "The Spirit will punish the world for the sin of not believing in Christ," for the world did not know this sin of unbelief, and trusted and still trusts in works. But just as no sin is sin to him who believes, so no good work is sin to the unbeliever.

good work. "But for the righteousness that I go to the Father, and the world seeth me not." Of this righteousness also the world knows nothing, which consists in believing that Christ went up to heaven by his passion, and became the Lord over all things, that he might save all. For for this cause he is not seen, that he might be believed: and this is the righteousness of faith, not of works. "But for the judgment that the prince of the world is already judged." The world does not know this judgment either, since it is only concerned with what is good for the flesh and hates the cross; this is the wisdom of the old serpent poured into us. But the righteousness of faith teaches to love the cross, and to take hold of all that the prince of the world and the world itself flees and hates, as opprobrium, poverty, death, reviling. Therefore, the world is condemned and punished for adhering to this judgment of its prince and for resenting Christ for the sake of the cross.

I am sending several letters of friends, in which you can read for yourself what you desire. In his collection 1) of letters, Erasmus finally reveals himself as a man who is wholeheartedly an enemy of Luther and his teachings, but lies with apparent and cunning words that he is his friend. In this way, he will do great harm to his reputation and his name. In this, Eck is better, who confesses to be an enemy without any disguise. But this sneak and deceitful man, who is sometimes a friend and sometimes an enemy, I detest. Christ lives and also despises the prince of this world and all who follow his judgment.

Our Wenceslaus has another opinion concerning the passage Jn. 16, which I like; I will write it another time, if you want. Deun what I have said about the judgment, I myself do not like gauz, because I mean that the world is punished quite simply because of the last judgment, of which the world has not known that it will be, and for that reason it also has not feared, also does not care about sin and about justice, although it [the

1) Not the *Farrago nova epistolarum* of 1519 is meant here, but the one published at Basel by Frobenius *Pridie Cal. Septembr.* 1521.

Judgment] is so completely present that it has not only already begun, but even the head of this world is already judged. Through the revelation of the horror of this judgment, the Spirit wanted to inflame the world to the knowledge of sin and to the desire for righteousness, as that word Rom. 1, 18. says: "For the wrath of God from heaven is revealed in the gospel" 2c. Farewell and greet all our people. Your German word for eunuch is not enough for me; I have learned that in Westphalia it is called "a ron", and "ronen" is to cut, especially the people; I do not know if we should use it. I am waiting for the promise of the gems. Thursday after Jubilate [May 15] 1522. Mart. Luther.

[Postscript A.]. Send the letters back as soon as possible so that I can answer them.

[How I would like that you could obtain something for a certain poor farmer who was our forester 2) in Rehsen, and who was recently wounded in the thigh by a boar during a hunt that was commissioned by the prince, who became lame and unable to work, and who suffers from lack and poverty. However, he wishes to be helped with some grain so that he will have bread. I know that the princes receive these services and dangers from their subjects, but at the same time I also know that the princes should benefit their subjects, and that they often go too far in hunting and using people in this service; therefore, not only love but also justice requires compensation here.

The Viennese theologians have started a tragedy with Paul Speratus,³⁾ the former

2) The monastery forester in Rehsen near Wörlitz in Dessau.

3) His real name was Paul Hoffer and he was from Ellwangen, where his father was bailiff of the castle Röthlen belonging to the Ellwangen provost (Speratus also calls himself *de Rutilis*). He was born on Dec. 14, 1484; matriculated in Freiburg in 1503; studied in Paris and at Italian universities; at the beginning of the Reformation, preacher in Dinkelsbühl; appointed cathedral preacher in Würzburg in 1518, but had to leave there already in 1519 after the death of the Bishop of Bibra; then preacher in Salzburg, and since late 1520 without official position in Vienna. Admitted as a preacher with episcopal approval, he preached on the 1st Sunday after Epiphany, Jan. 12, 1522, in the St. Stephen's Church in

He was a preacher in Würzburg and was expelled from there, and is now in Iglau in Moravia. He wrote to me and sent me an excellent booklet on the vows.¹⁾ In addition, Siegmund von Schauenberg has interpreted the Creed, sent it to me for evaluation and will publish it. The stones begin to cry out as the apostles are subdued.

And what I almost forgot, you may tell Mr. Bernhard Hirschfeld that I have received 2) what this messenger brought me, which I believe I also wrote before.

No. 494.

Wittenberg.

May 16, 1522.

To Paul Speratus in Iglau.

Luther praises Speratus' sermon delivered in Vienna on January 12, 1522, and wishes to see it printed. He speaks out about the doctrine of the Pickards and the Bohemians on Holy Communion, and sends him the Scripture on vows.

Printed in the manuscript "Von dem hohen gelübd der Tauff, sampt andern Ein Sermon czu Wienn ynn Osterreych geprediget. Paulus Speratus. Königßberg yn Preussen. 1524." At the end: "Gedruckt czu Königßberg In Preussen." 8 quarto sheets. Printer: Hans Weinreich. Reprinted in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 32 and in Erl. The letter was undoubtedly written in Latin by Luther, but translated into German by Speratus to precede his writing.

To the worthy Doctor Paulo Sperato, preacher at the Iglau, his dear friend in Christ, Martinus Luther.

Salvation and peace in Christ! May the Lord Jesus strengthen you through the power of his

Vienna on the epistle Rom. 12, I. ff. and was zealous against the monastic vows. Already on Jan. 14, the theological faculty met and summoned him for Jan. 15 and again for Jan. 18. When he did not appear, his excommunication was publicly posted on Jan. 20. Speratus had left Vienna to go to Germany, but had been detained as a preacher in Iglau in Moravia by the abbot of the Dominican monastery there. From here he wrote to the theologians in Vienna demanding to know why he was excommunicated and offering to recant if he were convicted of error. They replied that he should first send them the sermon, then they would deal with him further. He now sent this answer, along with his sermon delivered in Vienna, to Luther.

1) From this passage it is clear that this postscript belongs to this letter. Compare the following number.

2) Compare the previous number.

Spirit, dear good friend Paule Sperate! Now at this time I am burdened with so much other and great business that I cannot answer you on all matters. But your booklet of the sermon held in Vienna has come under our judgment and verdict, and pleases us almost well, so we would not be displeased if you had it printed. 3) Also, in Wittenberg, we have sufficiently recognized the pride and arrogance of the Vienna sophists from their letter, which they sent to you. For I have investigated all things from them myself, but have not found that they consider the bread in the sacrament of the altar to be a mere signification of the body of Christ, and the wine alone to be a signification of the blood of Christ, but that they believe the bread to be truly and actually the body, and the wine to be truly and actually the blood of Christ, even though the same body and blood of Christ are in another form than they are in heaven, and in another form than Christ is in the spirits. So their opinion is not almost dissimilar to the truth, although I would like to see that people are not almost concerned about these things, but badly and simple-mindedly believe that the body and blood of Christ are truly present in the sacrament of the altar, and that we do not inquire further about how or in what form they are present, since Christ has not particularly told us about them. But you will be safest with them if you do not judge them until you have learned all things well. But the Bohemian articles, which you sent me along with the previous ones, are not at all to my liking, for they penetrate and bend the 6th chapter of St. John's on the sacrament. Johannis on the sacrament, since there only faith is dealt with. Neither the material nor the time will bear me writing more of it to you this time, so I will save it for another time. Greetings

3) This did not happen until 1524, when Speratus was already in Prussia. When he was imprisoned in Iglau in the summer of 1523, all his letters and the concept of his sermon had been taken away. Therefore, he wrote them down again in his dungeon, "hoping not in a different form or opinion than he had held in Vienna.

D. Carlstadt and Philip. I am sending you here the booklet of the vows; 1) the one of the mass, I think you saw earlier. Fare well and entrust me to the prayers of your igles, whom you will also greet kindly in my stead. [Given at Wittenberg, on Friday after Jubilate [May 16] in the 22nd year.

No. 495.

(Wittenberg.)

(After May 16) 2) 1522.

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of the petition of the priest to Segren.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 131 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 158. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 20; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 273 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. III, p. 365. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 815.

To his [friend] in the Lord, Magister Georg Spalatin, the faithful preacher at court.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Since I have nothing to write now, my dear Spalatin, I send and commend to you this petition of the poor pastor of Segren. Pfaffenbeck has again petitioned me with lamentable complaints that I should write to the prince on his behalf because of a certain fief that recently reverted to the prince through the death of a certain woman, which he wishes to obtain and is confident that he can also be helped with it. But I see that the wind at court is not favorable to him, and I refrain from making further noise and striving in vain. Farewell and pray for me. 1522.

Mart. Luther.

No. 496.

(Wittenberg.)

(After May 16, 1522.)

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2560, annex, no. 86.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1500.-Luther's writing "Vom Mißbrauch der Messe" ibidasselbst, Col. 1068.

2) De Wette places this letter too late: "Probably at the end of the year", because, as results from the petition of the priest at Segren mentioned in the following letter, it is to be placed before No. 496, which the *Erl. Briefw.* has done, which we have followed.

No. 497.

Wittenberg.

May 19, 1522.

To Nic. Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther wants a testamentary matter to be decided by the Council of Zwickau or Hausmann and not brought to the Elector.

The original is in the Anhaltische Gesamtarchiv, No. 3iij, the postscript on a special slip of paper. Handwritten in the Franciscaneum in Zerbst, Ms. 26, fol. 9. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 64 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 197 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. III, p. 368. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 783.

To the worthy man and preacher of the pure faith, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the superior of the church at Zwickau in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! My Nicolaus, who is highly esteemed in the Lord, to write to you among my many affairs in a few words about the matter you desire: It seems to me in no way advisable that the most noble prince be written about this matter, since I am certain that he will not accept it, but that he will push it away from himself and back to you anew. I know the kind of man who can suffer that whatever is done is done before others, but does not command or advise it. Therefore you, that is the council and you, must settle this matter, and for this you may, I ask, persuade the council in my name and by my request. But if the council does not want to get involved, then it is up to you alone, according to your office, to give the will either completely or as much as possible to the poverty of this person, your: that you do this and dare to do it, both necessity and love give you the right and power to do so. For it was not valid, nor is it valid now, that he bequeathed this for stones, since his brother exists, who must be fed from this money. Therefore, in God's name, go through it simply and without hesitation, and do not ask long or turn this matter here or there; finally, by some example, this ungodly custom of making wills must be broken. The other you will hear from him yourself, and greet the mayors in my name, and so

then be well with your preacher, 1) dear brother. Wittenberg, on Monday after Cantate [May 19] 1522. Mart. Luther.

I ask you to work in your and my name with Mühlfort, or whoever else it must be, so that they assist this man, so that he receives some part of the will, which he has communicated to me orally, for his needs, since it is certain that everything, whatever is bequeathed, must be given more to a living person than to a dead house, and that no one is allowed to bequeath anything contrary to this rule of love, or to keep what has been bequeathed; so he has asked me to ask.

No. 498.

(Wittenberg.)

May 20, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks for a game preacher for the wedding of Aurogallus. Postscript: There is no suitable teacher available for an external teaching position.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv (without the postscript, which is also not to be found on any special slip of paper). Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 236. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 23; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 198 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. III, p. 369. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 819.

To Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Aurogallus asks, if it can happen, my dear Spalatin, that his wedding 2) be honored with some venison. He is worth it, as you know, and a not to be despised part of our high school; do what you can. But the wedding will be next Monday [May 26], that is, after Vocem Jucunditatis. Now I am in the process of writing what I promised, as you know; tomorrow I will send it to you. So far letters and printed matter have prevented me. Farewell. Tuesday after Cantate [May 20]. Martin Luther.

But among the masters of the liberal arts who are now available, we cannot find one.

whom we would like to recommend, because they are either too old to want to wander there, or not fit to take upon themselves such an office.

No. 499.

(Altenburg.)

May 22, 1522.

The Altenburg City Council to Luther.

Report that the matter of the Altenburgs had been settled with their provost at Eilenburg. The Elector did not want to leave M. Gabriel there, so the council asked Luthern to help them find an external faithful preacher, whom he might indicate to the Elector in a letter. - Enclosed: Request to the Elector to immediately send them the preacher suggested by Luther.

From the Mittheilungen der Geschichtforschenden Gesellschaft des Osterlandes, VI, 57, No. 47, reprinted in *Erl. Briefw.*, Vol. III. p. 370.

2c. 2c. As our matter with the provost has reached its conclusion on the day now held in Eilenburg 3) before the judges, we do not want to deprive E.A. W., as our magnanimous patron, not to save this matter, as the provost, now reported, together with his brothers, has resigned from the preacher's chair, which is to be appointed, and the interest, which is dedicated to it, is to follow, and we, with the knowledge and will of a magistrate, have to appoint the same preacher's chair from now on, however, that now and for the first time our most gracious lord, the elector, or his elector's grace, will appoint a preacher, who is to be appointed by the elector. Councillors, will order and appoint a preacher, whom we shall indicate and propose, to avoid suspicion of both parties; thereupon we are ordered to do and take care with E. A. W., so that we may obtain a pious, learned, evangelical preacher and announce the same to our most gracious Lord. And even though Msgr. Gabriel had previously suggested and faithfully advised us to do so, which we and the entire congregation were well satisfied with, and, if it were possible, would still like to keep, the councilors, perhaps at the request of the provost, have once again instructed us not to allow him to preach any more, which we, even though not gladly, must therefore allow to happen. God then wants to give other grace than we believe and hope for, and our sin, so that we can

3) Since no settlement was reached on April 29 between the Nach of Altenburg and the provost regarding the sermon seat (see No. 488), the Elector summoned both parties to Eilenburg on May 19 for a decision.

4) "him" put by us instead of: "him".

1) Johann Zeidler.

2) He married Anna Döring.

without doubt deserves to be graciously forgiven; therefore 1) to E. A. W. our official and diligent request: if Mgr. Gabriel should not remain with us, would you, as E. A. W. as E. A. W. has previously stated in a letter 2) to us, would you once again investigate and appoint another learned, Christian and evangelical preacher, who would also preach the Word of God for the strengthening and increase of faith and love towards God and neighbor, for the comfort of us poor people, and inform our most gracious Lord of the same in a letter, in addition to our letter herewith, a copy of which is to be found here, 3) to our most gracious Lord, with the request that the same, by his princely grace, be graciously ordered and sent to us for the first time according to the terms of the treaty, so that we poor people in the same, where our salvation and blessedness are at hand, would not be delayed, and let the matter be carried out with this messenger of ours everywhere, and what is to be done here everywhere, give him 4) further orders 2c. We also request a written reply from all parties. Date Thursday after Cantate [May 22] Anno 1522.

The Altenburg City Council.

Enclosure.

The Altenburg City Council to the Elector.

Most Serene 2c. According to the preliminary decision of your Lordship, on Monday after Cantate [May 19], before your Lordship's Councilors in Eilenburg, I expected to take action with the provost for the sake of the preaching chair, and there, praise God, the matter was resolved in such a way that we now have to appoint the preaching chair here with the help and assistance of a magistrate, as the established arbitrator reports, but in such a way that your Lordship or the same Lordship's Councilors must now for the first time graciously appoint a preacher for us. churf. G. or the same E. churf. G. Councilors have now and for the first time to graciously appoint a preacher for us, and yet we have been ordered by the Councilors to research for a preacher, and to indicate the same to your churf. G.. Accordingly, we have written to Doctor Martino to inquire about a learned, pious, evangelical preacher who would like to come to us, so that he could report him in writing to your lordship, as there is no doubt that his dignity will do with the writing he has done 5).

1) "derhalben" put by us instead of the senseless: "denselben".

2) No.480.

3) namely the following supplement.

4) "him" put by us instead of: "in".

5) In the text, instead of "writing," which is a conjecture of the Erl. Briefw., "schriftlich".

be. Accordingly, we humbly request that "Your Electorate" send us the same. G. would graciously arrange the same for us, as reported in D. Martin's letter, and send it to us in the most conducive manner, so that we poor people would not be delayed in the same, since our salvation and bliss are at stake. This is what E. churf. G. wanted to graciously show to us poor people 2c. 2c.

No. 500 .

Zerbst.

(May 26, 1522?) 6)

To Heinrich Oldenburg in Magdeburg.

Concerns the introduction of Luther's banned writings in Magdeburg.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Ms. 221. 13. *extravag.* 40. Printed in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. LXV (without year) and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 34.

To the honorable and wise *Henrico Oldenburg* at Magdeburg on the Löscher Hofe, 7) my special, favorable, good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ! That I have not answered you, my dear Heinrich, to the previous letters, is the reason: I did not know where from or where to, because there was no date in it; so I did not know you. But now that I have read in this last letter that it happened in Magdeburg, I give my answer. If the journeyman knew that the imperial mandate existed, he cannot swear that he did not know it. Likewise, if he recognizes and considers my teachings and books to be Christian and right, he cannot swear in any way to have or read them. But he can swear to do so, indeed, there is no need to swear, but he should leave it to himself to bring the books to those who do not want to have them.

6) This letter has no year. Seidemann places it in the year 1522, because Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib.* I, p. 240 b, reports that Luther preached a sermon in the Augustinian monastery at Zerbst in that year; likewise Lingke in D. Martin Luthers merkwürdiger Reise Geschichte, p. 138. Furthermore, there is a report from the archbishop's councilors to the Cardinal, dated Halberstadt, May 17, 1522, in which it is reported that the magistrate had imprisoned a cleric who had been selling Martin's books and had delivered him to the archbishop's official for punishment.

7) Löscher (Löscher) Hof == Lödischer Hof. The printer Hans Walther also had his workshop there.

and persecute them. Just as Christ did not go into the city of Samaria, because they did not want to be there, and ordered the disciples to flee from the cities that would not receive them, even to throw the dust from their feet on them; just as the apostles left the Jews and went to the Gentiles. But that he should swear not to bring them into Christ's kingdom, that is, to those who want and desire them at Magdeburg, he cannot do, for [that would mean] 1) swearing Christian love, faithfulness and service. But if they chase him away and prevent him from entering, he shall suffer and remain outside without all conspiring: so that he will not let the Christians in, unless he is forced to do so, and the doors will be closed in front of him, and so he will keep the power free to serve them with such little books as and when he can. And comfort him, that he may give thanks to God, who has made him worthy to be persecuted for the gospel, and be merry with the apostle *Actor*. 5 For my sin and ingratitude make it unfortunate that I cannot come to such worthiness. Christ strengthen him and all who are in like persecution. Date at Zerbst, on Monday *post Vocem Jucunditatis* [May 26, 1522].

Martinus Luther.

No. 501 .

Wittenberg.

May 27, 1522.

To Gabriel Zwilling in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2025, no. 671.

No. 502 .

(Wittenberg.)

May 27, 1522.

To the Altenburg City Council.

Luther admonishes the Altenburgers to "accept it as God's will" if they cannot keep M. Gabriel. He therefore wanted to write again to the Elector, and Gabriel should continue to preach until someone else came.

From a copy in the town council archives at Altenburg, printed in the *Mittheilungen der Geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft des Osterlandes*, VI, 59, No. 19 (the original was attached to a report of the town council to the Elector) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, Vol. III, p. 374.

1) Added by us.

God's grace and peace, amen. Honorable, wise sirs and dear friends! I have received Eur Scripture and have heard it everywhere, and my answer is that you submit your mind to God and do not worry about this offense; God wants to try you. Therefore, nothing has been spoiled yet, be it Gabriel or not. But I will write to my lord again. However, I will write to my lord once again; meanwhile you are satisfied and let the matter rest, so that Gabriel will stay with you in the meantime and preach, so that you are not without a preacher until I give you another one, and refer to me and this my writing, so that you have acted according to my lord's command and sought another preacher, and waited for an answer and advice from me. But will my lord appoint one of his own? Lord will appoint one himself, before I can tell you, let God decide, and ask God that His will be done in this and all matters. What I will say, you shall hear in another message. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen. On Tuesday post *Urbani* [27 May] 1522. Mart. Luther.

No. 503 .

Wittenberg.

May 28, 1522.

To Caspar Börner, 2) Professor in Leipzig.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1978.

No. 504.

(Wittenberg.)

May 29, 1522.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2612, annex, no. 109.

No. 504 .

Wittenberg.

May 29, 1522.

To Joh. Lang in Erfurt.

Luther sends back a Hebrew dictionary. He exhorts to abolish the worship of the saints by calm instruction, not by violent condemnation. He wants to send a letter about this to the people of Erfurt.

Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 68d; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 203 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. III, p. 379. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 788.

2) The *Erl. Briefw.*, Vol. III, p. 376 notes that the name: "Börner" is not to be written: "Börner".

Grace and peace in Christ! I send back the Hebrew dictionary, but the first one, which I once bought in Erfurt at the beginning, because I keep yours in my memory because of the many notes, although this one also contains some, which I do not like to miss; and you do not believe all of them, because sometimes I have guessed.

I am about to write a letter to your church, but, held back by the amount of business, I have not yet gotten around to it, but finally want to put it into action. About the veneration of the saints (I wonder about this) the whole world asks in such a way that I am forced to expose my judgment about it. For I would that this question were put out of the way, for no other reason than that it is not necessary, and, as Paul says [1 Tim. 1:4], will raise so many questions that have no end. And Satan deals with it, that he turns us away from faith and love by superfluous and unnecessary questions, and secretly sets up new sects and heresies, if one is not careful. Therefore, urge only what is useful, and call all to Christ, so that in the meantime they may learn that the veneration of the saints is not necessary, if we slacken, it is permitted and good. But it is foolish to take great pains in unnecessary things and neglect the necessary ones. The worship of the saints will fall away by itself when it is certain that it is not necessary and that Christ alone will be on Mount Tabor [Matth. 17,8]. For in this way 1) this service has fallen away from me, so that I do not know how and when I stopped calling on the saints in prayer, since I was satisfied with Christ and God the Father alone. Therefore, I cannot praise those who condemn with us the worshippers of the saints par excellence. For I should lead the weak slowly, and not suddenly turn them away from it, by first giving them an account of the fact that the service is not necessary, then also maintaining a reverent attitude towards the saints, of which my booklet will speak. It pleases me that also

Usiugeu 2) will step onto the battlefield and lose his very little prestige. Farewell and pray for me. Greet all of us in Christ. Wittenberg, on the day of the Ascension [May 29] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 506 .

(Wittenberg.)

(After May 29, 1522.)

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2565, annex, no. 88.

No. 507.

(Wittenberg.)

(About the beginning of June 1522.)

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2563, annex, no. 87.

No. 508.

Wittenberg.

June 2, 1522.

To Volkmar Stolz.

Answer to the question of whether it is possible to queue the fair and yet keep the income donated for it.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 69 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 204 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 393. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 789.

Hail! I am so busy that I have misplaced your letter, I don't know where, and was forced to forget yours, my dear Volkmar. But you write the same thing again: whether you should give up the Mass or the interest? I answer: The best thing would be if you could persuade the people that you should keep the interest and completely abstain from the masses, as our priests do. But if they cannot yet be persuaded, it is safer to give up the interest as well. This would be a way out, of course, if you said mass as a communion, not as a sacrifice or good work, until the weak were taught; but to do this for the sake of interest, and not out of pure freedom, is not advisable. For who could resist if someone wanted to communicate himself every day, when

1) Erl. Briefw.: *oratione* instead of: *ratione*.

2) Usingen sat down against the Lutheran preaching Johann Culsamer.

He would do this only freely, not for the sake of interest, or at the most, if he would do this out of love of service, with which he would give way to the weak for a time, as I have advised our chaplains? But I do not see that this case of servitude is with you; therefore either communicate freely, or give the interest and the masses acf. So keep it in the Lord. Fare well. Wittenberg, 1522, Monday after Exaudi [June 2].

Your Martin Luther.

No. 509 .

(Wittenberg.)

June 5, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Use for Hans Neuendorf. News.'

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 116 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 145. Printed in Aurifaber, Bb. II, p. 70; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 205 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 394. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 790.

To Georg Spalatin, the evangelist, his brother who is highly honored in Christ.

Hail! This citizen Hans Neuendorf has asked, my dear Spalatin, that he, [recommended by me] to you, could hand over a petition to the prince through you. He has I don't know what kind of matter, which he fears will be postponed by the authorities until the prince's passing, so that they will thwart his intention; if it pleases you, you can hear it from him yourself. He seems to be an eloquent and busy man, and worthy of being promoted to a position among the citizens, since there are so many sows and moles here who only serve their bellies.

Hartmann von Kronberg has a messenger here with me with letters. Philip also has letters from Strasbourg and other places, which will be sent to you if you want to read them. Fare well and pray for me. It is written that Jacob, the prior of Antwerp, is again imprisoned by the emperor, perhaps because he has revoked his recantation. And the emperor is furious and has

forbade that our brothers should not go to the chapter of the vicar 1). Thursday after Exaudi [June 5] 1522.

Mart. Luther.

No. 510 .

(Wittenberg.)

June 7, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Intercession for a fisherman who has offended the churfürst fishery. _____

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 105; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 161; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 546; in Walch, vol. XXI, 17; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 137 and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 206.

To the worthy Lord Magistro Spalatin, electoral: preacher and chaplain, my special favorable lord and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ, amen. My dear Magister Spalatin! A poor fisherman has committed a crime, and once he fished too close to my gracious lord, I asked for him out of intercession against the locksmith: now I hear that he has sent him away to my gracious lord. Now I ask you to pray in my name to my merciful lord for him, so that the punishment may be commuted. For I hear ten silver shocks demanded of him. I do not want him to go unpunished, so that an example of fear and regiment may remain, but that it may be a punishment that does not deprive him of his food. I want to throw him into prison for several days, or let him eat water and bread for eight days, so that it can be seen that only correction and not corruption is sought. And that seems to me to be a right punishment for the poor; the rich should be rounded up in a bag. I hope you will do this. Hereby commanded by God. On the evening of Pentecost [June 7] Anno 1522.

Martin Luther.

No. 511 .

Wittenberg.

June 11, 1522.

To Joh. Lang in Erfurt.

News of the persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands.

1) Link had announced a chapter to Grimma for Pentecost 1522; "our brothers" are the Augustinians in the Netherlands.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 70 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 207 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 396. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 791.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although I had nothing to write, this Schott 1) demanded a letter and forced it on me so that it would not come to you empty. But I ask for what I also asked for before, that you help the Gospel with fervent and faithful prayers. For Satan is angry beyond measure everywhere, especially in the Netherlands, where the Sophists have been given dominion over us. Jacob full of Ypres 2) has been caught anew and led away because he spoke and wrote against his retraction; may the Lord strengthen him! Very many from the Hague 3) are written out to be punished and condemned. It is said that Ferdinand said he would stake his two dukedoms on suppressing this heresy. Farewell and greet all our people. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Pentecost sll. June 1522.

Melchior Mirisch 4) is the executioner of the emperor against ours of the order of Augustine, this holy theologian! Martin Luther.

No. 512.

(Wittenberg.)

June 13, 1522.

To Paul Speratus⁵⁾ in Iglau.

News from the Netherlands. On the disputes of the Waldenses and on the worship of God in the Lord's Supper and in the saints.

Handwritten in Dresden in *Cod. Solger*. C 351, sheet 74b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 71; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 208 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 397. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 79ä.

To the Lord D. Paul Speratus, who stands in the right hope and faith, the servant of Christ, who preaches the word of the Gospel in Moravia, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I received your letter with the little questions,

1) See No. 373 at the beginning.

2s All issues offer here: *Spreng* instead of *Iperensis*. See No. 475, the second note. Compare about Probst also No. 509.

3) *Haga Comititis* == s' Graavenhaag, the Hague. There was the state prison where those accused of heresy were brought.

4s Compare No. 475.

5) For Speratus, see No. 493.

at the same time the letter of Mrs. Julie von Staufen,⁶⁾ in which I read things that pleased me, namely that the Gospel is bearing fruit in the country, which the imperial satellites, the Sophists, are persecuting with incredible fury in the Netherlands. But God has given them a fatal sign, whether they might want to turn around and repent. For a sea monster has drifted ashore near Haarlem, 7) which is called a whale, seventy feet long and thirty-five wide. According to old examples, this monster is considered a certain sign of wrath. May the Lord have mercy on them and on us!

But to the questions of the Waldenses, which you have asked me through their messengers,⁸⁾ I answer thus: First of all, that I wanted such questions to be stopped and suppressed as much as possible, because they are useless and dangerous among the common people, who through their ignorance and carelessness easily fall away from the things that are necessary, namely from faith and love, to these new and strange and distant things. And this is the cunning of Satan, that by these beginnings he may prepare the way to corrupt the simplicity of Christ, and introduce questions which, as Paul [1 Tim. 1:4.] says, have no end. This is what he did when he introduced philosophy and ceremonies into the whole world, and no bishops resisted and stood up for the freedom and purity of the faith. So he is doing now with us with the

6) The *Cod. Solger*, offers *Herae Juliae a Stauffen*. It can hardly be doubted that Luther wrote so, because the name *Julie* returns towards the end of this letter. Here Aurifaber and him after De Wette has corrigirt the name in, but in the other place this improvement has omitted. Luther has made a mistake in the name. Argula von Staufen, born probably in 1492 at Ehrensels Castle in Bavaria, was married to Friedrich von Grumbach, but in the writings which she published for the Protestant doctrine, she did not call herself after the name of her husband, but Argula von Staufen. In 1530 she became a widow and died in 1554 in Zeilitzheim near Schweinfurt.

7) Aurifaber and De Wette: *Horlen*.

8) The Waldensians are the Bohemian brothers or Pickards. The questions had been presented to Speratus by Benedict Optatus, which Speratus, along with his own judgment, presented to Luther for decision through the envoys of the Brethren Unity, Joh. Roh and Michael Weiß.

The saints' service and what the saints perceive in heaven, his mockery, which we intend to meet as much as the Lord will lend. This is undoubtedly what happened to the Waldensian brothers. Therefore, do as follows: urge, persist, demand what is necessary, namely faith and love; if they do not take hold of these first, express your disgust at their frivolity, which is occupied with other, external and non-necessary things. For even the sacrament itself is not so necessary that faith and love should be put aside for its sake. It is foolish to quarrel about these minor things and at the same time neglect these precious and wholesome things.

However, lest they think that no answer can be given to impudent and foolish men, I would say thus: It is free to worship and call upon Christ under the sacrament, 1) for he does not sin who does not worship, nor does he sin who worships. Here must be the end of this controversy, and you must not allow either of them to be forced and pressed, and let no one cite foreskin or circumcision, nor let them judge one another here. Therefore despise thou, and by despising reject such a dispute in this matter. If faith and love are there, there can be no sin here, either by worshipping or by not worshipping; but if faith and love are not there, everyone will sin forever, whether he worships or not, yes, he will sin forever throughout his life. For faith worships in such a way that it imagines Him alone, of whom it has no doubt that His body and blood are there. If those quarrelsome people do not want to call this concomitance, let them call it something else, and stop quarreling, since they agree on the matter itself. For no one denies, I mean, not even the brothers themselves, that the body and blood are there.

1) Here, the Erl. Briefw., which we have followed, according to the *Cod. Solger*: *Tamen ne importunis et stultis non posse responderi putent, sic dicerem: liberum est, Christum adorare et invocare etc.* Against this offer Aurifaber and De Wette: *Tamen ne importunum responsum dem stultis, ne putent me non posse respondere, sic dico: liberum esse, Christum adorari et invocari etc..*

The blood of Christ is there to be worshipped. It is enough that this is called concomitance. But those who want to find out how the divinity is grasped there in *concomitant*, punish them as those who in foolish presumption and with carnal imaginations fall upon the mysteries of God, so that you may keep them in simplicity of faith and the pure knowledge of the sacrament. For where such foolish and unnecessary imaginations are allowed, they will make rash people, and with the setting aside of faith will bring back that whole mud pit of place, of the infinite, of empty space, of greatness, of essence, and everything that has so far fooled natural reason and philosophy, therefore one must be vigilant here that simplicity be preserved. Again, faith and love does not worship, because it knows that it is not commanded to worship, and that one does not sin by not worshipping. Thus he passes freely through the midst of them, and tolerates them all, letting each one have his own way. He only forbids that they should not quarrel and that one should judge the other, for he hates sects and divisions, but lets everything be free.

So also this dispute is to be laid to rest, whether under the bread alone the body is by the power of the words 2c. For what need is there, as you yourself have judged, to involve the coarse people in these quibbles, who meanwhile can be led by this sound and sure faith, namely, that they believe that under the bread is the body of him who is true God and true man. But as there are *concomitant* blood, humanity, divinity, hair, bone and skin, what need is there that we should trouble ourselves about these things, since it is not necessary that they should be known? Faith is neither taught nor increased by these things, but doubt and discord are sown. Faith does not want to know more than that under the bread is the body of Christ, under the wine the blood of Christ, who lives and reigns; in this simplicity it persists and despises impertinent questions.

So I would also answer that of the worship and invocation of GOD, who is in the

He is free and neither of them is necessary. But it is not as certain with most people that he dwells in them as it is certain that he is under the sacrament. But we read in 1 Cor. 14:25 that the apostle says that the unbeliever would fall on his face and worship God in the saints if he had heard them prophesying. And Abraham saw three angels and worshipped the One Lord. And what do we do when we precede one another in reverence (this is the example you use), but to honor and worship God in ourselves? Therefore it shall be free to call upon GOD, whether in a man or apart from man, in the creature or apart from the creature, for, "I fill heaven and earth, saith the LORD" [Jer 23:24]. Here faith walks quite securely, which in all alone honors GOD; but to the unbelievers it cannot be sufficiently said, reproached, and proved that they always worship themselves. Therefore, as I have said, teach only that they should be sound in faith, and such questions will not be necessary, and the anointing will instruct them by itself in all things, without which we do nothing but fall into questions that have no end.

Greetings in my name to Martin Novilianus, 1) and wish him much salvation in Christ. I have written to Mrs. Julie 2) but very briefly. The booklets of the vows have long been out of print; we have ordered that they be printed anew. We have arranged for the bearers to see to it that what we have is sent to you. You are well in Christ and pray for me Friday after Pentecost [June 13] 1522.

As I was about to close this letter and was looking through yours again to see whether I had satisfied all things, I came across a small note in which you ask about the power of the words in the sacrament, of which power you quite rightly judge that it comes from the promise, if it is otherwise that I speak to you, in the words *fei*. But you also know that

1) Martin Novilianus, native of Winterberg in Bohemia, teacher at the school in Jglau, then member of the town council, died as mayor there in 1559.

2) of Argula von Staufen. See above.

faith alone consecrates, and that priests are often without faith while they consecrate, where necessarily the words are not only spoken in jest and deceitfully, but also in impiety. Therefore, in order to be sure, we must learn in every way that they also consecrate, and nevertheless such an unbelieving priest must nevertheless consecrate as a minister in the faith of the Church, since he consecrates by command and authority of the Church. For it is not he who speaks the words, but the church; but he is the minister of the words spoken by the church, as you can easily gather from this. Again, be well.
Martin Luther.

No. 513

Wittenberg.

June 15, 1522.

To Claus Sturm, mayor of Magdeburg.

In a letter, Sturm reminded Luther of his earlier acquaintance with him and expressed his surprise that he was so harsh in his criticism and scolding of the great. Luther replied that he had long used patience and humility, but in vain; now, following the example of Christ and the prophets, he used severity.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 153d; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 127; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 158; in the Leipzig edition, vol. X VIII, p. 314 ; in Walch, vol. XXI, 18; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 137; and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 211.

To the honorable and wise Claus Storm, mayor of Magdeburg, my special favorable gentleman and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, dear Lord and friend! I have received your writing, and it is certainly true that I recognized you at D. Paulus Moßhauer⁴), not in your house, but when he was an official, and you were his guest several times, since I went to school with Hans Reinecke at that time to the Zero Brothers.

3) We have agreed with the Erl. Briefw. *prolatorum* assumed instead of *probatorem* in Aurifaber and De Wette.

4) Luther lived with the same person when he went to school in Magdeburg. - Hans Reinecke, son of Peter Reinecke, a mining bailiff in Mansfeld, later a master smelter in Mansfeld. - The Nullbrüder, Lollbrüder, Trolbrüder, Lollharden are the brothers of the common life.

But that you do not understand why I attack and rebuke the high chiefs and prelates so harshly, calling them fools and asses, when Christ teaches everywhere that one should be patient, I answer: I have shown my patience and humility too much. I have pleaded and begged; I have now followed them three times 1) and have always offered myself humbly, as all the world knows. Now that some worldly wise men do not want to look at my humble pleading and humility to improve themselves, but take only that, because I am hard and serious, and are angry about it: They are like the stubborn Pharisees, who abandoned all the kindness and mercy of our Lord Christ, and did not improve themselves, but where he called them vipers, blind fools, children of devils, adulterers, and the like, they fasted and were angry. If you read the 24th [23rd] Cap. Matthew, you will see how Christ calls them blind fools.

Until now, we have been accustomed to praise and flatter the prelates while the gospel lay under the pew. But now it comes out, and punishes the high heads as fools and blind men, it seems strange to us. Violence and injustice should be suffered by everyone; this I have done, and still do; but a preacher should not be silent about it, but as Isaiah says in the 58th chapter, lift up his voice and tell the prelates their sin, mischievousness, and malice 2c. This is what the prophets, apostles, and Christ himself did, even though they willingly endured all kinds of suffering. There is a great difference between being patient and keeping silent about the wickedness of the prelates. Silence is no good; one must suffer, punish and rebuke; but one must also love and do good. A father scolds, punishes and chastises his child, and yet is not hostile to him; but he is hostile to him who keeps silent about his wickedness, and neither scolds nor chastises. Hereby I commend you to God. Given at Wittenberg, June 15, 1522.

Martinus Luther.

No. 514.

Wittenberg.

June 26, 1522.

To Joh. Lang in Erfurt.

About the opponents of the gospel in Erfurt, especially Usingen. From King Henry VIII's. Book; on the persecutions in the Netherlands and the dangers threatening the Protestants in Germany.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 74; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 213 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. III, p. 403. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 797.

Grace and peace in Christ, amen. That there are people among you who resist the gospel and tear people away from it by force and cunning, you need not be surprised at this if you believe that the gospel is in truth the gospel. For "with wicked men it grows worse the longer, deceiving and being deceived," says Paul [2 Tim. 3:13.]. You know that Usingen's head is so hardened by ingrained obstinacy and the high opinion he has of himself that it is harder than a diamond. Therefore, his nonsense must be taught against in such a way that his completely unlearned and blind pomposity is despised. For so he is accustomed from youth to soften no one. Therefore there is no hope that he will give way to Christ, since he has already been trained and prepared for hardness by long practice and art. Let him go, that he may confirm the proverb, in which it is said: "Age does not help any foolishness", and he is dependent on the violence of old age and childishness. By the way, my opinion is that it is free to keep the judicial and ceremonial precepts of Moses, as Philip also teaches in his *locis*. 2) It is not necessary that adulterers be stoned, 2c. which can be punished with the sword or in any other way. I have a letter ready for you 3) and, Christ willing, it will come soon. The followers of Duke Georg (*Georgiani*) in Meissen far surpass yours in toxicity, nonsense and rage. They praise the book

1) "three times": to Cajetan, to Miltitz and to Worms.

2) *Corp. Ref.*, vol. XXI, 197 sf.

3) "Unterricht an die Kirche zu Erfurt," St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 962.

of the King of England, 1) but I suspect that that Leus [Lee] is hidden under the Hallt. The emperor has recommended the same according to his wisdom, which was given to him by his devil Glapio, his Minorite confessor, an exceedingly arrogant: and exceedingly minoritic monk, that fool of Egmond 2) and other sophists in the Netherlands. And these rage in an unbelievable way after they have received unlimited power (*tyrannide*): they have imprisoned Jacob 3) again, and we believe that he has already been burned with some others, or will certainly be burned; others they drive out of the cities and do them extraordinary dishonor. We expect the same with regard to us, especially since there is a strong rumor that the emperor and the pope will have a meeting in Nuremberg, so that these two idols will fulfill what Christ wants, namely that they will put an end to their own kingdom and bring about the Last Day. Therefore we want Christ to be bitter, so that he either converts them, or that they may increase their rage, so that they will perish immediately. I will not cease to challenge and provoke Satan and Satan's scales to destroy themselves with their own teeth. Greet all of ours and farewell. Wittenberg, 1522, Thursday, the eighth day after the Feast of Corpus Christi [June 26]....

Your Martin Luther.

We think differently of Hesse 4) than you write; for proof serve: his two letters to us.

No. 515.

Wittenberg.

June 27, 1522.

To Staupitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 607, no. 222.

No. 5 16.

Oels Castle.

June 29, 1522.

Duke Carl von Münsterberg to Luther.

He wants Luther to publish a scripture or scriptures in which it is clearly stated that the Lord's Supper should be partaken of according to Christ's order in both forms, so that the honor of his ancestor George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, who had been banished by the pope for this reason, may be restored.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 154; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 127b (with the marginal note that Luther's answer to it had been in the librarei of Caspar Güttel at Eisleben, but was later removed); in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 186; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 317; in Walch, vol. XXI, 123* and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 408. All these editions are based on the Wittenberg.

By the Grace of God Carl, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Münsterberg in Silesia, zur Olsen, Count of Glatz, Lord of Kunstadt and Podiebrad 2c., Governor of the Margraviate of Upper Lusatia.

Worthy and devout Father! Among other of your Christian writings and doctrines, we have not considered one of the least, but the most important pieces, according to the holy Gospel, to receive and eat the holy testament of our Savior Christ in its entirety, as under both forms, and although, according to our little understanding, even before this time, we have always followed the word of Christ more faithfully than the seduction of the papal see: Nevertheless, for the sake of the high title, name and authority of papal holiness, we have been fainthearted in this, and with others without light, until through you the truth of our Savior Christ has been brought to light, his gospel has been brought forth, and the papist pomp has been replaced with evangelical doctrine, by which we have gained courage, consolation and strength, and thus return to our intended opinion.

And that you, Christian father, may recognize and hear the grievance of our hearts, we do not want to plead with you in a splendid manner or after the exercise of princely status, but as with our brother, with this avoidance: that the most illustrious prince, King George of Bohemia, of laudable memory, our dear lord and ancestor, for this reason alone, that according to the noble word of Christ he confessed to receive his holy testament in its entirety, under both forms, and thus also remained in the same custom until his mortal departure, from the papal chair to the

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 134. See also the introduction there, p. 3 b.

2) Nicolaus of Egmond, who was assigned by the emperor together with Latomus to the heretic judge van der Hulft as an advisory council.

3) Provost.

4) It is not Joh. Hess in Breslau who is meant, but Eoban Hesse, the poet from Erfurt, about whom Lang sent spiteful reports to Wittenberg and accused him of collusion with the adversaries. The two letters mentioned here are missing.

The fourth generation is still being proclaimed a chief heretic by the same one, who prides himself as a governor of Christ, with the Bulla *Coenae Domini*. If we now come to the rightly recognized truth that also the House of Münsterberg has had to endure such a calamity against God, honor and right for such a long time, we want you, devout father, to take it to heart.

And that is even more, the pope has taken away not the least part from our highly thought lord and ancestor, King George, with banishment and renunciation of their oaths and duties, and what misfortune has resulted from this for many is evident and disgraceful; consider it well, worthy father, that you, as you have experience of much such history that has occurred, also have good knowledge of it.

Therefore, for the honor of Christ, for the preservation of His holy word, for the comfort of our consciences, for the dampening of the evil of the House of Münsterberg, and for the protection of our and our heirs' princely dignity, we have placed our eager desire on you, also asking you to take this Christian, and on the other hand the papal business, as it is briefly described here, to your Christian mind, to clarify it and to deny it with your writings, and let it come to light, if your oath and duty, with which you adhere to the holy Scriptures, require and demand this in addition to the Gospel, 1) so that this evil delusion of our Lord and ancestor may be set aside among the common people by such evangelical guidance, and so that we and our heirs will have to resist the papist malediction and proclamation in our hearts all the more comfortingly and courageously, without biting consciences.

Only our opinion would be that our person would not be reported in your writings, if you would let it go out as if it had happened from our incitement, 2) for the sake of moving causes 3) which we would like to tell afterwards, where the Almighty God wants to send our meeting, to which we aspire, are inclined and hotly eager.

And how much we like your person, as now then

1) "erheischen" is Conjectur des Erl. Briefw. for: "promise".

2) "would" put by us instead of: "would".

3) These moving causes are obviously the considerations imposed on him by his position against King Louis of Bohemia, who a few months earlier, on Christmas Eve 1521, had issued a strict mandate to the Silesian estates not to let the Lutheran doctrine take root, but to eradicate it.

4) but we are of the understanding and constant faith that you will show and prove your Christian love, faithfulness, and dutiful service, in honor of Christ and His Word, and for the refreshment of our conscience, 5) in such a way that we may assume that this request of ours, which is just and proper, has not sprouted unfruitfully, but has actually taken place and been preserved.

With this we have faithfully committed ourselves to your prayers, especially that the merciful God may give all authorities the right understanding and sense to keep and use their temporal government in peace and harmony for the blessedness of common Christendom. Given at our castle at⁶⁾ Olsen, on June 29, Anno Domini 1522.

No. 517.

Wittenberg.

June 30, 1522.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

A short reply letter with some messages.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmann-Briefe No. 5. Handwritten in the Franciscanum at Zerbst, Ms. 26, fol. 7 b. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 79b; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 218 (according to Aurifaber, dated: beginning of July). From the original in Theol. Studien und Kritiken, 1835, p. 341, communicated by H. Lindner; subsequently in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 36 and (from the original) in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 411. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 805.

To the holy and godly man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the sincere and faithful bishop of the church at Zwickau, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! This man (as you know), a protector of the Gospel, I did not want to return to you empty, dearest John, 7) so that I might

4) In the old editions "gewenet" instead of "erwähnet".

5) In spite of these pious-sounding sayings, Duke Carl joined the rebellion that began in Bohemia in 1524. He tried to resist the penetration of Lutheranism into his country and took part in the ceremonies of the Roman church, e.g. the processions, with a certain ostentation. His main concern was to help the soul of his Hussite grandfather, George Podiebrad, to bliss in heaven, and also to redeem it from the Pope's curse, which is why he consulted not only Luther, but also the papal legate in Ofen.

6) Thus the Jenaer. Wittenbergers: "too".

7) As the inscription shows, Luther is not mistaken in the first name, but he wants to indicate Hausmann's character by this designation.

I would again like to command your prayers, since I had nothing else to write. They say, however, that the princes are taking counsel over my head and that of ours.

Jacob, the prior of Antwerp, who had previously recanted, was again imprisoned in Brussels because of the recantation he had condemned, and many write to us that he has already been burned. The Sophists are raging there with unbelievable tyranny, whom the emperor, a fool to fools, has charged with the matter. ¹⁾ Many renounce, then come to terms with it, and are imprisoned again. And the godless tyrants hasten to their end by challenging Christ and his future.

Greet the servants of the word who are with you, and both mayors with theirs and the castle. And you are well in Christ. Wittenberg, on the day of the commemoration of Paul [June 30] 1522.

Mart. Luther.

No. 518.

Wittenberg.

July 4, 1582.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2571, anh., no.91.

No. 519 .

Wittenberg.

July 4, 1522.

To Wenceslaus Link.

Luther urges him to take up residence in Wittenberg.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 79; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 217 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 428. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 804.

Grace and peace in Christ! Either you, dearest father, invent some unworthy cause of your delay, or you hate our fellowship. For what is the use of your remaining there? The Upper and the Netherlands are forbidden to you; nowhere can you stay safer and better than here with lins. Unless, for the sake of the sacred splendor of our order, you guard against us impure and maligned ones, so that those who are going to the

1) Compare No. 514.

The Lord has awakened your displeasure in Christ. 2) Return, I beseech thee, and that soon, for it shall come to pass that we shall have need of thee here in the Lord. We are waiting for you; see to it that you do not deceive us; there are also necessary matters of faith in which we would always like to have your presence and promote the common cause with mutual counsel. 3) All of us greet you. Fare well in Christ. Wittenberg, 1522, Friday after the Visitation of the Virgin Mary [July 4].

Your Martin Luther.

No. 520.

(Wittenberg.)

July 10, 1522.

To Gabriel Zwilling in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2615, annex, no. 110.

No. 521 .

Wittenberg.

July 10, 1522.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Luther sends him the missive for the congregation in Erfurt.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 80b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 210 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, 429. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 806.

Grace and peace! See, there you have the epistle, 4) which I drafted in haste. Set the seal and read it, and if it seems to you that it should be printed, let it be properly divided into paragraphs. If you want more people to be greeted, add the names, but in such a way that you do not do this in the pursuit of honor, either for them or for yourself; you must keep this in mind for the sake of it, because we are all human beings; also, you may not increase their number beyond ten. I had a more learned and richer

2) *excitati*, awakened, is to be understood according to 2 Mos. 9, 16. - The "return" refers to Link's presence in Wittenberg before Pentecost, before the chapter in Grimma.

3) One sees that Luther at this invitation did not know yet that the Elector had already appointed Link on June 26 as a preacher in Altenburg, and that he had already promised on July 2 from Neustadt an der Orla his arrival in Altenburg for the next week.

4) No. 522.

5) At the end of the epistle we find only six names.

Epistle, but I did not find the time. As soon as I have time, however, I will take up some passage of Scripture and write to you about it. In the meantime, be well in the Lord and pray for me. Greetings to all of us. Wittenberg, July 10, 1522.

Martin Luther.

No. 522 .

Wittenberg.

July 10, 1522.

To the congregation at Erfurt. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 962.

No. 523 .

Wittenberg.

July 15, 1522.

To the Bohemian Estates.

Luther exhorts the Bohemians to stick to their faith and not to reconcile with the papal see, hoping that the Germans and the Bohemians will unite in doctrine.

This letter, as Seidemann says in *De Wette*, Vol. VI, p. 475 Note 1 z. E., was originally written in Latin, but the existing Latin texts differ so much from each other that they seem to be back translations from German. It is found in manuscript in the Dresden Archives, *Locat* 10,300, Bl. 54, in a copy sent to Duke George from Prague. It has many abbreviations, and although some corrections indicate care, it is still not very accurate. Printed in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, iol. 306 (wrong 630), datirt den 29. Juli; in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 84b (datirt den 15. Juli, ter. 3. *divisionis Apostolorum*) and after Aurifaber in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 228, German (everywhere with the date: 10. Juli) in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 154b; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p.128b; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 187; in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 313; in Walch, vol. XXI, 21; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 225; and in the Erlanger, vol.53, p.144. We have worked with the Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 432, adopted the time determination which Aurifaber and the Dresden manuscript offer. The indication of the apostle's day in Aurifaber is undoubtedly based on an old model, and it is probable that our writing has the same date with the next following letter.

Grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, amen. Sublime, high-born, venerable and worthy, well-born, honorable and noble, dear lords and friends! Although I, as a despised human being, consider myself too lowly to request and address such great and excellent lords, nevertheless, the high

1) not to make a fuss, neither to Your Lordship, Your Highness and Your Respectability, nor to my unworthiness, so that I should not report it, if I think so.

The rumor has spread among us, as if some of you should dare to be concerned that the Bohemians should fall again to the harmful chair of Roman tyranny, and that this reason should be put forward, as if the Bohemians might otherwise have no lasting peace for eternity. It is true that before this time I was almost disinclined to the Bohemians, before I knew that the Pope is the true Antichrist; but now, in the meantime, Christ, our dear Lord, has graciously and abundantly let his blessed word shine again to us in this terrible last time, I well believe that Your Grace and Esteem have heard that the Bohemians are at peace, Your Reverence and Respectability have heard that I have praised your disobedience to the Popes in such a way that none of you has ever borne the hatred of your name with so much difficulty as I have. For how often am I scolded, even today, as if I had been born a Bohemian, or had dared to flee to Bohemia! And indeed, I would have come to Bohemia once 2) not for the sake of escape, but out of eagerness to scare you and to learn your faith; but I did not want to do this honor to my enemies, the papists, against the divine word, so that they should boast and shout that they had overcome me, and because of this I had become a fugitive from the ensign. In addition, because now, praise God, your name is not censured by the most distinguished gentlemen of the German nation, and is also more honest and more praiseworthy among the common man than my own reputation and name, I am of good hope that it will soon come to pass that both Germans and Bohemians will acquire one mind and name through the Gospel and the divine Word; only if we patiently await God's mercy, and if one part lacks something, we will tolerate it in the meantime. For it may

1) "the high great cause". King Louis was dealing with reuniting the Utraquists with Rome at the first Diet he held in June 1522. Luther heard about this, and this prompted him to write this letter.
2) "once" in Latin *aliquando* - long ago.

all things will not soon be changed in one hui, nor with painting. But let us deal carefully with your people, faithfully preside over them through godly, pious preachers, lead them only to the Lord Christ, and forgive and pardon one another from the heart, and, as they say, do not demand everything at once, nor seek it most carefully.

If there are still sects and cults among you, let it be so; we know well that it cannot be as pure as it ought to be. Therefore St. Paul speaks not without cause 1 Corinthians 11:19: "There must be sects among you" 2c. But if you think that you will come to the Roman See by such acclamation, so that Bohemia may not be further divided into sects, 1) that will certainly not happen by this means. Are there not discord and sects among us Germans and everywhere else where the pope's tyranny reigns? The mendicant monks alone are divided and torn into seven sects; the barefooted are also divided into seven different barefoots. And over all these sects the most holy father in Rome holds with all his might and defends them, because he is afraid that they will become one. With the same care he is also concerned that secular kings and princes be and remain at odds with one another; for his rule can exist by no better means than by discord between spiritual and secular prelates or great lords. Therefore, the Bohemians' discord in faith may not be compared or united with the sects in the papacy by such a way or means (to go to the pope).

Therefore, Your Grace, Reverence and respectability may well take care that they do not get out of bad little sects, which can be helped, into sects again, which St. Peter calls pernicious sects [2 Petr. 2, 1. From which the right of the Lord has graciously delivered you long ago, and we are in daily work to work ourselves out of them also by His grace and help; we have also, praise God, begun blessedly. Therefore the Sects

1) "may" put by us instead of: "like", according to the Latin.

by no means can they be stopped, except, as I said, when godly pastors and preachers purely teach and spread the gospel, which is a word of peace and grace; this alone makes a people of one accord, and it is Christ alone who by this makes people of one accord dwell in the house of the Lord [Ps. 133:1].

If, however, the people may not be able to refrain from such a coincidence with the Roman See, I ask that Your Grace and respectability let me keep this with you, Your honor and respectability will let me keep this with you, that you confidently sit down against the wretched blasphemous chair at Rome, to keep both forms of the holy sacrament, also that you do not condemn the innocent blood of your blessed John Hus and Jerome of Praga together with their doctrine; for these two articles the blasphemous chair, the drunken whore of the holy blood, will earnestly require and want to keep from you. Neither will he accept you, nor may he accept you, without the injury of his tyranny, for you swear to the above two articles. But all those who will swear shall know, by my testimony before God and the world, that they swear by the Lord Christ, and are children of perdition and eternal damnation. Truly, I and ours want to defend John Hus, the holy martyr of Christ, and even if all of Bohemia, since God is for it, has denied his teachings, he shall still be ours.

Therefore, I ask Your Grace, Reverend and Esteemed Sirs, briefly this time (at another time I will, if God wills, write more and further), that you will stand firm and persevere in the disobedience of the devil, as you have so far remained steadfast through many tribulations that you have endured over it, and that you will not do our Gospel, which, praise God, is now flourishing again, any harm by your apostasy. Further, do not be deceived by this, although not all things are as they should be with you. If you are now Galatians, God can raise up some Paul who will restore you and make well that which is now sick. But do not fall away, that is, do not submit to the godless Roman tyranny.

Lastly, I beseech the Lord Jesus Christ that he may graciously continue and prosper, that your hearts may be enlightened and led into all the perfection of the grace and knowledge of Christ, who is blessed and blessed for ever and ever, amen. Your Grace, Honorable and Respected One, please accept my thoughtless letter in Christ. Given at Wittenberg, on the 10th day of July in the year 22.

E. Gn., Reverend and Achtb.
willing servant in Christo

Martinus Luther.

No. 524.

Wittenberg.

July 15, 1522.

To Sebastian von Schlick, Count of Passun.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 280. .

No. 525.

Wittenberg.

July 16, 1522.

To Joh. Lang in Erfurt.

About the death of the local preacher Georg Forchheim and the filling of his position.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 866; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 234 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 434. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 807.

Grace and peace in Christ! I begrudge and envy the Forchheim this entrance, yes, I bear sorrow with you. But Christ gives him his own and you a better one, if you only hope. I have obtained from Magister Wolfgang 1) that, if he is chosen by you, he will accept the parish in his name until you can arrange it better. He is a good man, he will be ready to serve, to yield and to endure according to the will of God who calls through us. Meanwhile, with Culsamer, see to it that you put down the impetuosity of the people, 2) and keep the ministry of the Gospel undefiled. If by poison

1) Wolfgang Stein, court preacher in Weimar. - "in his name," that is, that he only gives the name to it. See No. 528.

2) Rumors circulated that Forchheim had been killed by poison, which was supposed to have been spread on the pulpit, because he had often severely punished the fornication of the monastery people. Therefore one feared probably violent acts of the people.

is killed, neither a plaintiff nor a scout is needed; Christ himself will speak for his Abel, and in his time he will bring Cain to light in a more just and suitable way than you can; let us suffer this. By the way, I believe that my epistle 3) has been faithfully delivered to you. I also sent a letter to the blasphemers who had an emissary with me. Christ will do his miracles without us, let us only trust and tolerate. Greetings to all brothers in Christ. Wittenberg, July 16, 1522.

Martin Luther.

No. 526.

Wittenberg.

July 26, 1522.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2573, annex, no. 92.

No. 527.

Wittenberg.

July 28, 1522.

To Adam Kraft⁴⁾ in Fulda.

Luther exhorted him to faithfully administer the preaching position he had taken up in Fulda.

The original is at the city library in Ulm. Printed in Veesenmeyer's Beiträge zur Gesch. der Litt, 2c., p. 153; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 236 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 436.

To the learned and godly man, Mr. Adam, evangelist of the church at Fulda, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I received your greeting and your request, that is, your kindness and love, with gratitude and joy, dear Adam, and even though I had nothing to write, it seemed good to me to write just this, as a testimony to my grateful spirit. I hear that you have accepted the office of an evangelist.

3) No. 522.

4) Adam Kraft, Crato, born 1493 at Fulda as son of the mayor there, studied since 1512 in Erfurt, was present 1519 as Magister at the Leipzig Disputation, then preacher in Fulda, where he preached the Gospel and had to give way 1524 to his enemies. Then at Hersfeld, where Landgrave Philip heard him and appointed him his court preacher on August 15, 1525; professor at Marburg in 1527; at the Marburg Conversation in 1529; with the signers of the Schmalkaldic Articles 2c. in 1537; died in 1558.

I pray that you will be more and more blessed with the praise of his glory. So that this may continue happily, I pray 1) that Christ may blessedly blossom more and more to the praise of His glory among you, and that the fig tree of the Lord may grow green, even though it still bears little fruit, perhaps because the time for figs has not yet come. The Lord turn away the curse and give abundance of fruit among the leaves, amen. That you are under the splendor of the relics, and stand on the mulberry tree,²⁾ you must endure for a while, until Christ comes and looks and tells you to come down. In the meantime, do not cease to want to see Jesus, who he is; even you are small in person in this city of giants and nimrods. May the Lord Jesus multiply and preserve you in the uttermost distresses, Amen. Wittenberg, 1522, July 28.

Martin Luther.

No. 52 8.

(Wittenberg.)

July 29, 1522.

To Joh. Riedtesel, Princely Saxon Director at Weimar.

Luther asks him to intercede with Duke John of Saxony for the election of Wolfgang Stein as preacher in Erfurt.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 108; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 106; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 546; in Walch, vol. XXI, 20. Alls the original in the Unsch. Nachr. 1716, p. 948; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 237 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 148.

To the strict and firm, Mr. Johannis Riedtesel, princely director at Weimar, my especially favorable lord and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ, together with my service. Dear Sir and Friend! M. Wolfgangus, now with us, has asked me, after he was concerned that it might bring him suspicion from M. G. Lord, Duke John 2c., that he has been chosen by those in Erfurt to be pastor of St. Michel, that I write to E. G. and admonish him to be a good mediator and interpreter before my most gracious lord; for the

is ever true that he neither wanted nor pushed for it. Now, however, the good people of Erfurt would have prevented rebellion and loss, and to promote the Gospel, so that a wolf would not have entered after the fallen shepherd, have mentioned his person in such a way that he would only accept it and have the pastor's name, and yet be and work beside it where he wants, until God sends the matter differently: it was not due to him to refuse such service of Christian guilty love, and I have also advised him to do so; since he himself and my G. H. have neither failed nor been harmed, and the people of Erfurt have received a great service and help. H., and the people of Erfurt will be greatly served and helped. It is therefore my diligent request to E. G. that he will make himself worthy of Christian love and service, and whether it will please him in front of my Lord. Lord (of which I do not deny myself) suspicion or disfavor, be kindly threatened that my G. Lord receive such instruction and graciously grant him to prove such service and duty of love to those at Erfurt in this necessary case, where E. G. has requested such from my G. Lord, as a highly renowned lover. Lord, as a highly renowned lover of the Gospel. I want to be found unsaved, if possible, in order to earn His blessing. God's grace be with you, Amen. On Tuesday after Jacobi [July 29] Anno 1522.

Martinus Luther.

No. 529 .

Wittenberg.

July 29, 1522.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XI V, 172.

No. 530 .

(Wittenberg.)

3. August 1522.

To Nic. Hausmann in Zwickau.

Hausmann had written that the auxiliary bishop would come to Zwickau to confirm the children. Luther advised him to oppose this undertaking and to tell the bishop that he had reason to do so from Scripture.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Manuscript in the Franciscanum at Zerbst, *Cod.* 26, fol. 8b and in the Rathsschulbibliothek at Zwickau, *Cod.* XXXIV. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 90b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 240 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 439. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 808.

1) *te rogo*. It seems to us *te* too much.

2) This and the following is said with reference to Zacchaeus, Luc. 19, 2. ff.

To the worthy man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior who is to be highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace from God! I wish, my dear Nicolaus, if it were possible, that you rather examine the coming bishop-god over the faith, since these unfortunate people are twofold children in the faith and in the knowledge of Christ. For I would like that this game and the lie of the Sacrament of Confirmation should be completely talked out of the people, because it is written [Jer. 29, 31]: "They have made my people trust in lies. Rather, they may say [to us]: Where are those promises and marks proclaimed in the Scriptures, which the godless bishop 1) boasts of in this wicked note? If they are not proclaimed, what is the use of allowing the people to be mocked with lying promises and fictitious marks? Surely it will behoove you to address the coming bishop about these things, and to "resist him to the face for the people of Christ, as Paul resisted Peter," and to demand that he prove with Scripture what he is about to do. If he will not or cannot do this, you will exhort the people not to trust in the comedy of this confirmation. Immediately after I saw your note, I had this other one 2) printed against the degrees invented by these wicked monsters. Farewell and greet all of us in the Lord. On the third of August 1522.

Mart. Luther.

No. 530a .

(Wittenberg.)

(August 3) 1522.

Meanings about forbidden marriage degrees and about firming.

This writing appeared in several individual editions under the title: "Wiltche Person verpoten sind zu eelichen in der hailigen schriftt bayde der Freundschaft vn Mogschafft.

1) The Bishop of Meissen, John VII von Schleinitz.

2) De Wette asks, "What scripture is this?" as does the Erl. Briefw., but the latter assumes that it is the text about the forbidden degrees of marriage, in which Luther deals with confirmation at the end. We have no doubt that this assumption is correct, and have therefore placed this concern in the next place.

Mar. Luther." At the end: "Martini Luther. Anno M. D. XXij." No location given. 2 leaves in 4. Then attached to the end of an edition of the writing "Von Menschen-Lehre zu meiden" (1522); also to the sermon "Vom Eelichen Leben". Also in Kapp, Reformation Documents, Th. III, p. 350, with the date:

1522". From this in De Wette, vol. II, p. 277 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 156. Attached to the sermon on conjugal life and without a date in Walch, vol. X, 743; in the Erlangen edition (I.), vol. 20, p. 87 and in the second edition, vol. 16, p. 542. - The date we have set is based on the following consideration: That Luther had sent the writing to Hausmann on August 3, we see from the preceding letter. However, given the urgency of the matter, this will probably have happened on the very day that the printing of the note was completed.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 628.

No. 531 .

Wittenberg.

August 6, 1522.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther recommends a monk who has left the monastery.

The original is in the Anhaltische Gesamtarchiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 91; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 241 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. III, p. 440. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 809.

To his superior in Christ and brother, Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau.

Grace and peace in Christ! I commend to you, my dear Nicolaus, this brother who has left his Babylon and desires to be counseled by another way of life. For he has demanded this of me and asked me for it, which I could not refuse the man who says that he also knows you. Therefore, if you can, see to it that he learns some trade from you. For there are many such people with us, and several are added daily. I hope that through such nobility the kingdom of abomination will fall gradually, if we cooperate. Greet the mayors and your priests and all of ours, and fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, the sixth of August , 1522. Luther.

No. 532 .

Wittenberg.

August 11, 1522.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2568, annex, no. 89.

He must be a man with whom it is easy to do what is Christian and right, and who is also fond of learned people. Now his Princely Grace cannot resist this cause. It must also strive against God, who, through Saint Paul in 1 Timothy 4, v. 3, has so publicly left the marriage state free and condemned the prohibitionists. If it would not be too difficult for Our Lady, I humbly ask her to do a Christian work in this matter and to help that the abominable sin of unchastity among the priesthood will become less. God sees that she is certainly doing a good work in this, and without a doubt God also demands of her where she can do it. Who knows why God would give E. G. such a high intellect, and put it in a place where she can use and apply it with great benefit? Truly, it is not to be despised such great miserable misery of the consciences of so many priests, who are so miserably entangled and strangled daily with this sin without their guilt by human law. For God's sake, let us take this to heart, and help my gracious Lord to get it into our hearts; it is necessary and delicious in the sight of God. To this end, help and protect Our Lord Christ our Savior, Amen. At Wittenberg, on Sunday after Lamperti [Sept. 21] Anno 1522.

Your Grace Servant

Martinus Luther.

No. 5 40.

Wittenberg.

September 23, 1522.

To Nic. Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther asks that Hausmann find a young person an apprenticeship with a wool weaver or clothier.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in the Franciscanum at Zerbst, *Cod.* 26, fol. 4d. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 46; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 88 (with the wrong date: fer. 3. post. Martini); by De Wette, vol. II, p. 251 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 6. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1361.

To his dearest [friend] in the Lord, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful pastor of the people at Zwickau.

Grace and peace in the Lord! This young man, to whom there is good hope and who has good gifts, who has decided, according to the Gospel, to earn his bread through his

I have asked you to recommend him to your weavers and clothiers. But since I am unknown to these people, I ask that you let yourself be charged with this service, if you can do it without complaint, that he be handed over as an apprentice to any of the craftsmen at your request. For I do not want you to be burdened if you cannot do it easily, just as I could not refuse him the service of writing this letter. Everything else is well in the Lord, as before. Greet the mayors and all of us, and pray for me as you do. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Matthew [Sept. 23] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

Leonhard Fing 1) is the name of the young man who comes from good parents, but they preferred that he be brought into the godless priesthood. 2)

No. 5 41.

(Wittenberg.)

September 25, 1522.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 2438, annex, no. 28.

No. 5 42.

Wittenberg.

October 4, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther answers biblical questions, recommends someone, and asks for game for Bugenhagen's wedding.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. A*, No. 123 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 152. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 93; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 252 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 8. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 810.

His [friend] in the Lord, Magister Georg Spalatin, the court theologian in Christ.

Grace and peace! I found your letter, my dear Spalatin, when I returned home,³⁾ but a puppy

1) On the outside of the original Hausmann wrote the name

2) This postscript is missing in the Jena manuscript and in the editions other than Erl. Briefw. and in Walch. However, the latter translates the last words: *sed qui eum ad impia sacerdotia mallent trahi*: "but who prefer to see him led to ungodly unfaithfulness".

3) from Leisnig; see No. 541 z. E.

had bitten it on the table, so that I could not read the passage about the inheritance of the Lord. But the other passage about the kingdom and the righteousness of God is like this: The kingdom of God is the church of Christ, which is ruled by the word of God. Rom. 14 [v. 17]: "The kingdom of God is peace, righteousness and joy in the Holy Spirit"; Luc. 17 [v. 21]: "The kingdom of God is within you." The righteousness of GOD is faith, as you know from Rom. 1 [v. 17.]. ¹⁾ For in the Greek it is read plainly: xxxxxxxx xxx xxxxxxxx xxxxx, that is, GOD. Therefore, first seek the kingdom of God, that is, first of all, by teaching, by hearing, by considering the Gospel, see to it that faith and the knowledge of God are spread much and far; then temporal things will come to pass, because a laborer is worthy of his wages.

By the way, I commend this man to you, that if you can do anything, hear him and help him, for he seems poor and helpless to me.

Johann Pomeranus will hold his wedding on Monday after Dionysii [Oct. 13]. Therefore we ask you with diligence, and you may use yourself with diligence, so that he may be honored with some game, both for his own sake, which is worth it for his person, and for our sake, who are his guests; whether we are worth it is for you to judge. So then, go to it, that we may know that we are able to do something at court with petitions, for the future hope of others. For in regard to the lessons soon more, in another time. For thou knowest that he is a stranger and poor; therefore he must be honored with a richer gift,²⁾ since he will richly earn it in the future. Farewell. Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Michaelmas [Oct. 4] 1522. Mart. Luther.

1) Here the Erl. Briefw. notes: "With the following, Luther returns to the passage Rom. 14,17." We consider this remark to be erroneous, because the cited Greek words do not correspond to Rom. 14,17, but are rather taken from Match. 6,33., to which explanation Luther now goes.

2) The Elector sent not only game, but also a gold piece, but as if it came from Spalatin. See No. 543.

No. 543.

Witttemberg.

13 October 1523.

To Spalatin.

Luther commends a needy follower of the gospel and thanks for the gifts "sent" for Bugenhagen.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 124 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 152. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 93d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 253 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 10. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 812.

His [friend] in the Lord, Spalatin, Christ's servant, his superior and brother.

Mercy and peace! I have not been able nor willing to refuse this man a letter of recommendation to you, my dear Spalatin. He is a good man and is in danger for the sake of the Gospel; therefore you will also hear him and consider him worthy of your assistance, if you can; but you can do it easily. Be at ease in the Lord. I am busy and in a hurry. I will do enough for your letter about the 43rd 3) Psalm at another time, or send the interpretation of Johann Pommer⁴⁾; for you have the right opinion about the inheritance of the Lord. I have received the golden coin with thanksgiving and give thanks for the same, and also for the game that was sent. It will remain secret; we already know the cause of this silence; 5) you should have sent it, not the prince. Farewell. Wittenberg, on Monday after Dionysii [Oct. 13] 1522. Mart. Luther.

No. 544.

Riga.

20 October 1522.

Joh. Lohmüller, town clerk in Riga, to Luther.

(Regest.)

Lohmüller expresses his esteem for Luther, reports about the beginning of the Reformation in Liefland and especially in Riga, where they have a capable preacher of the Gospel (Andreas Knopke or Knöpke or *Cnophius*), and asks Luther to dedicate a writing to his compatriots or to write to them.

3) According to the Vulgate count; it is Ps. 44.

4) Bugenhagen was reading on the Psalms at that time. His interpretation of the Psalter was published in 1524, to which Luther added a preface. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 154.

5) Namely, the Elector would be inconvenienced if it became known that he had sent gifts to the wedding of a priest.

Handwritten in the archive at Königsberg, volume "Rigische Kirche". Printed in Kapp, kleine Nachlese, vol. II, 545 (with deviations and the date: August 20); in G. R. Taubenheim, Einiges aus dem Leben M. Joh. Lohmüller, program, Riga 1830, p. 6; in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 46 and in Erl. The Epistle of Luther to the Christians in Liefland is to be regarded as a response to this letter, although it did not come out until August 1523. (See St. Louis edition,

Vol. X, 1760.)

No. 5 45.

Wittenberg.

November 2, 1522.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Intercession for M. Stagmann, to the same the place of I). Stephan Wild to him,

The original is in the archives at Weimar, Reg. O, p. 124 22. 3° (only the signatures are original). Printed in Burkhardt, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, p. 50 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 19.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! Ew. Ch. Gn. are our obligated, guilty, obedient services always with diligence before. Most gracious Lord! We humbly request Your Lordship to know that the highly learned Heinrich Stackmann, 1) licentiate in medicine, informs us, as otherwise seems credible to us, how D. Stephanus is planning to turn away from here in a short time and to apply to Your Lordship for a leave of absence, to obtain a gracious leave of absence, with the request that we would prescribe him favorably to E. churf. G., so that he may receive Doctor Stephan's lection in medicine. Since the mentioned licentiate has now spent some time in the doctor's office for himself, and also for the mentioned Doctor Stephan in his absence with reading, he has shown himself to be not a little praised and commended by the students of the same faculty, also to have had special diligence and skill with the sick, to have kept himself respectable for a long time, and also to have read well outside of the touched faculty, and presumably (after he has been granted honest and useful *conditions* from elsewhere, which he has handed over, and bears special affection for this city and university), that he may remain with us, we are not only to grant him in this request, but, for the sake of his teaching, skill and diligence, to serve it as much as we can, and his care, as much as possible.

1) Also Stagmann and Stachmann, from Braunschweig.

as eagerly as he himself to learn. Therefore, our humble request to Your Lordship: Your Lordship will graciously grant him such a lecture (where it will be taught). 2) This will undoubtedly benefit the students, the university and the city in times of illness. For the sake of Your Lordship, we want to deserve this with dutiful, obliging, obedient service at all times. We ask for a gracious and comforting answer. Date Wittenberg, Sunday after *Omnium Sanctorum* [Nov. 2] 1522.

E. churf. G. unterthänige Diener Martinus Luther.
Rector 3) sspst. etc. etc..

We humbly request, most gracious sir, that E. churf. G. not note our diligent request with an ungracious will, for we consider it necessary that this lesson be ordered again, so that in the same faculty two readers may read, as has recently been usefully and fruitfully arranged, one in *Practica*, the other in *Theoria*, as E. churf. churf. G. hohers 4) understanding sonder Zweifel wohl ermesssen können, dass 2c. *Dat. uts.*

No. 5 46.

(Wittenberg.)

(November 2, 1522.)")

To Spalatin.

Luther briefly informs him of the contents of the previous letter and asks for Spalatin's intercession.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 241. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 20; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 275 (without date) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 21. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 816.

His [friend] in the HErrn, the cleaver Georg,⁶⁾

Evangelist at the court of Saxony.

Grace and peace! Other things at another time; now I write in haste, hurried. Hurried. The

2) In the original: "omit".

3) Rector in the winter semester 1522 was Joh. Schwertfeger, jurist. As Burkhardt 1. o. p. 50 states, the original signatures of Carlstadt, Veltkirch (Joh. Dolz), Esticampus (Aurogallus), Amsdorf, Melanchthon, Beckmann and A. follow.

4) In the original and in Burkhardt: "hoers".

5) This time determination results from comparison with the previous letter.

6) *Spalatio Georgio* == the Georg from Spalt. See the first note to No. 5.

The matter is this: the doctor D. Stephani will leave (as I hear). Magister Stagmann asks that he (if it can happen) take his place. I consider this man worthy, learned and skilled enough to be given this position. Therefore, you will work for the common good, since he is also a good and humble man, if you use yourself for him. Fare well in the Lord. Evening, 1522, Sunday.

Martin Luther.

No. 547.

Wittenberg.

November 3, 1522.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2577, annex, no. 94.

No. 548.

Torgau.

November 5, 1522.

Prince Frederick to Luther and Others.

The Elector grants the request addressed to ihu in letter No. 545 and awards the position to M. Stagmann.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. O, p. I 24. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 51 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 24.

By the Grace of God. Our greetings first, venerable, worthy, highly respected and honorable, dear devotees and faithful! Your letter, which has now been sent to us concerning Heinrich Stackmann, the licentiate in medicine, that we would have him come in Doctor Stephanus' place, we have read its further contents. Since you indicate in your letter that the named licentiate is skilful and diligent, and that he is sufficient to decay with the lection and other things in Doctor Stephanus' place, we are pleased that he is accepted and appointed by you for this purpose. In your gracious opinion, we did not want to restrain you from doing so in response to your letter. Date Torgau, Wednesday after All Saints' Day [Nov. 5], *Anno Dmi* 1522.

1). In the editions: *Augustine*. This would be the Mediciner Schurf, but there is certainly, here a reading error for *Stephanus* (Wild) (Erl. Briefw.). After that St. Louiser Ausg., Bd. XV, 2578, Note 2 is to be improved.

No. 5 49.

Altenburg.

(Around November 9, 1522.)

The Council of Altenburg to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Canonikus of the Abbey of Altenburg, M. Mauritius Pfeumer, was forbidden by the Provost of the Monastery of Our Lady on the Mountain (Benedict Bischofs; see No. 478) and the Chapter to hear and teach God's word; indeed, he was beaten by his Chapter brothers for this reason. Now he turned to the council of Altenburg for protection, and they promised him safe conduct. The provost refused to negotiate with and before the council and also refused to hand over Pfeumer's effects. Duke Johann Friedrich, who had called for help, did not provide any through his bailiff Jan von Wernstorf. Now Pfeumer wanted to go to Wittenberg "to find out about the evangelical truth", and therefore the council recommended him to Luther in the most appropriate manner, and also asked him to be helpful for a supplication to the Elector, so that he could restore his equipment. For this reason, Luther wrote the following letter to Spalatin, from which the approximate timing of this letter emerges.

Printed in Mittheilungen der Geschichtforschenden Gesellschaft des Osterlandes, VI, p. 71, No. 32 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. IV, p. 24.

No. 550.

Wittenberg.

II. November 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends N. Moritz Pfeumer of Altenburg to him for the promotion of his petition to the Elector.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* u, fol. 242. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 19; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 255 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I V, p. 26. German, in Walch, vol. XXI, 813.

To his [friend] in the Lord, M. Georg Spalatin, the faithful servant of the evangelical truth.

Mercy and peace! This Moritz Pfeumer, who was extraordinarily recommended to me by the council of Altenburg, asked me to recommend him to you, so that his petition could reach the prince through you. I could not refuse this to the man, who seems to me to be of a good mind and good nature without that. You may therefore (I ask) help him as you can. He is addicted to monkish ungodliness and seeks the Gospel. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, St. Martin's Day [Nov. 11] 1522.

Mart. Luther..

No. 551.

(Wittenberg.)

(First half of November) 1522.

To Joh. Lang.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1772, annex, no. 1.

No. 552 .

(Wittenberg.)

15. November 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther approves the delivery of two petitions to the Elector and asks for books to be sent to Wartburg Castle.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 126 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 153. Printed by Buddeus, v. 19; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 256 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I V, p. 27. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 813.

His [friend] in the Lord, George Spalatin, the servant of God in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! See to it that these two petitions are handed over to the most noble prince, my dear Spalatin, and, as much as you can, do that the execution is accelerated. The woman is poor and miserable, except for this tremendous deception.

I ask that you also send these books of vows to my host in my name, if you can. Be well and pray for me. On the Saturday after Martinmas [Nov. 15] 1522, Mart. Luther.

No. 553 .

Wittenberg.

November 21, 1522.

To Henning Teppen (Degen?), ¹⁾ clergyman in Goslar.

Teppen had turned to Luther for comfort; Luther referred him to the Holy Scriptures.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 94 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 256 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I V, p. 28. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 814.

1) A Henning Teppen does not occur among the clergy of Goslar, but a Henning Degen does. The name may have been read from Aurifaber. The first preacher of the Gospel there was Johann Kleppen, vicar at St. Jacob's Church.

To Henning Teppen, priest at Goslar.

Grace and peace! You are stronger by the grace of God, my dear Henning, than that you should need my comfort, as much as I recognize from your letter your erudition in the holy scriptures, and I am too busy to deal with you long and much. Thou hast the apostle to show thee the garden or paradise, which is full of consolation, as he saith [Rom. 15:4.] "But those things which were written aforetime are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope." Here he attaches to the sacred Scriptures the office of comforting, and who should presume to desire comfort elsewhere, or to seek it elsewhere? Further, that you desire my prayer, I will gladly do as much as I can; but I myself am a sinner in need of many things, and should be helped more by the prayer of others than by any other. May the Lord Jesus strengthen you and make you perfect, or if it so pleases Him, deliver you from this evil, but in such a way that He will not lead you into the former temptation, so that His blessed name may be hallowed forever, amen. Fare well in Christ and pray also for me. Wittenberg, November 21, 1522.
Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 554.

Wittenberg.

December 11, 1522.

To Wolfgang Stein, court preacher in Weimar.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1428.

No. 555 .

Wittenberg

(Around December 11, 1522.) 3)

To Spalatin.

Luther interprets a passage in Hosea, gives news about Melchior Mirisch, and asks for good German expressions for passages in the books of Moses.

2) Instead of *priorem*, Walch assumes *pejorem*.

3) The inscription in Spalatin's hand shows that this letter belongs to the year 1522. The date can be determined by comparing this letter with the previous ones: "This week I will finish the translation of the books of Moses" (Vol. XVIII, 1434).

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 129 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 157. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 137 (from 1523); by De Wette, vol. II, p. 338 (in May 1523) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 35. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 847.

Semem [friends] in the Lord, Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant.

Mercy and peace! The passage of Hosea [Cap. 4, 2. Vulg.]: "One blood touches the other", I understand in such a way that the murderous deeds have become frequent and have followed each other continuously, so that if one is not yet out of sight, others are added. "One murder after another." For one says literally: a flood of murders, with emphatic speech.

Melchior Mirisch is a preacher with the Augustinians in Magdeburg, or prior, as I hear; God dampens these monsters, 1) Amen.

Again, you also serve us with German expressions. Gen. 1,27. [Vulg.]: "Created man in the image and likeness of God", means according to the Hebrew: "He created him in the image according to the likeness of God"; but the meaning is more actual, man was made in an image similar to God. Give us that in German. Again, Cap. 5,3 [Vulg.] says with transposed words: "Adam begat in likeness after his image"; but the sense is the same.

Gen. 3:16 [Vulg.]: "I will make your pains and your conceptions much" (*conceptus*); the meaning is, that the woman is put to many troubles in the pregnancy and the bearing of the fruit, as it happens. For he does not speak of the perils and troubles of conceiving, but of those of bearing the conceived fruit; now say what *conceptus* is here in German, for *aerumnas* ["pains"] we have.

Cap. 2,18: "Let us make him a helpmate before (*coram*) him." The meaning is that he wants the woman to be associated with the man in such a way that she has her face turned toward the man and the man has his face turned toward the woman.

He says that the woman is at his pleasure. At the same time, he indicates that man's attendance is with his face turned toward him, in order to produce fruit, by which he distinguishes the woman from the animals, among which Adam did not find such a helpmate for procreation 2c. We have tried "beside him, before him, around him," and none of them is enough for us.

I will finish the fifth book of Moses this week, and we are already reviewing it so that it can be submitted for printing. Farewell and help us. Wittenberg.

Mart. Luther.

No. 556 .

Wittenberg.

December 12, 1522.

To Johann Heinrich, Count of Schwarzburg.

Expert opinion on whether and how to take the parishes from the monks and fill them with Protestant preachers.

From a copy in the Weimar Archives in the supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 31; in Walch, vol. XXI, 29; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 257 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 154.

To the noble and well-born lord, Mr. Johannes Heinrich, *Comes de Grubzrawhs* (Schwarzburg) 2c., my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! E. G. Scripture, Gn. Herr, sammt E. G. Vaters 2) mit eingelegten Briefen habe ich unterthäniglich durch Herrn Anshelm von Tettau, Ritter empfangen, und vernommen. Now E. G. knows that God has commanded many times that no judgement shall be made nor concluded on one part of the accusation, the other part shall then also be interrogated, however just or unjust a part may be. For this reason I cannot finally advise or conclude on behalf of the monks. For the fact that they should be driven out without being called and interrogated is not acceptable, as the Lord did not want to judge Adam, Cain and the Babylonians, because he called them first and heard them. My advice, however, is that since the Lord's father has given the parish to the monks on the condition that they keep their observance and first of all preach the gospel, that the Lord may appoint and order them before him.

1) Walch (perhaps correctly, according to the sense): "God give better newspaper!"

2) "Fathers" put by us instead of: "Father".

and, in the presence of some reasonable people, reproach them and accuse them, and then hear their answer. If it is publicly found that it is as they are accused, then the church has the power and the right, and is also obligated to take the parish from them and to appoint a pious, learned man to teach the people rightly; for it is not wrong, indeed the highest right, to chase the wolf out of the sheepfold and not to consider whether its belly is thereby harmed. It is not given to any preacher to do harm, but to do good. If he does not create piety, then the goods are already no longer his. That is my short answer to this question; if the matter continues after this beginning, I will gladly continue to serve as best I can. I hereby entrust E. G. to God's mercy, who will give E. G. spirit and strength to proceed divinely in this matter, amen. On the Friday after St. Nicolai (Dec. 12), in Wittenberg, 1522.

E. G.
Servant

Mart. Luther.

No. 557

(Wittenberg.)

(12. ? December) 1522.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2581, annex, no. 96.

No. 558.

Wittenberg.

December 19, 1522.

To Wenceslaus Link in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2578, annex, no. 95.

No. 559.

(Wittenberg.)

December 20, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther thanks for received instruction on the names of animals. Answer to three exegetical questions.

To Georg Spalatin, ducal ecclesiastical and evangelist in Lochau, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I thank thee for the names of the beasts. That you now ask, first of all, why [Matth. 14,20.] of the five loaves so many baskets of fragments remained, and of the fishes nothing: I, who have long since begun not to care about secret interpretations, pay little attention to this, because they, even if they are found, must be uncertain 1) since they cannot be proven with any clear scriptural passages. However, at this point I follow the simplicity of the story, because one does not collect lumps from the food, but only from the loaves. For bones, bones (*costulae*), scales and raft feathers are generally thrown away by the eaters of fish and meat dishes; but with loaves there is a use for the remaining lumps. But the five loaves signify to me Moses (that is, the whole teaching of the Law), and the fishes the examples of the Law, namely of the fathers and prophets, as a sign of the twofold love (which fulfills the whole Law), by which we are shepherded according to the teaching of the Law. Here you can, if you wish, catch a secret interpretation (*mysterium*): that the word of God is superfluous for all, that the more it is acted upon, the more it overflows, but that the examples of the fathers communicate nothing beyond faith, because each one serves God with his works; but God [serves] through the word, through the teaching, through faith to them and to all in general. But I like the aforementioned simple view more.

Secondly. From Marcus (Cap. 1, 44. 45. 7, 36.) it is clear before others that Christ always sought to be hidden and yet could not, so that he also instructs us by his example that we should want the works of God in us to be hidden and manifest; hidden to avoid our honor, which the foolish people always offer us.

1) Indistinct in the original; Aurifaber and De Wette read: *incertos*; the Erl. Briefwechsel: *incertus* and notes: "keinenfalls *incertos*"; the Dessau manuscript reads: *incertas*. The latter have assumed *wix*, referring to *allegoriarum*.

is inclined; apparently to enhance the glory of God, which they rarely give Him.

Third. Apost. 9 [v. 7.] Lucas speaks of the voice of Paul, which was heard, but in the other chapter [Cap. 22, 9.] 1) of the voice of him that talked with Paul, as the text clearly gives, for these they heard not, but Paul's; but Paul heard both. Fare well and pray for me. 1522, the day before Thomas [Dec. 20].

Mart. Luther.

Amsdorf has the booklet.

No. 560 .

Wittenberg.

December 20, 1522.

To Wolfgang Stein in Weimar.

Luther praises one of Stein's writings (probably against the Franciscans in Weimar), but discourages him from answering them further. He goes on to write "Von weltlicher Obrigkeit" ("On Secular Authority").

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 99b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 268 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 45. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 817.

The Magister Wolfgang Stein, court theologian and ducal preacher at Weimar.

Mercy and peace! I do not dislike your booklet, my Ulpian, 2) but it is not necessary that it be published; however, we will not refuse it if you publish it. For that you have in mind what your friends want, to answer them in such a way that they do not laugh at it, is vain hope. There is nothing more gossiping than vanity. For these people are not such that they can keep silent or rest, even if they are obviously defeated, yes, even if they are dead, they will not keep silent. Did the Pharisees, when they were conquered, rest? did the Jews, when they were conquered, stand down from Stephen? So must you do here also, that, having once given them this account, you let them bark and blaspheme henceforth; you must despise these frogs and go forward in your way. For I, too, can defeat my adversaries, who have so often been defeated in the most ignominious way.

1) Not Apost. 26, 14, which the Erl. Briefw.

2) Ulpian, a famous Roman jurist, c. 200 AD.

Do not make them desist from the things that have been said. Therefore, tell your friends not to expect such things from these vain people, who are nothing but bags of words, but all mouth. Be well and pray for me. After I have finished the Moses and now stop, I will take the sermon of the twofold power 3) before my hand, but at the same time I will fulfill your wish. Wittenberg, 1522, the day before St. Thomas [Dec. 20].

Your Martin Luther.

No. 561 .

(Wittenberg.)

December 20, 1522.

To Johann von Dolzig, churf. sächsische Marschall.

Luther wishes that an ecclesiastical endowment be abolished and used for the benefit of the founder's relatives.

Printed in the supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 32; in Walch, vol. XXI, 30; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 269 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 155.

To the strict and firm Herr Johannis Dolzig, churfürstlicher Marschall zu Sachsen, my special favorable lord and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Strict, firm, dear Mr. Marschall! You are undoubtedly aware of how the foundation of Herr Heinrich von Guben here in Wittenberg has deteriorated; how it was an ungodly whispering, displeasing to God. Because you are the highest testator, I have undertaken to ask for the nun at Mölburg,⁴⁾ Anna Prychen, that she may be granted such property as the next heiress, whether she might come out of the monastery and take up a secure position. Mr. Amsdorfen I will easily be able to; but D. Hieronymus, 5) is hindered by his conscience and too great holiness. Perhaps he thinks that Piche is seeking his own, so that he may also get a share, and he gives in so much that the same

3) The writing "Von weltlicher Obrigkeit" 2c., St. Louis edition, vol. X, 374.

4) This is Mühlberg. - Either the name "Prychen" is misread here or "Piche" several times in the following.

5) Prospecting.

Nun two or three hundred guilders would like to be given, so that she was exposed honestly enough. Now I am not arguing here according to your right and its severity, but according to equity; for I do not consider it unreasonable, if one wanted to give the rest to poor people, that Piche, as a close friend, should also obtain something of it, be it through the nun's departure or otherwise; for he, too, now deprived of his fief to feed his wife and child, is not so rich as the King of England: that D. Jerome's move moves me nothing on account of the poor people; for I am more concerned about you than about me, as he knows this matter, person and all opportunities best. Now my request is that you help to turn such a foundation to better use, where you can think for yourselves that Mr. Heinrich Guben would have turned where he would have understood it best. For such a will must not be kept, which was made for an unchristian reason and abuse 1). Do not be narrow nor timid in your conscience, but let Christian, free and fresh judgment follow and take its place. Where you like to see the lessons that the Piche has done to me, I will do it for you. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt. On the evening of St. Thomas [20 Dec.] 1522. Martin Luther.

No. 562 .

(Wittenberg.)

(Before December 25) 1522. 2)

All Spalatin.

From Serranus. Order of a letter. Complaints about the administration in Wittenberg and the wish that the Elector put an end to the lewd and idolatrous behavior in the monastery.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 130 and in *Ood. a.*, fol. 158. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 109k; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 270 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 46. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 818.

To the Magister Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, at Lochau.

Mercy! I have neither seen nor heard of a letter addressed to me by Serra

1) In our original: "Mißhen"; De Wette vermuthet: "knowledge". "Mißgehen" - misstep.

2) This approximate timing results from the fact that Luther had not yet received a letter from Franz Lambert (Serranus), but already on Dec. 26 he sent the letter to Spalatin that he had received in the meantime.

nus, so you must demand it from somewhere other than me.

But I ask you to have this letter handed over to the mountain bailiff in Buchholz, Matthes Busch (*Posch*), since he cannot get to it any other way than through you and it is necessary that it comes to him shortly.

For Sibutus 3) I will do what I can, although the Wittenberg administration disgusts and annoys me; so nothing at all is what they do and see, if they do not perhaps pretend everything. The whores are free, and of other things there is nothing to be concerned about, and the BethAven of All Saints, what is it but a whorehouse? And if God wanted it to be only a whorehouse, but it is sin, or, as Amaziah says in Amos [Cap. 7, 13.], "the king's pen"; surely God wanted the prince to lay hands on it as well. Certainly, these sins will weigh him down, because they are founded and nurtured at his expense, especially after the truth has made the matter known. I will write to him about this at another time. Farewell and pray for me.

Staupitz wrote to all Wenceslaus that he would henceforth lament his foolishness, and that he had left the Order of St. Augustine more naked than he had entered it; that he had taken upon himself hardships, even though he had been canonically chosen and called. I do not understand what it means.

Mart. Luth.

No. 563 .

(Wittenberg.)

December 25, 1522.

All Spalatin.

Luther sends the monks who have left the monastery at Herzberg back to Spalatin with the advice he gave them.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 156 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 178. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 110; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 271 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 47. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 820.

3) Georg Sibutus, from Tannrode (hence *Daripinus*) in Thuringia, was formerly in Cologne (around 1504) and appears in a Wittenberg lectionary of 1507 as professor artium. His main work was an *Ars memorativa*. It seems that he was still living in Vienna in 1528 as a physician at the court.

To your learned and godly man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, court preacher, his [friend] in Christo.

Mercy and peace! I am sending these demonetized Herzbergs back to you with my advice, which they have requested from me at your behest. I am certain that the prince will not accept any of the goods, but when they have left [the monastery], the prince will certainly be obliged to order them to his castle. Therefore, I have advised that they take two good, faithful men and distribute the treasury's jewels, to each an appropriate portion, with which, if he wishes, he can start marriage or a trade. ¹⁾ For in this way those things which are brought about by ungodliness will be brought into godly use, and it seems to me that they cannot be better used. To the other things I have answered thee, and believe that it hath come unto thee. Fare well in the Lord. On the day of the birth [of the Lord] 1523 [Dec. 25, 1522] Martin Luther.

No. 5 64.

(Wittenberg.)

December 26, 1522.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends the letter of Serranus and others, and expresses his misgivings about Serranus.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 178. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 1106; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 272 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 48. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 820.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, preacher of the Elector of Saxony, his brother.

Grace and peace! Here you have the letter of Serranus and others from Eisenach. I will certainly allow the man, when he comes to me, to speak to me verbally, but, as love commands that one should be provided with all the best of all, 1 Cor. 13, 7, so faith commands that one should fear the worst of all, Joh. 2, 24. 2) and Matth. 10, 17:

"Beware of men." There are people there who would like to recommend the man to me; there are things there which, if they do not arouse suspicion, certainly do not quench it. The best thing would be for the prince to lose some food on him and let him stay there 3) or offer him such, so that we can see what kind of man he will be. It is probable that Satan will try everything, tempt everything, do everything, therefore, until the matter is certain, no one must be trusted. If Christ wanted to send an evangelist to us, he will make us certain either by previous signs or by subsequent ones. This is enough. Farewell and pray for me. 1523, on the day of St. Stephen [26 Dec. 1522]. Mart. Luther.

No. 5 65.

Dresden.

December 30, 1522.

Duke George of Saxony to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 490.

No. 5 66.

Wittenberg. 1522.)

(Towards the end of 1522.)

To Christoph Hofmann.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2620, annex, no. 114.

No. 5 67.

(Between 1522 and 1524.)

To Joh. von Dolzig, Electoral Marshal.

Exhortation to order certain religious services without special ostentation.

The original is in the Paulus-Museum at Worms. Printed in the Luther Library of the Paulus Museum of the city of Worms (Köstlin), p. 1 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I V, p. 52.

To hand the marshal Mr. Jo. Dolsken. JEsus.

Don't, don't, dear Lord and friend! I ask, among many others, that the mass and public thanksgiving remain. For without that the splendid services would be unapproved.

1) The predicate of this sentence is missing in the original. Aurifaber and De Wette have added *utatur ad*.

2) This passage will be meant; in the original: *Johan. 3; Erl. Briefw.: "Joh. 3, 6 (?)."*

3) Aurifaber and De Wette read *illic*, which we have assumed. The original should read *illis*.

are, then this is annual beforehand, that little prayer, much murmuring will happen there; the fewer and slower the bunch together, the better. The thing is better not stirred any more, it is already stirred too much. Has my sermon, which I put in the most moderate way, annoyed the matter? It is also to be feared here. Let us thank God secretly, that is better. Do not want to hear such my opinion in the worst way. D. M. Luther.

No. 568

Wittenberg. January 1, 1523.

To Duke John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 374.

No. 569.

Wittenberg. January 2, 1523.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2616, annex, no. 112.

No. 570.

Wittenberg. January 3, 1523.

To Duke George of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 492.

No. 571.

Prague.. January 5, 1523.

Margrave George of Brandenburg" to Luther.

(Regest.)

He reports to Luther that after the monk's calf was born at Freiberg 2), the "form of the monster" was sent to Prague. In addition to him and other gentlemen, a doctor of astronomy had also inspected it, and against Luther had made an interpretation in verse and had it printed, with the pretense that the margrave had ordered him to do so. Now the Margrave informs us that this was done against his knowledge and will; he had the entire edition taken away from the printer and burned. If, however, a copy should still reach Luther, then he is to consider him unworthy.

1) Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, the later reformer of his country, led the government together with his brother Casimir since 1515, but mostly stayed at the court of King Louis II of Bohemia and Hungary, whose educator he was.

2) See Luther's "Interpretation of the Monk's Calf at Freiberg", St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1940 and Seidemann's Beiträge zur Ref.-Gesch., p.- 200. - The "form of the monster" is perhaps the stuffed skin,

He says that he is guilty of the whole matter, which is imposed on him by his detractors. - In the postscript he asks for instruction on the worship of the sacrament, on praying from prayer books and veneration of the relics of the saints, and assures Luther of his gracious will towards him.

The original is in the Leipzig City Library, *Rep.* III, 20 (a), fol. 8 (without the enclosed note). The original concept in the royal district archive at Bamberg, *Sign.* 1493, No. 13 (with the "Cedula"). Printed in Richter, *Genealogia Lutherorum etc.* 1733, p. 16 (without the postscript and with the wrong year 1521); in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, VIII (1886, 460 (after the Conceptione) and in the Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 57.

No. 572.

Wittenberg. January 7, 1523.

To Wenc. Link.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1780.

No. 573.

Wittenberg. II January 1523.

To the City Council of Stettin.

Luther answers the question in the affirmative: whether the canons also owe the same burdens as the citizens of the city.

This letter first appeared in a single print under the title: "Unterricht dem Rath zu alten Stettin zugeschiedt der geistlichen Freiheit betreffen. Doctor Martin Luther. Wittenberg. 1523." Then in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 212b; in the Jena edition (1562), vol. VIII, p. 377; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 590; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 304; in Walch, vol. XXI, 34; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 159 and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 297. We have used the variants which the Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 61 from Crämer's great Pomeranian Church Chronicle 1628, III, 35.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayors and council of the city of Alten-Stettin, my special favorable gentlemen.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear lords and friends! I have received and heard your wisdom writing, together with the information about the trade between you and the canons, and because you desire my discretion and opinion, I do not know how to deny you my service.

First of all, I let the treaty, which was drawn up between you, stand in its dignity, because I am sure that the law (according to the treaty) will help you in this. But the matter itself, and although no treaty has ever been made, is such that if the canons wanted to act Christianly and divinely, they should (regardless of all their imperial or papal powers) have to act in accordance with the law.

The term "city" is used to describe a city in which the citizens of the city are free, contract, law, and custom, and willingly submit to the common burdens of the city like other citizens.

They owe it to do this from the gospel, since Christ Matth. 17, 27. gives interest to the emperor, and Matth. 22, 21. says: "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's", and Paul Rom. 13, 1-7. says: "Let every soul be subject to authority", and: "Prayer to the womb, to the womb belongs 2c., duty to whom the duty belongs", likewise also St. Peter 1st Ep. 2, 13] teaches. From these: Commandment he has drawn no one, he be priest or layman, he wants to be otherwise Christians.

And even if they want to pretend that the emperor and the temporal authorities have granted and approved such a thing themselves, it is obvious that the emperor cannot forgive what is not his, or what is against God. In addition, even if it were true that such actions had been taken, since such freedom has now become too difficult for all the world and has come into unmistakable abuse, it is against God, conscience, love, and also against reason and right to tolerate them any longer, but they are obliged to forgive themselves for all that, in order to avoid the common burden. But this is a people who do not think of living in a brotherly or Christian way, but defy with their heads until they incur too much hatred. Therefore I know no further advice here, except that E. W. kindly reminds them of such Christian duty; if that does not help, to add by common order that they are subject to the authority according to the Gospel. For it is unchristian, even unnatural, to enjoy common benefits and protection, and yet not also to bear common burdens and abortions, to let other people work, and to harvest them, especially since it has now become evident that nothing is needed of their being, and they do nothing for it, but have so far seduced us with their spiritual fairs. Herewith I command E. W. God, who gives E. W. his grace, to carry out such and all other things in a Christian and blessed manner, Amen. Given at Wittenberg on Sunday after Epiphany [Jan. 11].¹⁾

Martinus Luther, D.

1) The year results from the publication of the first single issue. De Wette erroneously has January 12. The Wittenberg edition has neither year nor date, the Jena edition the letter under the year 1546.

No. 5 74.

(Wittenberg.)

January 12, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Request for news because of letters sent. Return of the sentences of 'Serranus and recommendation of the petition of two monks.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 134 unvrm *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 162. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 120 k; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 299 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 62. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 822.

Mr. Georg Spalatin, Evangelist of the Court of Saxony, his [friend] in Christ.

Grace and peace! I have sent a letter to you, which should be handed over to Matthew Busch (*Pusch*). Yesterday, he demanded an answer from me both in writing and verbally, so I assume that the letter has not yet been delivered by you or at least caught 2); therefore, if you have something certain, please inform me as well.

I am sending back the theses 3) of Serranus. You will soon see Duke George's letter to me and mine to him, for I would rather that they be published first.

Do not take it into your mind that I will return to the corner anew, however much Behemoth or his scales may rage. Many monstrous things occur daily, for I believe that you have heard of the earthquake in Spain 4).

These two petitioners have forced upon me that I would like to bring their petition to the prince through you. Although I have no hope of obtaining it, since they were monks to whom the prince does not yet wish to show public favor, I have nevertheless sent them so that I might have something to answer them through you, so that they may not

2) Compare No. 562 - Matthes Busch was a zealous promoter of the Reformation, therefore in Buchholz, which was under princely rule, Protestant preaching took place. Duke Georg, whose lands surrounded Bnchholz, forbade the inhabitants of nearby Annaberg to attend the sermons there.

3) Lambert published 139 theses in Eisenach on priestly celibacy, auricular confession, baptism, repentance and justification, and offered to debate them on December 21, 1522, but no opponent appeared.

4) in Granada, September 1522.

think that I could have prevented them in this matter and would not have wanted to. You therefore do what you know how to do and answer. I believe you have received the other letters. Farewell. January 12, 1523, Martin Luther.

No. 575.

Wittenberg.

January 14, 1523.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1782. .

No. 576.

(Wittenberg.)

January 16, 1523.

To Wenc. Link in Altenburg.

Luther reports to him that he had taken over the interpretation of the second monstrosity during the publication of the work: "Deutung der zwo greulichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom und Münchkalbs zu Freyberg in Meisten funden" (Vol. XIX, 1934). From Melchior Mirisch, from the promotion of the two monks and the imminent marriage of Links.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 113; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 301 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 64. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 821 f.

Grace and peace! One of the monsters I interpret by omitting now the general interpretation of the horrible things which surely mean a change of the communities, mainly by wars. Therefore, it is also not doubtful to me that either a very great war disaster or the last day is foretold for the German country. I go only to the special interpretation which refers to the monks.

With regard to Melchior Mirisch, I am satisfied; he has also purified himself to some extent. ¹⁾ Father Johann von Lippstadt ²⁾ and Gottselig will have their graduation; on the day after Candlemas [Feb. 3] they will have their festivities, in which we want you present, if you can before your wedding. For we will put everything behind your wedding ³⁾ and will all be present at this in

1) *expurgavit* is a good conjecture of De Wette's instead of: *expugnavit*.

2) In Latin: *Lip*, probably an abbreviation for *Lippensis*, because Westermann belonged to the monastery at Lippstadt.

3) The Erl. Briefw. offers after Löbe's conjecture: *postponemus* instead of: *praeferemus*. So already Walch.

The things that are horrible in the eyes of the papists must be present. This is one way in which you can become free from the vicariate. Fare well and pray for me. On the day of Marcellus [Jan. 16] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 577.

(Wittenberg.)

January 22, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Luther reports that Serranus (Franz Lambert) has come to Wittenberg and asks for support on his behalf. Postscript: of letters and requests from the princes to him.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 135 and in: *Cod. Jen. a*, koi. 163. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 121; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 301 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 65. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 824.

To Herru Georg Spalatin, ecclesiastical courtier, servant of Christ, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! That John Serranus is here, but under the name of Francis Lambert, also of noble origin. He had his being among the Minorites for twenty years and administered the general service ⁴⁾ of the Word; through persecution he was expelled and became poor. There is no doubt about the legitimacy of the man; there are witnesses with us who have heard him both in France and in Basel, then the auxiliary bishop of Basel, the one of Tripoli, ⁵⁾ together with Pellican gives him a beautiful testimony. And although we are abundantly provided with very good lecturers, if he is able to do something, we will not reject him; I like the man in all respects, and I have seen him through enough, as much as a man can be seen through, that he is worthy of our carrying him a little in his exile and helping him. But you know my financial circumstances, that it is not in my power to feed him, since I myself live on other people's property. It would

4) *generali verbi officio functus*, that is, he was a traveling penitential preacher. These were called *apostolici sive generales praedicatores*.

5) Dilman (Telamonius) Limpurger, auxiliary bishop in Basel and titular bishop of Tripoli since 1498. At Oecolampad's appearance in Basel in 1523, he spoke out in favor of his doctrine and sacrificed his position to his convictions.

It seems good to me to persuade the prince not to lose 20 or 30 florins that were to be used on him, but to lend them to Christ in love on usury, until he can maintain himself either through his guild mates 1) or through his own pay from his work. "He will not stay here long, I think, because he will find his equal or master here". Only that we may have mercy on the exiled. Fare well in the Lord.

Margrave George has written to me from Prague 2) and apologizes for a certain dishonor that has been inflicted on me under his name, adding that he has also written about it to our prince. Also, the army commander 3) of Liefland, through an envoy and through the chancellor, 4) a learned man, has requested of me that I write a booklet of Christian content to his people, and they maintain a preacher of the Word there, and rejoice that they have the gospel. Thus Christ turns from the Jews to the Gentiles, and from the stones become the children of Abraham, whom his descendants also persecute. The Count of Anhalt, John, has admonished me through Doctor Jerome and a certain Francis 5) that I should cleanse myself of the disgrace that Ferdinand publicly accused me at Nuremberg of your new article, namely, that I teach that Christ is the seed of Abraham. ⁶⁾ I first took this folly for a joke, but since they thus assert it as true, I am forced to believe it as true. Behold the monstrosities and worthy protectors of Christian doctrine. Wittenberg, 1523, Thursday after Agnes [Jan. 22].

Martin Luther.

1) This probably refers to the Franciscans of Wittenberg.
2) No. 571.
3) This is how Magister is to be translated here. It is Wolther von Plettenberg, who ruled from 1494-1535.
4) Johann Lohmüller. See No. 544.
5) "Hieronymus" is Schurf. - "Franz", according to Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 653, perhaps Franz Burkard von Weimar, the later Electoral Vice-Chancellor.
6) This was the reason for his writing: "That Jesus Christ was born a Jew. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1792.

No. 5 78.

(Wittenberg.)

January 22, 1523.

To Nic. Gerbel in Strasbourg.

Luther exhorts him to remain steadfast in the confession of the pure doctrine and sends him his translation of the New Testament.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 122 ; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 304 (with the wrong date: January 23) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 68. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 825.

Grace and peace! Since I had nothing to write, dearest Gerbel, it occurred to me what I should write to you above all things, namely that I should admonish you again, so that you may not become unlike yourself in the midst of so much noise of aggravations. For this purpose, I am returning to you that bride 7) which you once offered me, but certainly still pure and unharmed. Then, what is wonderful and new about this woman, she desires highly and tolerates innumerable rivals, and is all the more chaste, the more she is engaged. Since the shy rival 8) does not torment either, but unites to the highest degree, I ask that you also have this in common with us. Greetings from our rival 9) Philippus Schwarzerd (*Nigra terra*). Be well with the wife of your youth. 1523, Thursday after Agnes [22 Jan]. Martin Luther.

No. 5 79.

(Leisnig.)

January 25, 1523.

Council and congregation of Leisnig to Luther.

(Regest.)

Credentials for their emissaries, Sebastian von Kötteritz and Franz Salbach, with the request that Luther give them advice and instruction on three things: namely, the order of the common chest; that he "fortify the parish office with writings," that is, defend their claim to the election of parish priests in public writing; and that he give them "an order to sing and pray and read," that is, an evangelical order of worship.

From a copy in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. Ji*, fol. 33a, A. 1. 1523. 5c printed by Burkhardt, p. 53 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 69.

7) namely the New Testament in Luther's translation, as a counter-gift for Gerbel's New Testament. See No. 431, in our edition, Vol. XV, Annex, No. 71, Col. 2519, Note 10.

8) namely Luther's work.

9) as a helper in the translation of the New Testament.

No. 580.

Wittenberg.

January 29, 1523.

To the City Council of Leisnig.

Luther's approving response to the Leisnig residents' appeal through their emissaries.

This letter can be found at the locations indicated in the previous number immediately after it.

Grace and peace in Christ. Gentlemen, honorable, dear lords and friends! I have heard your Christian writing and opinion through Bastian von Kotteritzsch and Franzen Salbach with pleasure and joy, and I like your order and order of the common chest 1) almost well; I also hope that both shall appear to God's honor and to many people as good examples of Christian faith and love; I wish and pray that God may bless, strengthen and complete such your mind and conduct through the riches of His grace, amen.

I will gladly offer my fortune for the other two pieces, to fortify the parish office with Scripture, and to put it in order, to sing and pray and read, as E. L. has asked,²⁾ although you, by God's grace, are gifted by God with yourselves, do not need my small fortune. However, God wants to humble and serve all of us in relation to and among each other; we want to do right by His grace. I hereby entrust you all to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will carry out the good work begun in you until his day, amen. At Wittenberg, Thursday after *Conversionis Pauli* [29 Jan] 1523, Martin Luther.

No. 581 .

(Wittenberg.) (Soon after January 29, 1523.) 3) To the congregation at Leisnig.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 954.

1) It was probably mainly edited by the pastor Heinrich Kind (formerly monk in the monastery Buch) and Li. Joh. Grüner, Diaconus, who were employed by the congregation as preachers of the gospel.

2) This Luther did through the writings: "That a Christian assembly or congregation has the right and power to judge all doctrine and to appoint teachers" 2c., St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1538, and "On the Order of Worship in the Congregation", *ibid.* col. 220.

3) This preface of Luther's to the "Ordnung eines gemeinen Kastens" will probably be published soon after the approving

No. 582.

(Wittenberg.)

(Second half of January 1523.)⁴⁾**To Spalatin.**

Repeated request for Pfaffenbeck. Miscellaneous news.

Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 157 (without address) and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 178. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 140; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 410. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 73. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 851.

Grace and peace! I will not stop complaining to you, because you are worthy of many complaints, after you have become an honest evangelist. Pfaffenbeck is again attacking me with letters, before he had verbally attacked me with words; I have swallowed that to make yours more beautiful. Now, I ask you to intercede on my behalf for the poor man with the prince, or if you want me to write a petition, let me know so that I can do it. He is oppressed by hard want, and I see that the prince is accustomed to hear his cries, and he to knock in vain at the prince's door.

Read the news from Eisenach. In addition, my host writes on the watch, 5) that the abbot at Hirschfeld allows some free exit, both monks and nuns, and that the priest at Hirschfeld, after his first wife died, has taken a second.

In Zurich, Switzerland, Zwingli scheduled a public disputation, which the Swiss managed. The bishop of Constance 6) has given the gospel a great deal of support.

The order must have been written in Luther's letter (No. 580) and then put into print. De Wette places it too late, namely in August, tempted by Luther's letters to the Elector of August 11 and 19. These letters were written because the council was reluctant to introduce the order because it refused to cede its right of disposal over endowments, wills 2c. to the lords of the castes.

4) De Wette erroneously places this letter in September because the discussion in Zurich was held in this month. However, the second discussion in Zurich took place only on October 26, and the Bishop of Constance did not participate in it, but had answered the invitation to it with a refusal on October 21. The relevant passage of our letter refers to the first religious discussion at Zurich, which was held on January 29, for which the invitation was issued on January 3.

5) *hospes meus speculativus*, the Wartburg host, Hans von Berlepsch. Walch offers: "my curious host". - The abbot at Hirschfeld is Crato Miles.

6) Hugo von Landenberg.

He refuses; then a Tübingen pastor) what will happen, we will hear.

In Freiburg im Breisgau, Johann Sichard, a learned man, writes, my name must not even be mentioned in passing. Yes, the council, when it forbade the evangelical preacher to preach, said: Our customs do not agree with the Gospel. Behold, what strange things! Doctor Johann Rühel has instructed me to send this gold florin to you, and to remind you of your promise that you would provide him with this smaller 2) penny. For my Mansfelders have also wrested the second from me. I don't want to have another one either, so that it won't be extorted from me again, because I don't have to pay anything.

Martin Luther.

No. 5 83.

(Wittenberg.)

4. February 1523.

To Hans von der Planitz in Nuremberg.

Planitz, who was then an envoy to the imperial regiment in Nuremberg, had rebuked Luther for his vehement letter against Duke George, against which Luther defends himself here.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 169b; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 188d; in the Altenbnrger, vol. II, p. 282; in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 316; in Walch, vol. XXI, 37; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 161 and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 305.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Lord and friend! I have received your. I have happily received your grace's letter concerning Mr. Johann Gülden 3) together with the friendly admonition of my hard letter, and thank you both for your favor and friendship, undeserved by me.

11 At this discussion, the Bishop of Constance was represented by the well-known Joh. Faber and others, as well as by Doctor Martin Mansch from Tübingen (not by Joh. Lemp, as Seidemann states in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 675 s. v. Lemp).

2) In the manuscripts: *minusculum*; in Aurifaber and De Wette: *majusculum*.

3) Joh. Gülden, pastor in Weida, later in Uhlstädt near Orlamünde, was found skilful and learned during the visitation in 1529, but was deposed in 1535 because of an arousal (compare Luther's letter to him of June 15, 1535).

However, I do not want to hold back Your Grace's good opinion, so that I hope that no one will be harmed by my letter. And whether Duke George would accuse my most gracious lord, unaccused and blameless, I am confident that my Lord Christ shall defend him. If, however, he is accused, he can ever abundantly prove that H. C. F. G. has always been against me in such hard writing, has often let me resist, and has had a great displeasure in it, that I have been well aware of it all. Nor have I ever touched Duke George in such a way as the pope, bishops and king of England, and I have submitted and offered myself to him so deeply that it seems to me that I have spared him almost too much. For I should have long since grabbed the wool from such a raging tyrant. I also know well that my writings have all been of the kind that at first they were regarded as if they were from the devil, and one worried that the sky would soon fall; but after that things soon changed. It is now another time to touch the great heads that were unaccustomed before; and what God has in mind will be seen in his time.

Not that I excuse myself with this, as if there were nothing human about me, but that I can boast of this with St. Paul, even if I am too harsh, that I have nevertheless ever spoken the truth, and no one can blame me for having been hypocritical. If I ever make a mistake, I would rather speak too harshly and push out the truth too unreasonably than to be hypocritical and keep the truth. If, however, the great lords are disturbed by my freely harsh writing, they will leave my teaching unadulterated and wait for theirs; I do them no injustice. If I sin in it, they shall not forgive it, for I only do right, but God alone.

This is what you want to receive. We will receive it in all faithful friendship, and be confident that Christ is Lord even of His enemies. He is Lord even of his enemies, and can keep his promise to us when we ask that there be no doubt that we shall not need him. have before the burning tails of Syria and Samaria [Isa. 7:4]. Hereby commanded by God. Wednesday after *Purificationis* [Feb. 4] *Anno Domini* 1523.

Martinus Luther.

No. 584.

(Wittenberg.)

February 8, 1523.

Concerns of Luther, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen,

whether a prince may protect his subjects against the persecution of the emperor and other princes by war for the sake of faith.

In Latin, Luther's objection alone is found in manuscript in Gotha, *Cod. B 28*, p. 63 (with the caption:

*D. M. Luth. iudicium Anno 23. vivo Friderico duce Saxoniae); ebenbafelbft Cod. A 401; in Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Aug. 11, 10, fol. 157b (with the superscription: Ejusdem Lutheri iudicium de illa quaestione, scriptum, anno 1523, vivo adhuc Friderico, Duce Saxoniae Electore); ibidem Cod. The Latin original, which the Weimar court preacher D. Silbrafiām 2ange befafj, bore the inscription by Spalatin's hand: D. Martinus Lutherus, de bello a Principibus Christianis suscipiendo. M.D.XXIII. , and contained five concerns: by Luther, Link, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Amsdorf; the latter with the timing we have given. All five concerns are found in J. E. Kappen's little Nachlese, vol. II, p. 571 (Latin, from Spalatin's papers in the library of Raimund Krafft von Dellmensingen, mayor of Ulm). In German, the three concerns of Luther, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen are found in Hortleder, "von der Rechtmäßigkeit des deutschen Kriegs," Gotha 1645, tom. II, p. 61, and from them in Kapp 1. o. p. 578; in Walch, vol. X, 672 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 64, p. 277; everywhere without date. Four of these concerns (with the exception of Melanchthon, for which reference is made to the *Corp. Ref.*) Latin in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 76. Melanchthon's objection alone, German and Latin, in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. I, 600. (Bretschneider erroneously considers the German text to be the original, overlooking the fact that Spalatin translated such writings for the*

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 572.

No. 585.

Wittenberg.

February 9, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends a married priest. From affairs of the monastery and the convent at Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 242. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 24; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 306 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I V, p. 81. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 826.

Mr. Georg Spalatin, court preacher, his [friend] in the Lord.

"Grace and peace." I commend this married priest who asks that I prepare the way for him to come to you.

stand by him as much as you can. I could not refuse him this service. By the way, if it cannot happen that Dabrun is handed over into the hands of the prince, so be it. But in the meantime we have no use for it, since Staupitz 1 will pay nothing if the prince does not force him anew.

The dean 2) of All Saints will die, and part of your office will be to help that they do not get back a man of the same kind as dean. The provost Justus Jonas considers Crotus suitable; you yourself know the man. Farewell. Wittenberg, 1523, Monday after Sexagesimä [9 Feb].
Martin Luther.

No. 586.

(Wittenberg.)

Mid-February 1523.

To Wilhelm Nesen in Frankfurt. 3)

The first part of the book is a copy of Luther's book "Wider den gewappneten Mann Cochläus" (Against the Armed Man Cochlaeus).

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 580 and 597.

No. 587.

(Wittenberg.)

February 25, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Repeated request for Franz Lambert. By Hartmann von Kronberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. V*, No. 136 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 164. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 125 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 307 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 85. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 827.

To Georg Spalatin, evangelist at Lochau, his [friend] in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! I send you back the letter of Melberin 4), my dear Spalatin, but you do not answer anything that you have addressed to the Prince for the Lord Franz Lambert, the Frenchman. He is sure

1) Günther von Staupitz.

2) D. Lorenz Schlamau. Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 51b f.

3) At that time, Nesen was still in Frankfurt as the head of the Patrician School, but left for Wittenberg around Easter.

4) Wife of Sebastian Melder, at the court (aulicus) of Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Elector.

Indeed, he is a good man and an exile, but it is hard for us to feed him completely, but harder still to leave him in the lurch. For no doubt Christ is set before us poor in him; but if you obtain nothing, Christ will assist his own from elsewhere. I do not ask for a salary for him, but that he may be helped from time to time, or even once more with ten florins or thereabouts. So you see that I become a beggar for others, since I need nothing for myself. But Staupitz also pays us nothing, and perhaps will pay us nothing. Mr. Hartmann Kronberg is with us together with Count Albrecht 1) and we have entertained both of them with a breakfast in our monastery; the man who has suffered so much²⁾ is still very firm in his faith. Farewell and answer. Wednesday after Invocavit [25 Feb] 1523.

Mart. Luther.

No. 588.

Wittenberg.

March 1, 1523.

To the provost and canons of Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1180.

No. 589.

(Wittenberg.)March

1. March 1523.

To Spalatin.

News from Switzerland and other news.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 235. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 27; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 309 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 91. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 877.

To the learned and godly man, Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the court of Saxony, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have received this news from Switzerland. I am also sending the letter of Caspar Schalke, for the reason that you may change your opinion about Georg von Ebeleben, which you got from earlier dillgen.

1) von Mansfeld.

2) Landgrave Philip of Hesse had taken Kronberg's castle on October 16, 1522.

again. Everywhere the word is more powerful than with our neighbors, and even than with us. Yesterday, Nicolaus Maurus 3) arrived from Worms, the cantor at St. Andreä, whom you know. He will stay here for some time with his comrade Friedrich, 4) who is also a divine scholar, and he tells us that Busch is writing against Erasmus, of whom he praises so wonderfully that he has become a different man and a husband and is living in Heidelberg. I wonder what may have happened to the official at Trier, D. Eck, who is now a husband, that he rages so rebelliously against the princes and even against his own at Trier, unless these times must be fruitful in monstrosities, and everything must be changed for everyone. Farewell and pray for me. Sunday Reminiscere [March 1].

Martin Luther.

No. 590.

(Wittenberg.)March

2. March 1523.

To Wolfgang Stein, court preacher in Weimar.

First an economic matter. Report that Michael Stiefel is wanted as a preacher in Mansfeld, and that Neustadt an der Orla is well provided for by Hieronymus von Enghuizen.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 1048, fol. 76. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 44 (with the wrong year 1522); by De Wette, vol. II, p. 152 (also wrong: "March 17, 1522") and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 93.

Mr. Wolfgang Stein, Evangelist at the Court of Weimar, his most esteemed [friend] in Christ.

Mercy and peace! The money for the wine should have been sent to Cyrold in Jena the other day, my dear Wolfgang, but twice the expectation of a messenger deceived me. Now, however, Anton Musa is taking it with him; you will see to it that it is handed over to his master. In earlier letters I answered your questions. Now Michael Stiefel 5) of Albrecht, Gra

3) Nic. Maurus from Goarshausen, later pastor at St. Catharinen in Frankfurt a. M. in 1536, later superintendent at Groß-Gerau, died before 1553.

4) Friedrich Baur, according to an old Worms chronicle.

5) Michael Stiefel, Augustinian of Esslingen, born there in 1486, was an early follower of Luther. In the

fen at Mansfeld, as a preacher, and I ask that you help him to go there. For Neustadt seems to be duly provided for by Mr. Hieronymus, who belongs to our order, whom my prior Wenceslaus 1) has sent there. However, if Michael is sent there, I do not want him to be called away, but to remain there. Farewell and pray for me and commend me to the princes. Monday after Reminiscere [March 2] 1523. 2) Martin Luther.

No. 59 L.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early March 1523.) 3)

To Spalatin.

Luther urged that the idolatries in the All Saints' Monastery be stopped and that such people be employed who would arrange the service according to the word of God.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 180. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 134; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 314 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 94. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 843.

Magister Georg Spalatin, court preacher, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I write again, my dear Spalatin, both myet- and

In the summer of 1522, because he was not safe from Archduke Ferdinand, he left his monastery and entered the service of Hartmuth von Kronberg as a preacher. After the latter lost his rule in October 1522 (see No. 587), he went to Wittenberg, where Luther took him in. Then he came as a court preacher to Mansfeld, where he did not stay long, but went as a pastor to Christoph Jörgen in Tollet in Austria, and from there came to Lochau in 1528. He had to leave this position because of his prophecy of the end of the world on a certain day in October 1533. At the end of 1534 or beginning of 1535 he became pastor in Holzdorf near Wittenberg, where he remained until the village was destroyed in the Schmalkaldic War. For a while he then lived in Frankfurt a. O., until Duke Albrecht of Prussia made him pastor in Haberstrohm near Königsberg in 1552. Already in 1554, however, we find him again as pastor at Brück near Belzig, because he had to leave Prussia as an opponent of Osiander. Finally, he was professor of arithmetic in Jena and Diaconus at the city church there, where he died in April 1567.

1) P. M. *Venceslaus* in the manuscript; resolved by another hand by: *Prior meus*, and inscribed: *Lynck*.

2) That this letter belongs to the year 1523 is not only attested by the Gotha manuscript, but can also be seen from the course of Stiefel's life.

3) This letter must have been written around the same time as No. 588.

for the sake of other people. For now is the time to weaken this Bethaven, which has hitherto been tolerated with great vexation against the great purity of the word given to us from heaven: Heaven. God does not need to be tempted further, so help as I know you will and as you can. If nothing else can be done, that at least such men are appointed who despise these abominations: only then will there be hope that they will establish the praiseworthy use of singing psalms with each other without the prince, according to the example of the [first] letter to the Corinthians, Cap. 14. Even if this cannot happen, it is good to rather postpone the appointment [of new priests] than to establish Jeroboam's priests anew [1 Kings 12:32]. This honor must be given to the word which is with us, as thou thyself knowest and desirest all things better. Fare well in the Lord. Mart. Luther.

No. 591a.

Wittenberg.

7. 4) March 1523.

To Joh. Schwanhausen, pastor at Bamberg.

Luther (perhaps moved by Camerarius, who was a native of Bamberg) became acquainted with him because he preached Christ, and comforted him in his tribulations.

From a manuscript in the royal library in Munich, *Cod. Clm.* 943, fol. 134b, printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 8.

To the preacher at St. Gangolph's in Bamberg, the esteemed and highly learned man, M. L.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although I am unknown to you and you to me, dear man, the one you preach (as your Bambergs testify to me) is known to both of us through

4) The Erl. Briefw. has overlooked the *Saddatho* and therefore wrong: "March 8".

5) Schwanhausen had already been teaching in a Protestant spirit at Bamberg since 1520. After the Convention of the Papal Princes in Regensburg in July 1524 (see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2296), persecution arose and Schwanhausen had to leave. In April 1525 he was appointed preacher at the Catharinenkloster in Nuremberg and remained there until December 1525. His further circumstances are uncertain. He died on September 1, 1528.

the grace of God, and this compels me to seek your acquaintance at least by letter and to greet you, that is, as Paul speaks modestly, that we comfort one another through common faith [Rom. 1:12]. Go forward valiantly, dearest brother, be manly, and let your heart be strong, and hold your peace unto the Lord. "The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you" [John 15:20]. "But be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world. In the world you have fear, but in me you have peace" [Jn 16:33]. But what do I comfort him who is firmer than I? Rather, I will ask only this one thing, that you ask God for us and let me be in command of your prayers in our Lord, in whom you may be well pleased. Amen. Wittenberg, Saturday before Oculi [March 7] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 592.

Schweinitz. March 8, 1523.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2634, annex, no. 124.

No. 593.

Wittenberg. March 10, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Request for a painter who did not feel safe in Wittenberg because of a rape he had committed, that Spalatin help him to calm down.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 138 and in the 60a. 3eu. a, fol. 165. printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 127b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 311 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 98. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 828.

To the learned and godly man, Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the court of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! Free me, I ask, from this burdensome matter, my dear Spalatin. It is with Lucas 1) a journeyman painter [Hans von Schmalkalden], 2) who about two years ago either obtained it from the prince, or requested that he be granted a license under

1) Cranach.
2) The words: *Hans Schmalkaldius* wrote Spalatin in the margin.

He is afraid that he would like to live safely under his rule until the matter of his death would be settled. Now, as far as I can see, he, tormented by his conscience and, as he says, offended by the words of his companions, fears all dangers and suspects treason and capture. Therefore, the poor man asks me to find out whether the prince has changed his mind and has ceased to grant him security in his country. He does not quite believe my words and those of others, no matter how much I always assure him that the prince's mind is not like that, nor will Lucas suffer a treacherous betrayal or capture without first informing him or warning him. For such is the miserable conscience of every guilty man. You will therefore free me and reassure him if you write either in the name of the prince or in your own (since it is certain that nothing of the sort is to be feared from the prince), and make us certain, so that we thus fulfill the duty of brotherly consolation. For nothing must be treated more tenderly than a guilty conscience, which is punishment enough in itself. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1523, on Tuesday after Oculi [March 10].

Mart. Luther.

No. 594.

(Wittenberg.) (Before March 12, 1523.)

To Spalatin.

Of a false rumor that negotiations had been held with Duke George in his name. Interpretation of Match. 18, 22. About the refilling of the vacancies in the monastery.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. From the same, the beginning, about 3 lines, is cut off. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 161 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 182. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 135; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 315 (with the too late date: "In April") and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 99. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 845 f.

To Georg Spalatin, the faithful and blessed evangelist in the Lord.

... Nothing has been negotiated with me in the name of Duke George. For here, too, false tongues lie wonderful things about me and against me.

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I take the passage Matth. 18 [v. 22] according to the common understanding "seventy times seven times", that is, as often as it may always be, by putting a certain number for an indefinite one, as the Scriptures generally use the word "seven" in the third book of Moses [Cap. 26, 28.] and elsewhere [Deut. 28, 7. 25]. Furthermore, this matter does not pertain to private forgiveness alone, but also to public forgiveness. Because the gospel is the voice of forgiveness, and the voice of forgiveness is the gospel, it must not be circumscribed by any place, by any time, by any person, by any thing, but must be freely granted everywhere and always and to all.

The prior 1) says thanks, also I, for the order of the prince against Staupitz. 2) Farewell and pray for me.

On Friday 3) the dean and the canon will be elected, but how I would like that either Amsdorf or a similar man would become dean by order of the prince, and in the meantime the interest of Amsdorf would go to Pomeranus, likewise the interest of Rachal⁴) to some reader in the Collegio, so that the chamber of the prince would be relieved, and in the meantime one would like to pretend that the appointment of the canons would be postponed until the matter falls by itself. Farewell. Mart. Luther.

No. 595.

(Wittenberg.)

(Around March 17, 1523.)

To Johann Brismann.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 564. 5)

1) Eberhard Brisger.

2) Günther von Staupitz.

3) This is Friday after Oculi [March 13], on which the election of the dean took place. (See Kolde, "Frederick the Wise," p. 65.) Our letter is written in the same week, and before March 12, for on that day Luther would have written *cras* instead of *feria* 6.

4) In Latin *Rachals*. Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 690 writes: "Raphals".

5) At that point, we have provided this letter with the time determination assumed by De Wette: "Perhaps in January 1523"; here, we give the one in the Erl. Briefw. (which we have followed almost everywhere), although the reason given for it does not quite satisfy us. It reads: "We place the letter at the same time as Brismann's letter to Spalatin, d. d. *Wittemb.* 16. *cal. April.* in the letter of his work (p. 9); also 'Erläutertes Preußen' II, 309 places it on this date."

No. 596.

(Wittenberg.)

March 29, 1523.

To Esban Hesse in Erfurt.

Luther testifies to Hesse's applause because of a poem he received from him, and comments on the importance of poetry and rhetoric for true theology.

First printed in a collection of letters addressed to Eoban Hesse under the title: *De non contemnendis studiis humanioribus futuro theologo maxime necessariis etc.*, Bl. A j^b ; in Aurifaber, Vol. II, Bl. 307; in *Fr. Jac. Bayschlag, Sylloge varior. opusculor.* 1729. I, 292; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 312 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 118. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 829.

Martin Luther wishes Eoban Hesse, the poet faithful in Christ, his exceedingly dear brother, salvation.

Grace and peace! Your very lovely letter was delivered to me by our dear Crotus, the companion of Jakob Fuchs 6) and Petreius, but the *Captiva* was handed to me by Philippus. To write the foregoing (*hactenus*) to you, dear Eoban, would perhaps have been enough for the uneducated Luther, just so that he answered you. For what should I write to you further, since I wanted you to read only things worthy of your muses? although your kindness of heart is known to me, that you do not despise even lesser things. You will be able to judge for yourself what I judge of the *Captiva*, for you are not so obtuse 7) that you should not recognize yourself, nor so full of self-love that you should flatter yourself, but that you should also overcome yourself; but in this you do not overcome yourself, that you might believe that the *Captiva displeases* either me or you. However, it will soon come to light 8) and will also find its way into the world without us.

6) Fnchs, a canonicus, from an old Franconian noble family. - Petreius Aperbach or Eberbach from Erfurt. - Eaxtiva is the name of the 428 verse elegiac poem addressed to Luther, in which Hesse expressed his most resolute commitment to the cause of the Reformation. The Wittenbergers had this poem printed by Joh. Secerius in Hagenau as late as 1523.

7) *cornea fibra*, *Persius*, sat. 1, 47.

8) The *Captiva* was published under the following title: *Ecclesiae afflictæ epistola ad Lutherani Eobano Hesso viro pio ac docto autore. Haganoæ, ex Neacademia Seceriana.* At the end: *Haganoæ ex aedibus Johannis Secerii Lauchensis. Anno M. D. XXIII.* Nine quarto leaves.

The author should make known what kind of man he is, and also not fear envy himself. By the way, if I did not know that you would answer that this was done by you for the sake of the preservation of prosperity, I would complain that too much honor has been done to my name by this excellent little work, you may give the honor of this name to others (says that¹⁾); but I will suffer the undeserved honor, which I am accustomed to suffer so many deserved disgraces. By the way, these fears of yours shall move you in nothing, since you fear that we Germans will become more uneducated than we have ever been, by the fall of the sciences through our theology; certain people also often have their fears where there is nothing to fear. I am convinced that without knowledge of the sciences, pure theology cannot exist at all, as it has fallen and fallen in the most miserable way since the sciences fell and fell. Yes, I see that a glorious revelation of the Word of God has never happened, unless He had prepared the way beforehand, as it were through antecedent Anabaptists, through emerging and flourishing languages and sciences. There is absolutely nothing that I would like to see happen or be committed in youth less than that poetry and the art of oratory be left in the queue. My wish is certainly that there should be as many poets and orators as possible, because I see that by these studies, as by no other means, people become extraordinarily skilled both in grasping sacred things and in dealing with them in a right and happy way. It is true that wisdom makes the tongue of the underage eloquent [Wis. 10:21], but the gift of speech is not to be despised. Therefore, I also ask you, that you also at my request (if it can do anything) create in your young people, that they eagerly practice the art of poetry and speech. As Christ lives, I am also often unwilling about myself, that with this age and this [my] I am often displeased that at this age and in this way of life, time does not permit me to occupy myself with poets and orators from time to time. I had a ho

mer bought to become a Greek. But enough that you have been burdened with these trifles; from Luther keep yourself fully convinced of what you can assure of your *captiva*,³⁾ and be well, strong in Christ, Amen. Palm Sunday [March 29] 1523.

No. 597.

Wittenberg.

(March?) 1523.

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of Magnus Groß, a monk who had left the monastery.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 159 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 181. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 28; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 446 (without date) and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 121. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 879.

Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his [friend] in the Lord, grace and peace! I recommend this Magnus Groß to you, my dear Spalatin, because he wanted a letter from me to you, so that he could reach the prince more comfortably with his petition through you. I believe, however, that it is an exceedingly godly work to serve such people who, out of the captivity of Satan, long for the light of Christ. You will therefore do what the Lord has given you to be able and to want. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg 1523. Martin Luther.

What the provost Jonas writes to you, I believe you have read, so that it is not necessary to urge the one who is not unwilling 2c.

No. 598.

(Wittenberg.)

(First months 1523.)

To the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1308.

No. 599 .

Wittenberg.

(Before April 4) 1523.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1784.

1) *Horace, Sat. lib.* I, 4, v. 43.

2) *Erl. Briefw.*: *insigne* instead of: *insignem*.

3) That is, the best (Walch).

No. 600.

Wittenberg.

April 4, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Intercession for a girl in a "r matrimonial matter.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 139 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 166. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 128; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 316 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 124. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 832.

To the learned and godly man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his brother in Christ.

Mercy and peace! There is a girl from Torgau, who wants to have her bridegroom, namely the barber of our prince, by showing a ring and a broken coin, which is given to her as a pledge (*arraha*), and says that it was also declared by the prince's councilors at Torgau, since D. Schwertfeger 1) and Christian were present here with the preceptor, for a right and lawful marriage, but the latter now withdraws his promise, since others advise him to another person. Therefore she asks that the prince may not suffer that the promise is taken for a mockery. But you know that we must not tolerate that this already miserable sex is oppressed, and also that everywhere, as many very bad examples show, the girls are deceived by those unrighteous 2) and unrighteous people. Therefore, as your office requires, see to it with the prince that the complaint about this breach of trust is no longer heard. 3) Fare well and pray for me. 1523, Wittenberg, Saturday before Easter [April 4].

Mart. Luther.

1) "D. Schwertfeger", professor of law in Wittenberg. - "Christian" either I). Christian Baier (Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 644 8. v. Baier) or Christian Döring, mayor in Wittenberg (Erlanger Briefw.). - The "preceptor" in Lichtenberg, Wolfgang Reißbusch.

2) The expression *inphrinitos*, which cannot be proven lexically, will have been taken from the notorious woman builder at Athens.

3) The meaning is in any case: "that one no longer has to hear that this breach of trust is complained about", that is, that it is stopped.

No. 601.

Wittenberg.

April 4, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of a young man for support. From a letter from Duke Georg to Count Albrecht zu Mansfeld.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 140 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 166. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 24; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 317 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 125. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 831.

To the godly and learned man, Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! This young man has asked me to recommend him to you, so that through you he may obtain some support from the prince, the patron of the poor, to learn a trade. To me he seems good and worthy, and a man who has it better in mind than he can talk it out; do what you can. Yesterday I received a letter from a certain friend, which Duke Georg wrote against me to Count Albrecht von Mansfeld, which is so full of rage, nonsense and threats that one could believe that Satan himself is brimming with anger and pouring out his displeasure. But I was told not to give anyone the opportunity to copy it, otherwise I would have sent it to you. Perhaps you prophesied this in your previous letter⁴). Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Saturday before Easter [April 4] 1523.

Mart. Luther.

I ask you to read this letter to the prince. 5)

No. 602 .

Wittenberg.

April 8, 1523.

To Wenc. Link in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2619, appendix, no. 113.

4) Compare No. 599 at the beginning.

5) This postscript of the original is found only in Burkhardt, p. 55 and in Erl. Briefw.

No. 603 .

Wittenberg.

April 10, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Request for temporary support for the nine nuns who had left, among them Catharina von Bora. Luther hoped to accommodate them elsewhere. Council, how the bad housekeeping of Duke Johann may be helped.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 141 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 166. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 1306; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 319 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 127. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 836.

Mercy and peace! Those nine apostate nuns have come to me; a wretched little people, but brought to me by honorable Torgau citizens, namely by Leonhard Koppe and feiltzen cousin and Wolf Dommitzsch (*Tomitsch*), so that a bad suspicion cannot take place in this matter. I am very sorry for them, but most of all for the others who are perishing everywhere in such large numbers through that cursed and impure chastity. This sex is in itself far too weak, and by nature, yes, by God bound to the man, and is, separated by such great cruelty, ruined. O over the tyrants, O over the cruel parents and relatives in Germany! But you, O pope, and you, you bishops, who can curse you according to due? Who can sufficiently curse your blindness and fury, which teaches and demands such things? But here is not the place to deal with it.

You ask what I will do with them? First, I will tell the relatives to take them in; if they do not want to, I will see to it that they are taken in elsewhere. For I have been promised by some people that I will help some into marriage if I can. But these are their names: Magdalena Staupitz, Elsa von Canitz, Ave Große, Ave Schönhofeld and her sister Margaretha Schönhofeld, Laneta von Golis, Margaretha Zeschau and her sister Catharina Zeschau, and Catharina voll Bora. They are such that in truth they are in need of mercy; in them Christ is served; but they have escaped quite miraculously. I beg you, however, that you too may be a

Do a work of love and beg some money for me from your rich courtiers, with which I can keep them for about eight or even a fortnight, until I can hand them over comfortably to their relatives or my friends. For my capernaïtes 1) increase by the so great abundance of the daily word in such a way that the other day I could not get ten florins borrowed on my person for a certain poor citizen. The poor, who would gladly give it, do not have it; the richer either refuse it, or let themselves have it with such difficulty that they must either lose their gratitude to God for what they have given, or I must lose my freedom, but this is nothing unusual in the world and its kind. Yes, I have only nine old shocks as annual pay,²⁾ apart from these, neither I nor my brothers receive even a penny from the city. But I also do not demand it from them, so that I emulate the glory of Pauli, by robbing other churches in any case, in order to serve my Corinthians for free [2 Cor. 11, 7. f].

There is another thing that I have so often wanted to write to you, but have just as often forgotten. I wonder why our prince, since he knows that his brother, Duke Johann, has such fathers of the household 3) that the estates are going to ruin more and more every day, does not accept Sebastian Kötteritz there, a man, as he proves daily with deeds and examples, who is extraordinarily skilled in administrative matters. For I would also like that Kötteritz himself would be advised, but much more this princely court, especially that the very good young man, Prince Johann Friedrich, the future regent, would learn by some excellent example to take care of the goods and to recognize the frauds of the people better. For those who now rule there are evil to me, since they have become so rich.

1) That means: the inhabitants of my city, as Capernaum Matth. 9, 1. is called "his [Christ's] city". Compare Matth. 11, 23.

2) "9 old shocks" makes 7 thlr. according to current money. 12 gr. (Erl. Briefw.)

3) Luther probably chose the word *patresfamilias* here instead of *adimstratores* (stewards) to indicate that they care more for their house than for the general best.

and the prince comes down. I beg you to report this to the prince in my name, for I would very much like that place to be helped by such a man, who is godly and at the same time skilful. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1523, on the Friday after Easter [April 10]. 1) Mart. Luther.

No. 603a.

Wittenberg.

(Around April 10, 1523.) 2)

To Spalatin.

Luther complains about the defaulting debtor Günther von Staupitz and the poverty of the monastery caused by him, which will force him to leave Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv (with the inscription Spalatin: De IX. sanctionibus. 3) 1. 5. 2. 3.). Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 244. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 27; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 433 ("In November?") and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 132. German (in Spalatin's translation) in Burkhardt, p. 56 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 878.

To the dear man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist, [his] superior in Christ.

Staupitz still pays none of our interest, and the castle does not care about us. So we are getting into debt every day. I do not know whether we should continue to complain to the prince or let it go so that what wants to be lost will be lost, so that I will finally be forced either by poverty or by necessity to leave Wittenberg and to fulfill the wishes of the papists and the emperors. Of course, I would gladly accept a sufficient reason to leave, since I am very disgruntled about the hardness and ingratitude of the godless people of this city.

1) Spalatin translated this letter for the Elector, and inserted the translation of the next letter before the last paragraph of this letter; Burkhardt, p. 56, considers the latter to be a postscript to our letter.

2) The time for this letter results from the last note to the previous letter. Spalatin will have received it at the same time, as its erroneous inscription suggests. That this is an independent letter is proven not only by the special address, but also by the different folding of the letter.

3) This word written by Spalatin means: *sanctis monialibus*, of the 9 holy nuns.

4) Burkhardt offers: "herlickeit", which will be read from: "hertickeit".

No. 604.

Wittenberg.

April 10, 1523.

To Leonhard Koppe, citizen of Torgau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1666.

No. 605.

Borna.

April 16, 1523.

To Wolfgang Stein in Weimar.

Luther recommends Heinrich Zwetzen, former administrator of the monastery at Neustadt a. O., to intercede with the prince.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 49; in *De Wette*, Vol. II, p. 331 (dated: "In April") and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 133.

To the faithful evangelist Wolfgang Stein, in Latin *Saxo*, in Greek *Petro*, in Hebrew *Kepha*, at the court of the Prince of Saxony in Weimar.

Grace and peace! I recommend this Magister Heinrich Zwetsen, former administrator of the monastery in Neustadt, to you, best Wolfgang, that you, if you are able, assist him with your prince 5) if he could perhaps obtain something from these monks, on whom he has done his wrong. He insisted that I should write to the prince himself, but I did not want to be burdensome to the prince. Rather, I wanted to accomplish through you what I wished, so I ask you to have mercy on the poor. Farewell. At Borna, on Thursday after the miraculous wedding of Wenceslaus [April 16] 6) 1523.

Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 606.

(Wittenberg.)

April 21, 1523.

To Spalatin.

From the letters of Hans von Planitz and the fugitive provost of the Neuenwerk in Halle.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* [4, no. 144 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 169. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 1326; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 328 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 133. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 840.

5) Duke John of Saxony.

6) The wedding on the left took place on Tuesday, April 14 (see vol. XV, 2620, note 1). Already Seidemann at *De Wette*, vol. VI, p. 622, note 7, has the correct time determination.

To Georg Spalatin, his! [Friend] in the Lord.

I hope that it can be settled and brought to a good end. He

Grace and peace! Behold, there is Planitzen's letter, has fled as a man who fears his prince's displeasure, but 1) but Johann Gilden (*Aureus*) writes to me that he offers to stand up and give an account after he has Planitzen's earlier letter, which was addressed to me, been escorted to a safe place. Therefore, if it is necessary, has not been handed over to him, which I sent to you, so serve the man wherever you can. He is neither a bad man that you should hand it over to him, in order to see from nor unworthy of your assistance. He is also accused of it what he must do in his matter. If I have not yet having stolen a certain sum; 5) I wish it were true, if only it reminded you of this, I now remind you to send it to him, were hidden; but this matter is easily excused. who is so anxiously awaiting such an answer.

Then I recommend to you this petition of the very poor

2) The circumlocutions are long, the story is priest Frederick, who is very depressed by old age and ludicrous, but I hope that everything can be settled lack, that you hand it over to the prince. It is a good work peacefully in the near future, because Doctor Aurbach which is done to him. Farewell and pray for me. was also here yesterday. This year keeps on giving birth Wittenberg, Tuesday after Misericordias Domini [April 21] to new monstrosities. Be well, and do what I have asked. 1523, Martin Luther.

On Tuesday after Misericordias Domini s21. April] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 608.

(Wittenberg.)

April 22, 1523.

No. 607.

Wittenberg.

April 21, 1523. 3)

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of the provost of Halle and the request of the priest Friedrich [Baur] for support.

To Spalatin in Lochan.

On the matter of the Hall provost.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* I, No. 143 and in *Cod. Jen.* n, fol. 169. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 133; in De Wette, fol. 163. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 132; in De Wette, vol. I I, p. 328 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I V, p. 135. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 839.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 145 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 169. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 133; in De Wette, fol. 163. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 132; in De Wette, vol. I I, p. 328 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I V, p. 135. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 841 f.

To the worthy man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, his superior in the Lord.

For the attention of Magister Spalatin "zur Lochaw".

Grace and peace in the Lord! This 4) Provost of the New Work in Halle asks that I recommend him to you, for he fears that the Eardinal in Mainz would criticize him too harshly at the

Grace and peace! Behold, as you willed, immediately after receiving your letter we arranged for the provost to leave.

1) Aurifaber refers in a marginal gloss to the second volume of the Jena edition (1555), where this letter Fol. 207 is printed. This is Planitzen's letter to the Elector of Jan. 8, 1523, which is found in our edition Vol. X V, 2234. The marginal gloss is hardly correct.

2) Nicolaus Demuth.

3) This letter is from the same day as the previous one, but later.

4) According to this, Demuth himself seems to have taken this letter of recommendation with him.

5) Demuth had left the monastery on April 14 and had taken with him for his sustenance "a small allowance" and two "principal letters" (bonds of the monastery) and some jewels in order to obtain a "commission" (settlement sum or annual pension) from the monastery or the Cardinal. On April 20, D. Aurbach (Stromer), as the Cardinal's intermediary, had negotiated with the Cardinal for their surrender. Demuth finally returned the things he had taken as a pledge, but it is not known whether he received anything in return. Incidentally, in 1523 Demuth married the stepdaughter of Wolf von Dommitzsch, a née of Seidewitz, who had left the Cistercian monastery in Sitzeroda.

so that you may show what the prince wants to write to the cardinal. But, O Cardinals and Princes! For the Cardinal has written a gracious letter to the provost, inviting him kindly, and I have written for him in the most humble way, and have laid out everything on both sides in the best way, but perhaps the letter has not yet arrived, and the Cardinal is doing this against him surreptitiously. By the way, I would also like the Prince's answer to the Cardinal to be postponed, so that the Provost can go further and further and more safely away. Farewell and pray for me. 1523, Wednesday after Misericordias Domini [April 22]. Martin Luther.

No. 609 .
Wittenberg. - April 22, 1523.
To Spalatin.

Luther complains that Spalatin has sent off a poor woman recommended by him, and renews his request for the support of the nine nuns.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 146 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 169. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 1336; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 330 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 136. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 842.

To the excellent man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his superior in the Lord.

"Gnad und Fried. Will you, dear Magister Spalatin!" I wonder why you have sent this woman back, since you know my handwriting exactly, and you alone objected that the letter was not provided with a seal. But there may be some reason here, which I do not ask to know: now at least I ask in my name and that of the woman, ask the prince to give her something, like those ten florins and a robe, either a new one or an old one, or something else. If I have not been drunk or still am, I have understood that she is certainly the sister of the stepfather (*patris legitimi*), not the biological father of the preceptor at Lichtenberg 1). But what is the point of that? So do your duty, because you are sitting in that place of plague, I also in mine.

1) Wolfgang Reißbusch.

By the way, you should not forget our colleague, and I want you to mention the prince in my name, so that he will contribute. "Oh, I will keep it secret and tell no one" that he has given something for these renegade virgins, who have been abducted and preserved against his will. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Misericordias Domini [April 22] 1523. Martin Luther.

No. 610.
(Wittenberg.) April 25, 1523.
To Spalatin.
See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1782.

No. 611.
Wittenberg. May 3, 1523.
To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Use for Leimbach. - Answered by Spalatin in the next number.

First made known by Herr Oberbibliothekar L. Prell er zu Weimar in the *Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur*. Then in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. VII, and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 42.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have now decided for the third time to write to E. C. G. on behalf of Leimbach, although I have requested and asked most earnestly. For I know well, as the Scripture says [Tob. 12, 8], that hiding the king's secret is honest, and I have no desire to find out about this matter. But because he is so anxious and worried about it, and knows no one else to call upon except E. C. G., and does not want to fill people's ears with it, he has immediately refused to do such a service for my conscience. I therefore humbly and humbly ask E. C. G. to consider his distress and anxiety, which he has long since borne in such matters, and, if he has deserved mercy, to show mercy again. So that E. C. G., before his last departure from this world, may not only show what is right in this matter (for that is a bad service before God), but also something about the right and Christian and find himself a gracious lord.

let him. It is true that his case, as he claims, has a powerful appearance against E. C. G. But because God has forbidden to judge according to one part's submission, I cannot yet judge anyone in this matter, nor do I wish to be either a hearer or a judge, but only, if something could be obtained, to ask for him humbly, or to have Christianly admonished and warned E. C. G., if she is lacking as a human being. E. C. G. wants to allow me to do so, because I do not like it to be said that I am hypocritical to the Elector, or that I could say it too harshly. I hope I will not become an E. C. G. hypocrite, because I would never know why. God enlighten and strengthen E. C. G. with His gracious good pleasure. Amen. At Wittenberg on Sunday Cantate [April 25] 1523.

No. 612.

May 13, 1523.

Spalatin to Luther.

Response to the previous letter.

Handwritten in the Weimar archive, 138. VII, 48. Printed in Allg. Monatsschrift 1.6. p. 239; in Burkhardt, Luthers Briefwechsel, p. 56 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 139.

God's grace and peace before! Venerable in God Father, dear Doctor! The most illustrious, highborn Prince, Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector 2c., my most gracious Lord, has ordered me to write to you that H. C. G. Eur's letter concerning Leympach has been received today and its contents have been read out, and that his C. G. Eur and everyone's Christian reminder and admonition could well suffer. Therefore also his C. G. would have no difficulty in trusting you to act in this matter between his C. G. and the Leympach. However, since you know that his C. G. has hitherto let himself be heard in all respects by His Imperial Holiness, His Royal Majesty and other estates that they have never had anything to do with your cause and you, and that his C. G. is in agreement with you in this matter. G. should get involved with you in this matter, may his C. G. be charged as if his C. G. had acted secretly with you; he is not to be held responsible for this. G. had secret dealings with you; undoubtedly, if his C. G. would have allowed you to act in the matter, you would have heard his C. G. in such action. G. in such an action, from which you shall find with truth that his C. G. does not like to give their hope neither to Leymbach nor to anyone else against fairness.

wanted to inflict weight, although his C. G. know that all people, and before those who trust themselves, can err. Where it is not to your liking because you ask that his C. G. want to show mercy to Leymbach again, if he deserves it, then send his C. G. a list of the articles of which Leymbach complains to you from his C. G.. From this his C. G., with God's help, would like to be heard with a fair and unavoidable answer. Upon the order of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., I did not want to let this go unreported in the best way, and I have no doubt that you will send the following list to his C. G. about which Leymbach is to complain. 1) With this I command you divine protection and protection with grace in eternity to maintain. Date on the evening of *Ascensionis Domini* [May 13] *anno ejusdem* 1523.

No. 613.

Wittenberg.

May 17, 1523.

To Wolfgang Stein in Weimar.

Recommendation of a certain Thomas.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p.47; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 333 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. I V, p. 140.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Wolfgang Stein, *Petro* in Greek, *Kepha* in Hebrew, *Rupi* in Latin, "Stein" in German, ducal evangelist at Weimar.

Grace and peace! This Thomas, who stands personally before you, I don't know what, desires from the prince, and naturally asks to be recommended by me. I, who know that you have nothing to do, gladly place this burden on you, that you either advise him or use yourself for him. He is indeed a good and honest man, but you see what you can do for him. I have said the same to M. Veit, 2) the winner of the chess game. All our people greet you, especially the prior. 3) I am busy, as you know, with matters that are not worthy of me. Wittenberg, Sunday Exaudi [May 17] 1523. Yours, Martin Luther.

1) This happened with the letter to Spalatin of June 9.

2) Veit Warbeck.

3) Eberhard Brisger.

No. 614.

Wittenberg.

(Around May 20, 1523.) 1)

To Spalatin in Lochau.

Luther asks for Spalatin's help in obtaining a scholarship for Georg Mayer (Majors). Rumor of Sickingen's death.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 234. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 31; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 340 ("In June?") and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 141. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 883.

His [friend] in the Lord, Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, the faithful evangelist, the serviceable (*dextro*) man.

Mercy and peace! This good young man, Georg Mayer, to whom you have also done good before, asks that I intercede for him with you, so that you may apply to Hieronymus Ebner and Anton Tücher, the Nuremberg city councillors, for the scholarship, which is free after Ambrosius Neuter 2) has had it. Therefore, do your work, that is, a Christian and godly one, as much as you can. I wish that the rumor that Franz Sickingen is dead may be false. Amen. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg.
Mart. Luther.

No. 615.

Wittenberg.

(Around May 23, 1523.) 8)

To Spalatin in Lochau.

Luther recommends a French knight (the coctus).

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 9. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 31; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 340 ("In May?") and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 142. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 884.

1) This letter is written shortly before the following one. Luther knows here only by rumor of Sickingen's death (died May 7), in the following letter definitely.

2) later mayor in Wittenberg.

3) The date is derived from *Spal. ap. Menck*. II, 623, where it is reported that on May 23 three Frenchmen came to Lochau, namely the knight *Anemundus Coctus a Castellare* (*Anemond de Coct* from the castle of *Chastelard* in the Dauphine), formerly a Rhodes knight; Francis Lambert, called Serranus, and Claudius *a Tauro*. Coctus is named on the title of the book edited by Lambert. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 262. note.

Mr. Georg Spalatin, the godly and learned man, evangelist at the court of Saxony.

Mercy and peace! This French knight would like to see the court and the all-face of our prince. He is certainly a very good man, learned and godly, and exceptionally fervent for the Gospel, for the sake of which he, having come here from France, has been here for some time and will still be here. I know that an interview [with the prince] will not be granted to him, but it will do you good if you show yourselves respectful and friendly. Yesterday I heard and read the true and lamentable story of Franz Sickingen. God is a just but wonderful⁴ judge. Farewell.
Mart. Luther.

No. 616.

Wittenberg.

May 24, 1523.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther reports that he is well, but complains that he is burdened with many outward trades.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in the Franciscaneum at Zerbst, No. 26, fol. 10b. Printed in *Aurifaber*, vol. II, p. 134; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 333 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 845.

To Nicolaus Hausmann, the godly and learned man, pastor and evangelist of the church in Zwickau.

Mercy and peace! This young man returns to you, my best Nicolaus, after he has received from me what I had and could, but he also wanted to have a letter full of me to you. Do now what Christ teaches you.

By the way, I pray quite well in the flesh, but I am taken up by so many outward concerns that the spirit is almost dampened and can seldom take care of itself. Pray for me that I may not be perfected in the flesh [Gal. 3:3]. Greet all fellow believers and be well in the Lord. Wittenberg, on the day of Pentecost [May 24] 1523.

Martin Luther. -

4) Erlanger Briefw.: *miserabilis* instead of: *mirabilis*.

No. 617.

(Wittenberg.)

May 27, 1523.

To Spalatin.

From an economic matter of the monastery; from Pfaffenbeck and Leimbach.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. 185. 4. Bibl. Goth.* and *Cod. Jen. a.* fol. 242. Printed by De Wette, vol. II, p. 334 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 163.

To the worthy Magister Georgio Spalatin, princely preacher and servant of Christ, my favorable master and friend.

Grace and peace! Worthy master, our prior 1) asks and I also ask that you ask for good counsel for him against my most gracious lord. For the locksmith 2) in Wittenberg wants to have paid the malt he sold him by Saturday, and the prior has no money, nor will he be able to have any. The beggar's sack has a hole, it is large, and unfortunately it does not want to be torn. But he shall not vex us long, God willing. If I had not had so much money to spend on runaway monks and nuns, I could have given the prior a tax. The Pfaffenbeck has asked me again, but I may not come anymore, God help him. I have given the Leimbach the answer 3) M. G. H., have heard nothing more. Hiemit GOtt befohlen. On Wednesday in Pentecost [May 27] 1523. Martin Luther.

No. 618.

Wittenberg.

May 29, 1523.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2187, no. 724.

No. 619.

(Wittenberg.)

(About May 1523.) 4)

To Bernard, a converted Jew.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1822.

No. 620.

(About the beginning of June

Wittenberg.
1523.)S)

To Nicolaus Gerbel in Strasbourg.

Luther sends Melanchthon's notes on the Gospel of John so that Gerbel will promote them for printing.

First this letter is printed in: *Philippi Melanchthonis, Annotationes in Iohannem, castigatiores quam quae antea inuulgatae sunt. Vpote in quibus multa, quae desunt in aliis, habentur, una cum epistola commendatitia M. Lutheri, Indiceque rerum memorabilium quae passim in hoc Annotationum opere excutiuntur. Ex Foelicissima Hagenoa.* At the end: *Haganoae, Ex Neacademia Iohannis Secerij Lauchensis. Salutis anno M. D. XXIII.* 147 leaves text and 6 leaves index. Octav. Further in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 150 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p.303 ("beginning of the year"); in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. XI V, 1043; in the Weimar edition, vol. XII, 56 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I V, p. 149. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 854.

Mr. Nicolaus Gerbel, the pure Christian man, Martin Luther.

Grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ!

Earlier, I had secretly stolen our Philip's notes on three letters of Paul 6). Since he was not allowed to be angry with Luther, the thief, he thought that he was thereby excellently avenged on me, because the booklet had come out incorrectly due to the negligence of the printers, so that I, too, was almost ashamed of it and was annoyed by the theft, which had been so badly done. In the meantime

Strasbourg (or Hagenau?) a reprint of the writing "dass Jesus Christus ein geborner Jude sei", to which this letter of Luther had been attached, was produced; therefore writing and letter must have appeared at the latest in May.

5) In this determination of time, we have followed the Weimar edition. The guiding considerations are these: In March 1523, Melanchthon had finished the interpretation of the Gospel of John. Without his knowledge, a postscript reached Basel and was printed there (by Adam Petri) and published in May, of course without Luther's letter, which is not yet found in the September edition of Adam Petri, which was improved and increased according to the authorized Hagenau print. In April, Oecolampad had begun his lectures on Isaiah, which are commemorated at the end of this letter with almost the same words as in Luther's letter to Oecolampad of June 20, 1523. But already on June 11, Gerbel was waiting for the arrival of the commentary and letter from Wittenberg, as he states in the letter mentioned in the previous number.

6) See Luther's Preface to Melanchthon's Notes on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans and the Epistles to the Corinthians, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 172.

1) Eberhard Brisger.

2) Gregor Burger.

3) No. 612.

4) The Erl. Briefw. bases this time determination: "May, or earlier" on the fact that according to a letter of Gerbel to Joh. Schwebel of June 11, 1523, at that time already in

he laughed at me and hoped that I would henceforth refrain from such theft, instructed by my damage. But I have not cared for this laughter and have become more daring, and now no longer steal, but rob by force, as the author resists in vain, his notes on the evangelist John. But I do not want to cut them out with words, they will recommend themselves to your reader, so that I do not again have to suffer his nose wrinkling and frowning. For he does not despise himself and his own out of a desire for modesty, but because he believes in a Christian spirit that all that is ours is nothing, but that Christ alone is entitled to everything, so stubbornly that he seems to me to be completely mistaken, at least in that he imagines that Christ is farther from his heart than he actually is. And even I, who try to persuade him otherwise, he no longer believes, so much has he increased and surpassed me: thus the last become the first and the first the last. Yes, he assures that he does not want to be considered the author of these remarks. Surely Philip, to assist the church in this matter, is too much of a nobody. I, too, would rather that there were no interpretations anywhere, and that Scripture alone and loudly reigned everywhere, acting with a living voice. But I do not see how the church could do without such interpretations, which at least give an indication of the Scriptures, as Philip's are. And who does not see that the epistle to the Hebrews is almost an interpretation? Likewise Paul's letters to the Romans and Galatians. For who could have so acted the holy Scriptures, if Paul had not shown that they must be so acted? But this showing I call interpreting. This alone is desired by Philip. But he dreams that something else is desired by him. Therefore I send this robbery of mine to you, my dear Gerbel, so that you may take care to make it common and known among yourselves, however much it may be against the will of the author. For I hope that Johann Secerius 1) will take pains to ensure that this is correct.

I hope that this booklet will be printed more accurately and more precisely than my stolen book has been printed before. But if this relentless Achilles 2) had wanted to use his oratory in this booklet of himself, he might have added much light and pleasantness. If there should be a lack of order or eloquence, the wisdom and truth itself brings enough pleasantness and light. For this book will praise Philip as a true and wise man, unless Christ is not the truth and wisdom whom it drives and teaches, even though he may choose to be and be called a fool with Christ. And would God that we too were so foolish with them that we might boast [1 Cor. 1:25], "Divine foolishness is wiser than men are."

I am very happy that Johann Oecolampadius is reading about Isaiah at Basel, although I hear that many people dislike this. But that is the fate of Christian teaching. Christ will also give us some light or interpretation on the prophets through this man, which is especially necessary for our times. Fare well in Christ, my dear Gerbel, and pray for the sinner and fool Luther. Greet all of us in the Lord. Wittenberg, Anno 23.

No. 621 .

Wittenberg.

June 3, 1523.

To the Grasen Albrecht von Mansfeld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2210.

No. 621a.

(Wittenberg.)

(After June 7, 1523.)

To the scribes and printers of his Sermons.

Inspired by a sermon on the Gospel of the Rich Man that was published without his prior knowledge, Luther asks in the preface to this sermon, which he subsequently edited himself, not to have any sermon printed by him unless it had been produced by his hand or had been printed in Wittenberg beforehand on his orders. It will belong to the year 1523. See Erl. Ed. (2.), vol. 13, p. 1 f.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 456.

2) *Iliad*. 9, 182 sqq.

1) Johann Setzer from Laucha in Saxony.

No. 622.

(Wittenberg.)

June 9, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends Leimbach's "Articles" and again intercedes for Kötteritz. - Enclosure: the list of Leimbach's debt claims.

Handwritten in *Cod. Gothan.* X 122, fol. 23 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 327. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 140 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 346 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. IV, p. 153. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 848. - The supplement from Aa, pag. 137, X. VII, 40 of the Weimar Archive in Burkhardt, p. 58 and in Erl. Briefw., I. a. p. 154.

To the learned and godly man, Georg Spalatin, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Behold, I have the articles of the Leimbach brothers of which you have written so often. ¹⁾ Not that I wanted to be a judge or advocate in these matters (for what do these matters concern me?), but that in truth I fear that the prince sometimes does too much in such matters, as it is the fate of all princes that they are lacking almost out of a kind of necessity on both sides, namely with elevating the unworthy and with oppressing such people who deserve it differently. That this evil is also in our princes, many things prove very much; and even if nothing proves it, it would still be shown by David, the special example of all princes, who finally heard the godless Ziba [2 Sam. 16, 4], and became unjust against Mephibosheth [2 Sam. 19, 29], and that at the time when he was in the middle of the virtue of the highest kindness, so that I pass over other faults of him.

I have also written to you about Sebastian Koetteritz, 2) that you might recommend him to the prince; you have not yet answered, answer what you have done. If you have not tried anything, I will make an attempt for myself. I see that he, too, is very unhappy about being held up like this, even though by a gracious prince. For elsewhere a service would be open to him, if he could accept it with the prince's permission. But now the prince does not need him, and at the same time he is uncertain about his future.

1) See No. 612.

2) In No. 603.

whether he can dare to let himself be used by another. This delay is detrimental to such a man, since, as the children grow up, he must earn for them while he is still strong and provide for them through his paternal service. I do not like to be drawn into these things, since I am far too busy with others, and yet, imprisoned by the law of love, I see no opportunity to escape. This, together with other things, makes me disgusted with the public) and extraordinarily long for solitude. Be well and pray for me. Tuesday after Boniface [June 9] 1523.

Martin Luther.

See, I have the articles of the Leimbach brothers:

The Leimbach Directory.

Hansen Leimbach's abandoned debt to the Elector and Duke Johansen of Saxony.

Item in the account, which is raised on Thursday after St. Blasius Day and decided Thursday in the Holy Easter Week, all in the 1500th and other year, my most gracious and gracious lords have remained indebted to me 3164 florins 6 pf. 1 heller. In addition, at their request and demand for the loan of my lord, Margrave Joachim, on Quasimodogeniti in the same year, 2835 florins 20 gr. 5 pf. 1 heller. Summa 6000 florins;⁴⁾ I have promised to lend to her F. G. at her request until Michaelmas immediately thereafter, and then her F. G. has promised to pay such 6000 florins to me again without any damage to me, as Mr. Hans von Minckwitz, Knight, is well aware of. Such 6000 florins I have been deprived of from Michaelmas in the next year until Michaelmas in the 13th. If you count five to a hundred interest, they would have borne the time: are 11 years, every year 300 guilders, that is 3300 guilders. For the 11 years I took money on bills of exchange instead of the 6000 guilders I had borrowed, 21 gr. for each guilder, and had to pay gold or 22 gr. for half a year. That makes a year on 100 ten 5) old shocks, makes on 1000 hun.

3) Erl. Briefw.: *servituti* instead of *servitute*.

4) This calculation shows that 2 Heller - I Pf.; 12 Pf. == 1 Gr.; 21 Gr. == 1 Gulden.

5) So put by us instead of: "ufs IIO alte schock" in Burkhardt and in Erl. Briefw. - The latter has all the errors found in Burkhardt.

The 11 years: 6285 florins 15 gr. Such 6000 florins wanted to pay me their F. G. again in one year without any damage, which nevertheless remained from *Cathedra Petri* in the 1504th year. Has my lord Duke Hans Duke Hans had to give me 300 guilders interest every year at midday, from *Cathedra Petri* in the 4th year to *Cathedra Petri* in the 14th, nine years, every year 300 guilders, to 9 years 2700 guilders interest. So I have also instead of such 6000 guilders, which I paid to Albrechten von Brandenstein, for the preservation of my trade money on usury must take and to half years 300 old shocks must pay, that a whole year 600 old shocks, makes the nine year 5400 old shocks, that in gold 5142 guilders 18 Gr. I have organized all the markets in Leipzig for the 19 years and have not counted anything for my most gracious and gracious lords, there are approximately 57 markets; if I calculate a market at 10 fl., since 1) now none is held, the 19 years amount to 570 2) guilders. Summa of the cash advanced amounts to 12,000 summa; on it damage taken and received amounts to 17,428 guilders 12 gr. 3) Summa of my earned wages still outside and the held markets amounts to 4370 fl.⁴⁾ Summa Summarum 33,798 guilders [12 gr.]. 5) On such before written our dear father's blessed faithful presentation of money, damage and earned wages we Leimbach have to forgive us all demand, also must prescribe and agree to it, as if we had received such a delusion to remind such debt. Although we are far from most gracious and kind lords. Lords, we have left a clear, unambiguous handwriting of our father's blessed handwriting, after his death.

1) Burkhardt: "the"; Erl. Briefw.: "der" [= whose]. The sense seems to us: with it (that is, with such a small sum) one cannot get along now. In the original perhaps: "dar" instead of the one we put: "da".

2) "570" set by us instead of: "530".

3) This sum comes to: Unpaid interest 3300 guilders .
Interest that Leimbach has pay
must (Schadewacht) 6285 " 15 Gr.
Unpaid interest 2700 "
Leimbach damage watch 5142 " 18 "
Summa 17428 " 12 "

It is easy to see that Leimbach's "Schadewacht" in the amount of 11,428 florins 12 gr. was quite an outrageous usury. See our note in the 15th volume of our Allsgabe, Col. 2636.

4) Specificirt: wage for 19 years @ 200 guilders makes 3800 guilders; 57 markets in 19 years @ 10 guilders makes 570 guilders.

5) "33,798 florins 12 gr." set by us instead of: "30,798 florins".

We have to deliver and hand over all the counter-bill and the von Brandenstein bill of debt for 6000 florins, which our father redeemed from his money, plus all the years of their F.G. transmission and order letter, which went out to our father, and everything else, which we have placed in their souls and ask Christ to soften grace and mercy. But above all this we still have outside and are promised by our most gracious and kind lords of Frederick of Thun. Friedrich von Thun, as spokesman of the same time, in the presence of other of their C. and F. G. counsels, that the 2581 florins of advanced money, which our father blessed in the last account of all the sum written before, should also be presented to their F. G., which Degenhart Pfeffinger, chamberlain, and Hans von Dolczk should receive on their F. G. order. The same invoice has been inspected and presented in good time; although our father himself had also done it long before during his life, nothing has happened to us since his invoice was made. Now into the 14th year we have had to pay interest on such money to the hundred with great damage, and still daily, and have had to do without ours until now without any principal and interest, because we do not receive ours. On such debt of 2581 guldens interest has run to damage the 14 years over 1800 guldens. In addition, we still owe 200 guldens to the Dabrun seizure, according to a contract in our father's handwriting, as recorded below, together with the copy of the seizure letter, 7) which we have humbly requested to be paid according to the same contract. But if the contract should be nothing, that we, according to their C. and F. G. fief letter and seal, would be consecrated in the same our before written goods, which 2000 florins our father and we since (are) the contract together with the seizure now also do without from the 99th year on. If our father and we lack such payment, damage, interest for the time, we have to let remain 2400 florins, and in addition we have to miss our benefit, if we did not have ours, and have to live in poverty.

6) Burkhardt: "different".

7) We omit the communication of the "contract" following this document and the "Anfallbrief von Dabrun", since the complaint of the Leimbach brothers communicated here seems sufficient to us for the explanation of the letter. Burkhardt has also not brought the latter.

No. 623.

Nuremberg.

June 14, 1523.

Grand Master Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

A credentials letter for M. Johann Oeden, who is to negotiate with Luther on behalf of the Grand Master. - Instruction for Oeden; he should instruct Luther to conceal what he will bring to him until the grave. Luther was to burn the letter of credence handed over to him as soon as he had read it; if Luther did not want to respond, he was not to disclose anything to him. If Luther agrees, however, he should present the copy of the Book of Orders to him with the request to show in writing how it is to be emended and how a reformation is to be carried out in a Christian manner. Furthermore, to suggest how the bishops, prelates and clergy who would be resident in the Order's territory, but who would not belong to the Order, could be brought into a Christian order. The order was to be brought into a Christian nature. The instruction ends with a beginning "To the fifth".

Handwritten in the Royal State Archives at Königsberg, Ms. 184, II, fol. 16. Printed in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* XI, 1889, p. 279 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 158.

No. 624.

Wittenberg.

June 17, 1523.

To Count George II of Wertheim.

Luther instructed a preacher "sent" to him by the count on how to most successfully practice the Reformation and sent him back. A complaint about the arbitrary procedure of D. Strauß in Eisenach.

The original is in the possession of Geh. Archivrat Friedländer in Berlin. Printed in "Die Musen," edited by de la Motte Fouquö and Neumann, Berlin, 1813, vol. 1, 53; in *De Wette-Seidemann*, vol. VI, p. 43 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 1M.

To the noble and well-born Lord, Lord Georgen, Count of Wertheim 2c., my gracious Lord.

Grace, Peace in Christ. Gracious Lord! I have received E.G.'s preacher together with E.G.'s writing to the best of my ability, and have reported all his questions, as much as God has given me, as he will tell E.G.. I am glad that Christ has consulted E. G. with such a man, and I hope that E. G. will keep him and learn in time that he is a righteous man who will please E. G.. For D. Strauss has his head, and is now doing as well as he can in Eisenach, and lets us say and write. But I have told this preacher, E. G., our way here in Wittenberg, that he should first do the word well, before one

until faith and love are seen to increase among the people; for they would be public and offensive acts against the gospel, even though they must first be punished by the word and the people must be informed. I hope he will keep himself right. God keep E. G., Amen. At Wittenberg on Wednesday after Viti [June 17] 1523.

E. G. Diener

Martinus Luther.

No. 625.

(Wittenberg.)

June 18, 1523.

To three expelled court ladies.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1930.

No. 626.

Wittenberg.

June 18, 1523.

To Jhan von Schleinitz at Jhanshansen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 706.

No. 627.

Wittenberg.

June 20, 1523.

To Joh. Oekolampad in Basel.

Luther praises him for leaving the monastic state and encourages him to continue in the explanation of the Scriptures and not to be misled by the displeasure of Erasmus, of whom he judges that he has rendered service to the cause of the Gospel but cannot find Christian truth.

Reprinted from the original in *Hottinger, hist. ecel. Novi Testamenti saeculi XVI*, p. II, *tigur.* 1665, pas. 757; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 88; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 352 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 163. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1364.

To John Oecolampad, the learned and godly man,
Christ's disciple and faithful servant, his brother in
the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! First I want to ask you, best Oecolampad, that you do not attribute this to my ingratitude or laziness, that I have written nothing to you so far. For after you shook off Brigitta, 1) I have not received a letter from you.

1) Oecolampad had entered the Order of St. Brigitte as a preacher from Augsburg on April 23, 1520, in the Altenmünster monastery near Augsburg, had left the monastery again at the end of February 1522, was then chaplain at the Ebernburg near Sickingen from April on, and since Nov. 1522 in Basel.

received. At the same time, since Christ has strengthened your heart with the power of such a great spirit, I thought that by overcoming the superstition of conscience and freeing yourself from this yoke of Satan, you had become too great for me to hope for a letter from you, or for you to be strengthened by a letter from us. ¹⁾ Surely we have perceived this thy spirit and glorious deed with great favor. And Philip also does not cease to make thee greater to me daily, since he delights with peculiar joy in thy remembrance. May the Lord also strengthen your intention to read about Isaiah, although it has been written to me that Erasmus dislikes it. But this displeasure may by no means weigh you down. What Erasmus holds in his judgment about spiritual things, or even only pretends to, is abundantly attested by his books, both the first and the last. I feel his thorns everywhere, but because he poses as if he were publicly not ²⁾ my enemy, I also pose as if I do not understand his pitfalls, although he is understood more thoroughly than he himself believes. He has done what he was ordained to do: he has introduced the languages, and turned away from godly studies. Perhaps he will also die with Moses in the regions of Moab [Deut. 34, 5], because he does not get to better studies (concerning godliness). ³⁾ I would very much like him to refrain from treating the holy Scriptures and from his paraphrases, because he is not up to these tasks and occupies the readers in vain and delays them in learning the Scriptures. He has done enough that he has shown the evil; but to show the good (as I see) and to lead into the land of promise, that he cannot do. But what do I say so much of Erasmus? Only that you should not be moved by his name and reputation, and even rejoice when you find that something is wrong with him in this matter concerning the Scriptures, since he has spoken about

The same either can not judge correctly or does not want, as almost the whole world begins to think of him.

I have not yet seen your translations of Chrysostom. You will kindly suffer these many words of mine. I know that you do not need this comfort. Christ, who dwells in you and works through you, will not leave you. But you pray for me, for I am occupied with so many outward affairs that there is danger that I, who began in the spirit, will finish in the flesh.

The nuns and monks who have left steal many hours from me so that I may serve the needs of all, not to mention the great mixed multitude who in many ways claim me as their debtor. Farewell, dear Oekolampad, and the grace of Christ be with you. Greetings to all of us. Wittenberg, 1523, June twentieth.

No. 628.

Wittenberg.

June 24, 1523.

To Spalatin in Lochau.

Luther sends Franz Lambert's letter in which he informs Spalatin of his engagement. He reports the departure of sixteen nuns from the monastery of Widderstetten in Mansfeld.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 147 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 170. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 139; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 353 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 168 and (without the conclusion) in *Spalatin ap. Menck*, vol. II, p. 626. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 850.

To the godly and holy man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his [friend] in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Behold a new monstrosity in this letter,⁴⁾ my dear Spalatin. I beg you, what else will finally happen that you could be surprised about? unless you too become an unheard-of bridegroom. God makes His counsels and works so marvelous that I, who formerly seemed to be an expert in the things of God, was compelled to

⁴⁾ Franz Lambert had become engaged to Christine, the daughter of a Herzberg baker, who served as a maid in the house of the professor of medicine Augustin Schürf, and reported this to Spalatin in the letter that Luther sent along.

1) Erl. Briefw.: *firmaveris* instead of *firmareris*.

2) This "not" is missing in Walch.

3) This letter also came into the hands of Erasmus and he complains about it very much 'in a letter to Zwingli of Aug. 31, 1523 and in another to Johann Faber in Constance of Nov. 21.

But let it be done, let his holy and blessed will be done, amen. Sixteen nuns have left the monastery of Widerstetten under the Counts of Mansfeld, eleven of whom have come to the castle in Allstädt 1), from where Count Albrecht has accepted five. There are now negotiations among them as to whether they should be kept or expelled; however, the end is not yet there. This year has been very fruitful in new things, and will continue to be so, as I see. Farewell and pray for me, at the same time be on your guard. We have agreed that we want to drive the prince and his court out of Schweinitz as well as Lochau on a pleasure trip in the near future. Wittenberg, St. John's Day [June 24] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 629.

(Lochau.)

July 10, 1523.

Spalatin to Luther.
Response to Letter No 622.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, p. 137, VII, 40. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 61 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 173.

God's grace and peace before. Venerable Father of God, dear Doctor! The Leimbach Directory, which you sent me in the past few days, I have humbly sent to my most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony, and would have liked to give you an answer to it again much sooner, as my most gracious Lord was also inclined to do before. So far, all sorts of things have happened that have prevented his C. G. have been prevented from doing so. But now his C. G. have ordered me to write to you that his C. G. have no small complaint that the Leimbach are subject to be heard against you and perhaps others as well, as to how their list, which they handed over to you, sounds, and especially that, as the Leimbach should have had to pardon themselves of all demands, they must also prescribe and grant that which they have given to his C. G. brothers and his C. G. brothers. G. brothers and his C. G. in their souls and ask Christ to soften grace and mercy, might perhaps be interpreted as if the Leimbach had been pushed by their C. and F. G. to inequity. Now his C. G. to God of the

1) House Zeis.

We hope that the Leimbach will never prove this to be true. However, so that you may have knowledge of the prescription, his C. G. have ordered me to send you a true copy of the same prescription, as I do herewith, in which you will clearly find, among others, that their C. and F. G. never dealt with the Leimbach personally, but that such an act was done by six of their C. and F. G. councillors, four of whom are still alive. However, in order for the truth to come to light in this deal, which their C. and F. G. want to have imposed upon them, their C. and F. G. are inclined, at the request of the Leimbach, to confess the councillors and Leimbach. If the Leimbach then know with truth that they were forced by the councillors to such an unfair prescription, their C. and F. G. want to show themselves against them in such a way that, whether God wills it, it shall be found that their C. and F. G. are not in the mood to let someone complain about the fairness, which you may therefore indicate to the Leimbach. I do not want you to know this for a longer period of time, and hereby entrust you to divine mercy. Date Friday after Kiliani [July 10, 1523.

No. 630.

(Wittenberg.)

(Shortly before July 11, 1523.)

To the imperial governors and estates of the imperial regiment at Nuremberg. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XV, 2208, No. 733.

No. 631.

(Wittenberg.)

July 11. 1523.

To the canons of Wittenberg.
See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1178.

No. 632.

(Wittenberg.)

July 11, 1523.

To Spalatin.
See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2598, annex, no. 102.

No. 633.

Wittenberg.

July 26, 1523.

To Jakob Montanus in Herford.

Luther apologizes because of his few letters, confirms Montanus' opinion that it is not necessary to list individual sins in confession, and reports the death of two martyrs in Brussels.

The original, pasted on the cover of a Lutheran Bible, is in the possession of D. Häberlin in Frankfurt a. M. Printed in De Wette, vol. II, p. 357 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 179.

To the worthy man, Mr. Jakob von Speier, 1) his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace! It is true, dearest Jacob, that I, who only one, am very busy through Christ's grace, which ans that you and all friends must be prepared that I either e nothing or very rarely and very briefly. But what you te in your last letter about confession I consider quite ain, namely that it is free to omit the statement of vidual sins altogether, and that it is enough to ask for the solation of the Gospel and the forgiveness of sins in a eral confession of sins. With regard to all other matters, bearer of the present letter will tell you how it is held with From Flanders we have received the good news that two ur brethren have been burned to a spectacle in the public are in Brussels for the sake of the Word of God; thanks to God through Christ. Farewell and pray for me, a ing sinner. Wittenberg, Sunday after Jacobi [July 26] 3.

Martin Luther.

No. 634.

Wittenberg. (End of July or beginning of August 1523.) To

Johann Crotus.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 258.

No. 635.

Wittenberg.

(July 29 or 30, 1523.) 2)

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends a resigned monk to a pastorate; reports the executions in the Netherlands and the death of Johann Feldkirch, and sends 30 florins that have been given to him for restitution to the Elector.

1) Jakob Montanus from Gernsbach in Baden, diocese of Speier (hence *Spirensis*), was a teacher in the Bruderhaus at Herford; a zealous supporter of the Reformation.

2) This approximate date is derived from the news of the death of the canon Johann Dolsch of Feldkirch, who died on July 29.

The original is in *Cod. Gothan.* 122, fol. 22. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 148; in De. Wette, vol. II, p. 360 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 184. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 852.

His [friend] in the Lord, Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, the exceedingly faithful evangelist at court.

Grace and peace! This Moritz,³⁾ who has become a renegade to Sodom in Altenburg, I recommend to you, best Spalatin, that you, if you can help him to obtain the parish in Schönewalde, near Herzberg, do this in the love of Christ, so that he may be given comfort in his lack. I believe that the man will be quite suitable for this. By the way, on the first of July, two of our Augustinian brothers from the number of prisoners in Antwerp were burned and died steadfastly in Christ; the most hasty of them is called Johann Neffe, 4) not yet thirty years old. On the fourth day after that a third brother, Lambert, was burned, our Jacob Probst's successor in word. This thing happened in Brussels on the public market. Thanks be to Christ, who has finally begun to show some fruit of our, rather of his word, and to create new martyrs, perhaps the first, in this region. Jacob himself, called by the Count of Emden, 5) left for Friesland; God grant that he may create fruit in many baptizing ones, amen.

D. Johanit Feldkirchen has died, I do not know of what manner of death; I fear that the judgment of God will begin to haunt this BethAven,⁶⁾ which so stubbornly despises the word. More than thirty florins have been handed over to me, which are to be given to the prince as a restitution. Someone had stolen them from the prince during a business transaction, and now, urged by his conscience, he is giving them back through me, under the seal of confession. I do not know the person, but I could not refuse him the service. I wanted to give it to the

3) Moritz Pfleumer. See No. 550.

4) According to others: "Esch" or "von Essen".

5) Edzard I, Count of East Frisia, died Feb. 14, 1528.

6) namely by the successive deaths of the canons within a short time. Compare No. 585 and

Lucas that he should bring them there, but he is not going to the prince now, and even you do not show me through whom they would like to be handed over safely and secretly. For it is burdensome for me to have the foreign gold with me. But, I beg you, tell this secretly to your princes, and no one shall know it but the prince and you and I, so that I keep my promises. For I have decided, and even he has advised, and it has pleased him, that in this way the matter should be settled through you. Farewell. Wittenberg, and tear up the letter.

Martin Luther.

No. 636.

Wittenberg.

About the end of July 1523.

To the reader.

Preface to Franz Lambert's writing on the Rule of the Barefoot. - St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 260.

No. 637.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early August 1523.)

To the Christians of Holland, Brabant and Flanders.

Luther testifies to his joy over the steadfast death of the two martyrs and exhorts the Christians there to be of good courage. - The first addition brings the story of the burning of the martyrs, the second the articles for which they were burned.

The original of the letter is in *Cod. Chart. 122 Bibl. Goth.* Printed in several individual editions under the title: "Ein Brief an die Christen im Niederland. M. Luther", partly with the date 1523, partly without it. The letter alone (without additions) is printed by De Wette, vol. II, p. 362 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 180. In Latin translation by *Obsopoeus* in his *farrago*, no. 4; by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 148 b and in the Latin Wittenberg edition, tom. VII, fol. 484 b. With the second addition in a single edition under the title: "Die artickel warum die zwen Christliche Augustiner münch zu Brüssel verprandt sind, sampt eynem sendbrief. D. Mar. Lut. to the Christians in Holland and Brabant. Uitemberg 1523." 4 leaves. Printer Nic. Schirlentz. Reprinted from it in the Wittenberg ed. (1553), vol. VI, p. 397; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 252; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 353 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 482. The second addition alone, in the Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 197. - The first addition appeared in a single edition under the title: "Der Actus vnd Handlung der Degradation vnd Verbrennung der Christlichenn dreyen Ritter vnd Merterer, Augustiner ordens geschehen tzu Brussel. Anno M.D.xxiiij. Prima Julij." 2 leaves in 4, without place

angabe. (Wittenberg by Lotther.) Reprinted in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 147; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 352 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 481. The Erl. Briefw. brings vol. IV, p. 186 a large excerpt from it. Complete together with the second addition and Luther's epistle in Walch, vol. XXI, 40 ff. We give the first addition according to Walch, the second according to the Wittenberg edition, and Luther's epistle according to De Wette, using the variants given in Erl. Briefw. given variants.

a. Actus or act of degradation and burning of the three martyrs, Augustinian Order, at Brussels.

Of the monks of the Augustinian order who were expelled from Antorf, three were imprisoned in many places for the sake of Christian truth; they were accused of some articles which they were to revoke, but none of them agreed to do so. Now other monks and clergy have traded so much with the rulers through money, also giving the pope that a mandate has come from Rome, in which the pope has condemned all those who hold this opinion and doctrine of the Gospel to be burned. At this point, those at the court of Brussels had the monks brought to justice, and held up to them several articles that they should recant. Among these, the two that moved them the most were that the pope had no power to forgive, bind or absolve one's sin, but God alone, for the pope was a more sinful man than other men; and otherwise they were to revoke all the other evangelical articles. Then they stood firm and said: No; they did not want to deny God's word, but would much rather die for the sake of the Christian faith. Then they were told that they had to burn. They were quite willing and said that they were glad that God had given them the grace to die for the sake of the Christian faith.

There was [one] among these three who asked for four days to consider whether to recant or not, and he was led back to prison. The two, however, took them and put on all their clothes as if they had taken mass, and erected an altar there; bishops and other ecclesiastical prelates were present, took away the consecration of the two monks, and put on other clothes for them, a yellow skirt for the youngest, and a black skirt for the other, and then handed them over to the court in Brussels. They took them and gave them to the executioner on ropes. Then four confessors went with them, when the heretic

The following monks were present: the Master of Cologne, the Order of Preachers,¹⁾ and a friar from Brussels, and two other monks. These four went beside them, persuaded them much that they should recant. But they praised God for giving them the grace to die for the sake of His word. Apost. 5, 41.

Now when they were come to the fire, and the four confessors were gathered together, the two said, Weep not for them, but for their sins, Luc. 23:28; and said, Weep for the great wrong, when ye thus pursue divine righteousness; and therewith they entered into the fire quite cheerfully with laughing mouths. When their skirts were taken off, one of them almost comforted the other, and they went into the fire with each other. Then the confessors asked them one more question: whether they still did not want to believe in the Christian faith? They said: We believe in God, even in a Christian church, but we do not believe in your church. So they stood in the wood for half an hour until it was lit. Meanwhile they kept saying that they wanted to die in the name of Christ. Then the confessors shouted at them that they should convert or they would lead to the devil and die in the devil's name. The two answered that they wanted to die as devout Christians for the sake of the evangelical truth. Then they lit the fire. They did not cry out in any other way than: *O Domino Jesu, fili David, miseree nostri*, O Jesu, thou son of David, have mercy on us! And the ropes around their bodies were burned rather than they were suffocated. One of them fell on his knees in the fire, clasped his hands together, and cried out, "O Lord Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on us. After that, both of them passed away and were burned to powder.

This act lasted for four hours. After that, on the third day, the third monk, who had taken a care of him, was also burned and treated like the others. He was almost a learned man, who also preached a long sermon at the woodpile, and then went to the torture. And when they lit the fire, he still preached until the fire and flames burst out over him, and so he also passed away blessed in God. 2)

b. The articles why the two Christian Augustinian monks found burned in Brussels.

Namely, the Christian men in question were asked by Hochstras and several other heretics (who are called masters of other heretics because of their unchristian wickedness) and answered by them, as follows:

Question: What do they believe? - Answer: The twelve pieces of the Christian faith, the biblical books and evangelical scriptures, also a holy Christian church, but not the church they, the questioners, believe.

The other question: Do they also believe the laws of the Conciliar and Ancient Fathers? - Answer: As many of them as are in accordance with the divine Scriptures and are not repugnant, they believe.

The third question: Do they also believe that those who sin mortally or damnably 3) transgress the law of the pope and the fathers? - Answer: They believe that divine commandments and prohibitions, and not human laws, make blessed and condemn.

Verdict: From this, the said questioners, who for the sake of their wickedness cannot stand the evangelical divine doctrine, have recognized the above-mentioned two pious Christian men as heretics and handed them over to the secular power (as Christ did to the Gentiles through the Jews) for death, who have been unjustly condemned to the fire.

Although it is right and proper, especially in Brussels, that each person's death sentence be read publicly, this was not done in this case out of shame and great injustice, but the same articles were thoroughly experienced by those who were in Brussels at the time, but by other persons.

Item, when the High Stras put off the condemned, where they recanted the above-mentioned Christian truth, he had power or authority to let them go, one answered him: These are the words of Pilate, and you would have no power over me if he had not given it to you from above; and both said publicly: they thanked God that they should die for the sake of his word. And suffered such innocent torture and death not only willingly, eagerly, cheerfully, and continually, but

1) Hoogstraten.

2) It is erroneous what Walch I. 6. says, namely that this "Actus" is found in Aurifaber, Vol. II, p. 142. There, but not connected with the missive, are two letters of an eyewitness from Brussels, from the 10. and

July 14, 1523, which also report on this event. Neither are the "articles" (the following writing) in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 145 (as Walch says), but 62 articles on which Heinrich Voes insisted.

3) Thus the Jena edition; Wittenberger: "verthumlich fünden".

In addition, they gave, admonished and taught many Christian good answers, also praised God with the singing of the holy Psalms and otherwise, and devoutly called upon Christ our Lord, as a son of David, for mercy and grace, because they were able to speak before the adversity of the fire, For which Christian constancy all pious Christians rightly give praise and thanks to God Almighty (who bestows such great grace on these and all other of His holy martyrs), and, if divine honor and Christian necessity require it, also desire that they 1) exist, amen.

c. Luther's epistle to the Christians of Holland rc.

Martinus Luther, E. W. 2)

To all dear brothers in Christ who are in Holland, Brabant and Flanders, together with all believers in Christ, grace and peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Praise and thanks be to the Father of all mercy, who at this time again lets us see his wonderful light, which until now has been hidden because of our sin, has made us subject to the terrible power of darkness, and thus shamefully stray, and serve the Antichrist. But now the time has come for us to hear the voice of the turtledove, and for the flowers to spring up in our land. [Of which joy, my beloved, you are not the only ones, but have become the most distinguished, in whom we have experienced such joy and delight. For it is given unto you before all the world, not only to hear the gospel, and to know Christ, but also to be the first to suffer shame and harm, anguish and distress, imprisonment and peril, for Christ's sake, and now have become so full of fruit and strength, that ye have also shed and confirmed it with your own blood; seeing that with you the two noble jewels of Christ, Hinricus and John, have in Brussels made light of their lives, that Christ might be glorified with his word. Oh how contemptuously the two souls were executed, but how gloriously and in

With eternal joy they shall return with Christ, and shall rightly judge those by whom they are now unjustly judged. Oh how small a thing it is to be ravished and killed by the world, to those who miss that their blood is precious [Ps. 9:13, 72:14] and their death is precious in the sight of God, as the Psalms sing [116:15]. What is the world against God? What pleasure and joy have all the angels seen in these two souls! How gladly the fire will have helped to their eternal life from this sinful life, from this ignominy to eternal glory! God be praised and blessed for eternity that we have experienced to see and hear true saints and true martyrs, whom we have so far raised and worshipped so many false saints. We here above 3) have not yet been worthy to become such a precious sacrifice to Christ; although many of our members have not been without persecution, and still are. Therefore, my beloved, be of good cheer in Christ, and let us give thanks to his great signs and wonders, which he has begun to do among us. He has given us fresh new examples of his life. Now it is time for the kingdom of God to stand not in words but in power. Here is what is said: "Be glad in tribulation" [Rom. 12:12]. "It is a little while (saith Isaías Cap. 54, 7.) that I will leave thee; but with everlasting mercy will I receive thee." And the 91st Psalm, v. 14, 15: "I am (saith God) with him in tribulation; I will save him, and will set him in honor, because he hath known my name." Seeing then the present tribulation, and having such a strong, comforting promise, let us renew our hearts, be of good cheer, and with joy let us slay unto the Lord. He has said it, he will not lie: Even the hairs of your head are all numbered [Matt. 10:30.]. And though the adversaries shall cry out these saints Hussite, Wicleffian, and Lutheran, and boast of their murder, let us not marvel, but strengthen ourselves the more; for Christ's cross must have blasphemers. But our judge is not far off, he will pass another sentence; we know that and are sure of it.

1) Thus the Jena edition; Wittenberger: "jn auch zu bekennen".

2) E. W. == *Ecclesiastes Wittenbergensis*.

3) "up here" as opposed to the Netherlands.

Pray for us, dear brethren, and for one another, that we may reach out a faithful hand one to another, holding all in one Spirit to our Head, JESUS CHRIST, who strengthens you with grace and prepares you for the glory of His holy name, to whom be glory, praise, and thanksgiving, with you and all creatures forever and ever, Amen.

No. 638.

(Wittenberg.) (August) 1523.

To the Christians in Liefland.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1760.

No. 639.

Wittenberg. (August) 1523.

To Johann Löser.

See St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1026.

No. 640.

(Wittenberg.) 3. August 1523.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2636, annex, no. 125.

No. 641.

Colditz. August 7, 1523.

Elector Frederick of Saxony to Luther.

Credentials for Schürf, Schwertfeger, and Melanchthon on an advertisement from the Elector to Luther.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O. Lit.* LL, fol. 97. Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. I, 622, note 2 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 202.

We have currently commanded our advisors and dear faithful, Hieronymus Schurpf, Johann Schwertfeger, both doctors, and Philippus Melanchthon, to convey our opinion to you in an advertising manner, as you will hear from them. Accordingly, it is our gracious request that you listen to those who have received our order and give them full credence in it this time, and also show yourselves to be good-willed in it and in such a way as we provide for you. In this you do us favor, which we are also inclined to recognize with grace. Dat. Colditz, Friday after Sixti [August 7, anno Domini M. D. XXIII Friedrich.

No. 642.

(Colditz.) (August 7, 1523.)

Instruction of the Elector Friedrich for Hier. Schürf, Joh. Schwertfeger and Melanchthon for an action with Luther.

(Regest.)

The aforementioned shall request Luther to refrain from his preaching against the chapter, and admonish him to comply with his previous approval of the imperial mandate and his promise (No. 630) not to do anything further until the future concilium.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Lit.* LL, fol. 97. Reprinted (but incorrectly) in the Öorx. Rsk., vol. I, 621. improvements of Burkhardt, p. 63, note; with these improvements in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 202. - Schürf reported Luther's reply August 13.

No. 643.

(Wittenberg.) (Before August 10, 1523.)

To Justus Jonas.

Luther asks Jonas, now that he has turned to theology and married, to respond appropriately to Johann Faber's writing, insofar as it deals with the marriageless state.

First printed in the manuscript: *Adversus Iohannem Fabrum Constantien. Vicarium, scortationis patronum, pro conjugio sacerdotali, lusti lonae defensio. Wittembergae. 1523.* 34 leaves in quarto. At the end: *Wittembergae, Anno a nativitate Domni [sic] M.D.XXIII.* Luther's letter is on leaf H 4b. Printed by Nickel Schirlentz in Wittenberg. Then several reprints appeared, in Strasbourg (?), in Zurich and in Hagenau. In the collections: in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 129; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 365; in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 204 and in the Weimar edition, vol. XII, p. 85. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 833. We have translated according to the Weimar edition.

Martin Luther to Justus Jonas, provost at Wittenberg, the new husband. ¹⁾

Mercy and peace! I leave to you, Justus Jonas, this wretched *compiler* and accuser of holy matrimony, Johann Faber, Vicar of Constance, so that you too may carry out the preludes of your theology against him, and pierce with arrows this Hector, whom I have long since struck down. For there is no need of a refuter here, since the writer is publicly blasphemous. But see to it that it

1) Jonas had married Catharina Falk in February 1522. (Weim. Ausg.)

You should be warm in your assertion of holy matrimony, since he is so miserably cold and downright insolent in his assertion of the extremely wretched, unholy celibate state. He has reasons why he is cold, namely because the godless man bases himself on human inventions against the word and the work of God. But if you are not completely inflamed by the very great fire that ignites the mountains [Ps. 83:15], I will certainly wish that your wife loves you too little, so that you know how great a danger this game is for you. Therefore play, and play earnestly, for your wife is also watching: you will have seen how high it behooves you to hold her judgment in the first year of marriage; unless you do not feel this fire either.

That I myself do not answer, however, is first of all due to the fact that he does not contribute anything that I have not previously refuted, overcome and triumphantly eliminated in more than one book. For the whole of Faber is nothing but fathers, fathers, fathers, concilia, concilia, concilio, which fairy tale has long been shouted to me deaf people even by our Leipzig bad theologians (*theologistis*), rather donkeys. Secondly, because he does not seem to have wanted to defend the pope and the papists, or to attack Luther, but to show that he has seen many books; this fame I do not envy at all to such a restless busy idler. For I have never dealt with the matter against the followers of Rome (*Romanistas*), whether books have been seen or not (for my dog also sees many books daily), but of the fact that the holy Scriptures are neither well read nor rightly understood [by them]. Since he does not even touch this matter in the whole of such a large book (so much is lacking in it that he deals with it), what should I answer? It has been the common and constant nonsense of all the papists who have written against me, that all write against Luther, but none writes against Luther's cause.

But I also want to help this restless busy little idler (since a

The great part of them seek the immortality of their name in Luther alone), and glorify his name with my pen. Namely, in my opinion, this Faber would be very useful to the Magistris nostris (*nostralisibus*) of Cologne, who, if they wanted to bring together something new (copulatum) 1), could use this Faber. Surely, in this small matter, such a man would gain a not insignificant fame, then those people would not have done badly either, namely with such an industrious assembler. I do not see, if this talent does not come to this use, in what way he could be granted his so ardent desire for immortal fame, since he understands nothing and easily gathers everything. But, joking aside, I do not wonder that Faber nor any other of the papist warriors should engage in such ludicrous antics; I wonder about the Satan who rules in them, what this powerful, wise, exceedingly clever and mischievous spirit may think, that through these his tools he does nothing but inconsistent and ridiculous things, whereas hitherto he did not seem to act in such a nonsensical way: unless he intends this abomination against me, that, seeing that the matter has become a serious one, and that he cannot resist the words of God in us, he begins to detain us with nonsensical and foolish chatter and to steal the time, and, since better things are hindered, to overcome us by weariness. He is certainly a mischievous man, but even so he will not accomplish anything; he will not sleep nor slumber who guards Israel [Ps. 121:4]; his hope will deceive him. For I will despise these patrists, conciliators and copulatists and let them pass by, like Cato his wanton brawlers. But I will leave them to you married theologians who have leisure, so that you also have something with which you can make an attempt without danger to yourselves. For you will fight in my victories and defeat my vanquished, so that they too cannot complain that they have been defeated in vain.

1) The Cologne prints of the Logic of Petrus Hispanus were titled *Copulata omnium tractatuum Petri Hispani*.

on the battlefield. I therefore give it to these patrists and copulalists without envy that they become immortal with me, as Judas with Christ and Korah with Moses. But I also send Faber especially to Zurich to Huldreich Zwingli, who will complete his martial arts there; 1) I expect other opponents. Farewell, my dear Jonas, and pray for me, also for this Faber. Amen.

No. 644.

Leisnig.

August 11, 1523.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony, in Colditz.

Luther asks to confirm the Leisnig caste order.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. N, lit. H, fol. 108, no. 4. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement p. 33; in Walch, vol. XXI, 48 and in the Erl. Ausg., vol. 53, p. 194.

To the most illustrious and highborn Prince and Lord,
Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c.,
Margrave of Meissen and Landgrave in Thuringia,
my most gracious Lord.

Grace and Peace in Christ. Sincerely, Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Prince, most gracious Lord! I have now been to Leisnig, because of the disagreement over their common chest, and there I learned how the matter stands everywhere, and namely that all pieces and articles are bad except for the fact that the estates, which until now were ecclesiastical, and many of which have served for ungodly endowments and abuses, have not yet been handed over, and some of the council refer to E. C. F. G.'s conclusion, and have refused the same.

1) Faber had attended Zwingli's disputation (the so-called first Zurich disputation) in Zurich on January 29, 1523, as an episcopal deputy, but had been drawn into the disputation against his intention and had come off badly. On March 10, he countered Hegenwald's report on the course of the religious discussion, which had originated in Zurich, with his account of the negotiations. Then, however, on July 14, Zwingli's detailed "Interpretation and Reasoning of the Final Speeches or Articles," which carefully considered Faber's rebuttals, went out, followed by further polemics by Zwingli against Faber. (Weim. ed.)

want to wait. Now the procession is dangerous in that Satan, through evil tongues, makes the matter bitter and worse on both sides, because it thus hangs, and in the end may tear an evil compartment in the mob, which is quite a fickle animal, where it is not composed, and becomes certain where it should stand. For this reason, my humble request to E. C. F. G. is that E. C. F. G. should finish the conclusion, so that not only the present shame, which is already driving evil mouths and hearts toward the gospel, but also the future joy of the adversaries, who wait without ceasing, may be increased, so that they may sing and say: *Euge, euge! viderunt oculi nostri* [Ps. 35, 21], which David and many prophets also so earnestly ask God to prevent, and which we also owe to ask to come forward through E. C. F. G. (because it is placed on them); for the reproach of the Gospel is the reproach of God, which should move us justly. Thus a child knows well that such goods, which through apostasy of unchristian foundation do not belong to your council, are to be kept by your own authority, but are to be turned again to Christian custom, or where the authorities decree them to be. I am moved by the fact that I see, and have now found in the flesh, the councilors so embittered that they would rather suffer, and also want and want to help, to bring all un-Christian customs and foundations, which have already been done away with, into the former state and pregnancy, contrary to the Gospel, for which God's grace gives E. C. F. G. to be diligent, hoping also that Christ should let them do so, but still not complete it. This is also my reason for asking C.C.F.G. that, if the goods are not handed over, the box must soon pass away, for there is nothing there, and not so much, so that the people may be preserved, as the order says. Therefore, for the sake of God's honor, E. C. F. G. wants to finish the matter in the most beneficial way, not to give the enemies of the word room to rejoice, and the poor to mourn. May God's mercy teach and govern E. C. F. G.'s courage and mind, Amen. Leisnig, Tuesday after Laurentii [Aug. 11] 1523.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 645.

Wittenberg.

August 13, 1523.

Hieronymus Schürf, Joh. Schwertfeger and
Melanchthon to Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Report on Luther's response to the Elector's advertisement to
Luther (No. 642).

The original is in the Weimar archives. *Reg. O, lit. LL*, fol. 97.
Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. I, 622 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 207,
with omission of the entry.

To the most illustrious... Lord Frederick, Duke of
Saxony . . . Elector 2c.

Most Serene, Highborn Elector! Our submissive,
obedient and obliging service are E. Chf. G. always
with diligence ahead. Most gracious Lord! On the
summons, which happened to Doctor Martin Luther
by E. Chf. G.'s order and gracious instruction, he gave
us the following answer:

He has previously admonished the chapter twice in
writing, and then verbally in the pulpit, to desist from
their nature, so that they would have remained in it for
so long his preaching and writing and, as it were,
remained in defiance. Now [the] imperial mandate
allows nothing else. Now, [the] imperial mandate
does not allow anything else than to preach the
gospel purely and to prevent innovations (which he
understands, as far as they are not contrary to the
gospel). However, if it were understood otherwise, he
would not follow it or comply with it. Because the
chapter and [the] collegiate church's masses were
against the gospel, he did not want to stop preaching
against it, as before, and to pray diligently to God, but
at the same time to admonish the people so that no
one would lay a hand on them or have cause for
violence, strife or rebellion, which he wanted to occur
faithfully. For it was not his opinion that one should do
something with one's hand. So it was also not his
place to banish. But he did not want to refrain from
the gospel, and to continue as preached before.

We do not want to let this go unreported to E. Chf.
G., to whom we acknowledge that we owe all
obedience to serve. Date Wittenberg, Thursday after
Laurentii [Aug. 13] *anno dom.* M. D. in the third and
twentieth.

E. Chf. G.

unterthane and obedient Jeronymus
Schurpff, Johannes Schwertfeger,
Doctores, and Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 646.

Wittenberg.

August 14, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Request for travel money for Franz Lambert, who wants to go
to Zurich.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv.
Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 150 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 172.
Printed in *Aurifaber*, vol. II, p. 1526; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 387
and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 208. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI,
856.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant and
evangelist at court, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Francis Lambert has decided to
leave our country for Zurich, because he will be better
nourished there and will accomplish greater things,
because of the neighborhood of France, since he
believes that there is a great number of those who teach
there. You will therefore do well to be an intercessor for
the poor man with the prince, so that he receives a gift
for his journey, for he has also fallen into debt. Therefore,
he needs a very charitable hand, especially since this is
perhaps the last gift, and will recommend the name of
the prince more to these foreigners in France. Fare well
and pray for me. Wittenberg, August 14, 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 647.

(Wittenberg.)

August 15, 1523.

To Georg Romer 1) in Mansfeld.

Intercession for Philipp Gluenspies to help him obtain a
certain inheritance.

From the Wernsdorf collection in Wittenberg in *Schütze*, vol.
II, p. 386; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 387 and in the *Erlangen* edition,
vol. 53, p. 197.

To the careful Georgen Romer, my special favorable
friend.

Grace and peace in Christ! Dear Jörg Romer,
Philipp's Gluenspies has inspired me to write to you on
his behalf, namely, for the sake of your father's will, to tell
him that you wanted to allow him to follow it completely,
as the others have all already done.

1) In the *Album* p. 82 this name is written "Romans".

I have granted him a pardon, considering that the piety at masses and vigils is quite dangerous and harmful, as I hope you also know to a good extent. Although I did not think it necessary to make such an intercession to you, since I know that you are otherwise favorable enough to him, I do not know how to refuse him. And kindly ask that you also give your full word, so that the good journeyman may otherwise find other honest nourishment. Hereby commanded by God. On the day of the *Assumption of Mary* [15 Aug.] 1523.

Mart. Lutherus.

No. 648.

Wittenberg.

August 19, 1523.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Luther asks that the Leisnig caste order be confirmed. Intercession for Sebastian von Kötteritz.

The original is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N, lit. H*, fol. 108, No. 4. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 33; in Walch, vol. XXI, 50; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 381 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 196. In the latter two with the wrong date: "August 12".

To the most illustrious and highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., Margrave of Meissen and Landgrave in Thuringia, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in Chr. Durchl., hochgeb. Prince, most gracious Sir! I have written to E. C. F. G. about the common caste in Leisnig, that E. C. F. G. wants to do something for it. I have written to the C. F. G. in Leisnig for the sake of the common church, that the C. F. G. wants to do something for it, because even if someone among them has a wrong opinion, the order is still Christian, and regardless of who is pious or evil, I only want to see to it that idolatry starts again, and that the gospel falls and becomes a mockery; since there is no pay, so that there are no preachers, priests and other offices, and the poor must also lack them. In this regard I humbly request that E. C. F. G. give beneficial advice and help. Whatever happens, let the Gospel remain and not become such a shameful mockery, for which E. C. F. G. can well be, and is obliged to do.

I should also ask for Bastian von Kötteritz, as the E. C. F. G. might well ask for help and mercy from now on for himself and his children,

that he would like to get an office with E. C. F. G. or with another gentleman with favor and foliage from E. C. F. G.; because if he had been too quick in the past, I think he should now have run out of money. So I don't know how I am to take a stand on this. E. C. F. G. may, without my intercession, as I have no doubts, consider his condition and let him find a gracious prince. Herewith I command E. C. F. G. in God's mercy, Amen. At Wittenberg, on Wednesday after *Assumptionis Mariae* [Aug. 19] 1523.

E. C. F. G.
subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 649.

Wittenberg.

August 19, 1523.

To the provost, the canons and the chapter of Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1184.

No. 650.

Wittenberg.

August 19, 1523.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther apologizes for forgetting a matter in which Hausmann asked him for advice, and asks him to communicate the same matter in detail again.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 10. Handwritten in Zerbst in the Franciscanum, Ms. 26, fol. 10 b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 155; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 391 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 214. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 857.

To the valuable and extremely dear brother, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, pastor and right bishop of the Church of Christ at Zwickau, his [friend] in the Lord. Mercy and peace! It is certain, my dear Nicolaus, that Mr. Caspars has asked me for what you desire; but since the matter was postponed until the famulus 2) would get well and I would be asked for it again, I have traveled somewhere in the meantime, and since I have not been able to get to him, I have been able to get to him.

1) Caspar Zeuner, then pastor at Trebsen near Grimma.

2) Probably Wolfgang Sieberger (Erl. Briefw.), not Lonicer (De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 676 8. V. *Lonicerus*).

When I returned to Hanse, I found that those had gone away. Then, since I am already overwhelmed with letter-writing alone and plagued with so much business, I have lost the memory of what the pieces were in which you asked me for advice, and remember nothing, except that I know that it was about the establishment and order of the church service; and I am very sorry for that. But I cannot help it; how can one person carry everything, or keep so many and so great things in his memory? Therefore, forgive me. My memory is to blame, because the amount of business does not excuse me. Therefore, please show me the whole thing again completely, and you will find me as your servant, and be well in the Lord forever. Wittenberg, Wednesday after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary [Aug. 19, 1523] Martin Luther.

No. 651.

Wittenberg.

August 24, 1523.

To the Christians of Worms.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1758.

No. 652.

Wittenberg.

August 26, 1523.

To the Regensburg City Council.

Luther exhorts the city council to take up the gospel against the papists and to stop your superstition with the "beautiful Mary".

From Gemeiners Kirchenreformationsgeschichte, p. 18, in De Wette, vol. II, p. 395 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 201.

Grace and peace in Christ, amen. Honorable, wise, dear sirs! It is desired of me by good yours and my friend to do a writing to your wisdom, and to admonish that after the papal priesthood in your city, powerful and contrary to the Gospel of God, has many times refused to preach the salvific Word of God to the poor people, and has also driven out some of them, among whom is also this Master Hans Plaumacher 1); lastly, E. W. also wanted to

1) "Plaumacher" == blue dyer. He is also called "Plohaus", and was one of the first to follow Luther's teachings.

Let them be noticed as lovers of the Gospel, and not allow the blinded priestly tyranny and priestly outrage to deprive the poor souls of their blessedness, but provide an evangelical preacher and handle him, as many other Christian cities and communities in German lands do. Now I hear that it almost lies in the way that the beautiful Mary 2) does not want to suffer if she is touched; and yet the gospel cannot become beautiful, the beautiful Mary becomes ugly. For if I were to be considered so worthy that E.W. believed me, I would easily prove that the devil, after the Jews have been driven out, has put himself in their place and is doing false signs through the highly praised name of Mary, and is deceiving you along with many others. For if he has the power to use the name of the Divine Majesty, the name of Christ, and the name of the Holy Spirit, how can he not use Mary's name or the name of a lesser saint? It is also a sure sign of the devil, that people run as fast as the foolish, when the Holy Spirit is a spirit of counsel, who does not run so impetuously, nor teaches servants to run away from the Lord, but to keep obedience. Therefore I ask you, dear sirs, to let the Spirit try beforehand, as St. John teaches, and not to fall down immediately if he shows signs. We are not so pious that the saints should do so publicly to us, surely you believe that. Herewith I command E. W. God's grace, and let this Master Hans and his like be commanded, Amen. At Wittenberg, on Wednesday after Bartholomew [Aug. 26] 1523.

Martinus Luther.

in Regensburg. On March 22, 1523, he and another citizen, Rostock, interrupted the cathedral preacher Augustin Marius in his sermon and afterwards confronted him about the sermon. On his complaint, Hans Blaumacher was expelled from the city. Provided with letters of recommendation from his friends, he went to Wittenberg and returned from there with this letter from Luther to Regensburg, where he was again accepted as a citizen on September 18.

2) Not long before the banishment of Plohan, the Jews had been driven out of the city and on the site of the destroyed synagogue a chapel had been built in honor of the beautiful Mary, who by her miraculous deeds attracted a large number of pilgrims with rich gifts (De Wette).

No. 653.

Wittenberg.

August 27, 1523.

To Johann Hess.

Luther would like to have the interpretations of Hess on Ecclesiastes in order to use them in the translation of this book. From a man whom Hess recommended to him.

A copy made by. A copy of this letter, made by Hess himself, is in the royal library in Berlin, *Mss. lat. theol.* 8°, 91, fol. 100b. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 49; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 446 (without date); in Krafft, 14 Briefe Luthers, no. 3, and in Erl. BriefwBd. IV, p. 217.

Martin to his Heß.

Greetings, preacher of Ecclesiastes [Solomon], 1) but also see to it that that preacher sSalomo^ is alive, because we also want to hear or at least read him through you. Therefore you will see to it that we receive your interpretations of this book in order to make use of them when this book is to be translated into German. 2) Therefore we remind you in time, and come before, so that you communicate to us as soon as possible what the spirit has given you.

The man you recommended I have seen and have been seen by him. By the way, it is nothing new that a trade is made out of the cause of the gospel [1 Tim. 6, 5]. So it was in Paul's day, how much more in ours, that they would have liberty to the cover of wickedness [1 Pet. 2:16.]. But they have Him who will judge them shortly. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1523, Wednesday after Bartholomew [Aug. 27].

No. 654.

Wittenberg.

September 2, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Miscellaneous matters. Interpretation of two scriptural passages. From the Bull of Hadrian VI in the postscript of an event in Halberstadt.

1) Heß, called from Nuremberg by the council of Breslau as pastor of the Maria Magdalena Church, held Latin lectures in the school about the preacher Solomon, which Luther wants to have for the translation of this scripture. De Wette erroneously says in his description of the contents that Luther wanted to see the Commentary made even more useful by a German translation.

2) "The Third Part of the Old Testament," which concludes with the writings of Solomon, appeared in 1524.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 151 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 173. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 155 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 399 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 219. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 858.

To the Lord' Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, evangelist at the court of Saxony, his brother.

Grace and peace! I have handed over the book or rather the large volume of the Augsburg 3) to Philip for evaluation. I have other things that are more urgent than that I could review any man's work. Indeed, it seems to me that such a book is not necessary in the Church of God. Furthermore, it is prolix, especially by a new and unknown author, so that there cannot even be a hope of profit.

I am returning the letter of the citizen of Eilenburg 4), which I do not forbid nor do I mean to print. But the earlier letter is not of the kind that it could suffer the public, as the author himself admits.

The story of the Italian or Roman nun 5) I expect, but fear nothing. The fiction is so coarse that if it is not suitable for Hadrian's master, it cannot be suitable for anyone, no matter how "lame".

3) In the original *Augustensis*; Aurifaber and De Wette: *Augustinensis*. - As we can see from a letter of Melanchthon (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. 1,639) to Spalatin, dated Sept. 2, in which he gives his verdict on the book, the book dealt with the validity of the civil provisions of the Mosaic law also for Christian states.

4) The shoemaker Georg Schönichen, who had already been a main promoter of the innovations during Zwilling's presence in Eilenburg at Christmas 1521, had heard Dungersheim preach in Leipzig at Pentecost 1523, and attacked him for this sermon in a letter dated June 4. Dungersheim replied and Schönichen replicated on July 5. In addition, the latter wrote other writings, one of which Luther returns here. See Seidemann, "Contributions to the History of the Reformation", 1st issue, p. 61 ff.

5) From a letter of Hans von der Planitz to the Elector (from Nuremberg) we learn that a well-dressed woman with a nun's cap had let herself be heard, "that she wants to turn over the diligence, that she might turn over a knife in Luther". He admonishes that if the woman should seek "perhaps to speak in good appearance with Luther, that one would pay attention to this".

6) Pope Hadrian VI had been *Magister noster* in Louvain.

That the sign of the Son of Man in heaven [Matth. 24, 30.] will be on the day of judgment is uncertain, or the man Christ himself is called the sign 2c. According to the Hebrew way "the sign of the Son of man" is said instead of "the sign, the Son of man". For that by this sign the cross is understood is nothing. This is my opinion.

I have no doubt that it is a mockery of Paul, since he saws, "I did not know that it was the high priest" [Apost. 23,4]. The reasons by which I am moved I have indicated in the German booklet written against the false bishops.¹⁾

I have not yet decided anything about Hadrian's bull 2). But since the prince has not set out to answer him, why should I in vain draft a form, since I am busy with so many and such great things? Primarily because this matter requires the power of the mind and scholarship, then also an impeccable diligence, so that it would be necessary for me to devote myself entirely to it. For, for my part, I would easily answer such a great ass with whatever comes into my mouth. You, who have leisure, do it in the meantime and think about it. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Aegidii [Sept. 2] 1523. Martin Luther.

Regarding the news of Halberstadt, there is only a rumor that a citizen named Schreiber 3), a rich and powerful man, was captured; six of his party were killed and many wounded, who had undertaken to protect the fugitive outside the city. It is said that

he was accused for life and death; as a cause false money 2c. is given. It is said that the priests, whose adversary he was, were advising against him.

No. 655.

Wittenberg.

September 7, 1523.

To Duke Carl III of Savoy.

Luther heard from the French knight Anemundus Coctus that the duke was a friend of the Gospel, and he encourages him to persevere, at the same time instructing him on the main points of Christian doctrine.

This letter (as *Vincentius Obsopoeus* also says in the dedicatory letter of his *farrago* to his brother towards the end), originally written in Latin, first appeared under the title: *In hoc libello contenta. Annemundi Cocti Equitis Galli ad lectorem Epistola. Christianissimi Doctoris Martini Lutheri at Inlustrissimum principem Carolum Sabaudiae ducem Epistola. Huldrici Zuinglij Tigurini Episcopi uigilantissimi ad Petrum Sebiuilla Gratianopolitanum Ecclesiasten Epistola.* etc. 8 fol. in quarto. No place or year (Zurich, Christoph Froschower, 1524). The introductory letter of Coct is dated: *Tiguri, nono Kalend.* The letter of Luther is on p. Vis b; that of Zwingli to Sebiuilla, pastor in Grenoble, is dated Dec. 13, 1523. After that in the collections: in *Obsopoeus, Lutheri Epp. farrago.* 1525, p. V5; in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 156d; in the Latin Wittenberger (1562), tom. VII, fol. 482; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p.45 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 222. - In German translation (without the letter of Cocts) in a single edition under the title: "Am Christlicher Sendbryeff, des wolgeleerten Martini Lutheri, yn Christo. The first to the Durchleüchtigstenn Fürsten Karolo hertzog zu Sophey, vund ist gleych eyn inhalt vnd Haupt Summa aller seiner leer. 2c. M. D. XX i i i j." At the end: "Zu Witembergim (they) M. D. XX i i i j." 5 fol. in quarto. In another translation in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 174 (supposedly after a Strasbourg print); subsequently in De Wette, vol. II, p. 400; in Walch, vol. XXI, 850 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 205. According to the Erl. Briefw., which reproduces the first Latin print.

To the most illustrious and most illustrious Prince and Lord, Charles, Duke of Savoy, his most gracious patron in Christ, Martin Luther.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord, amen. Above all, I ask your forgiveness that I, a very small person, without having orders or being called to do so, dare to write to your Serene Highness first. This makes the glory of the Gospel of Christ, in which I also boast and rejoice, wherever I experience it.

1) In the writing "Wider den falschgenannten Stand des Pabsts und der Bischöfe," St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 694 f., § 61 f.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2110, no. 716.

3) The mayor and clothier Heinrich Schreiber was a promoter of the Reformation. He was captured by the papal authorities, but freed by the people. On his escape, which had been betrayed, some were killed near Dernburg, others wounded. In Halle, he was then sentenced to death by the Archbishop of Mainz for sedition, but at the intercession of the Provost of Hildesheim, Levin von Velten, he was granted life. He was released from prison, however, on payment of a sum of money by his relatives, who had obtained an imperial letter for him.

shine or arise and hear. Therefore, E. F. G. will credit this to the cause of the Gospel, that I greet you first with joy, Most Serene Lord. For the rumor has reached us, and the same has been confirmed by Anemundus Coctus, a knight from France, who is extraordinarily ardent for the glory of the Gospel, namely, that the Duke of Savoy is very zealous for sincere godliness through an exceedingly rare gift of God, at least among princes. Therefore, I have considered it fair that the most worthy prince should be blessed and encouraged by me, the most unworthy, at least through the service of congratulation, because Christ will be able to win many through the very beautiful example of E. F. G.. Therefore, in order that F.F.G. may recognize all the more the difference between how much she holds with us and how differently the god-robbing sophists have taught up to now under the pope, it should not annoy me to elaborate here a few main points one after the other, while at the same time giving an account of our doctrine, so that F.F.G. may have something to oppose those who falsely speak evil of us and want to tempt the righteousness of F.F.G. through the trickery of Satan.

First, we are taught, and we do teach, that the beginning of salvation, indeed the whole fullness of it, is faith in Christ, who by His blood alone, not by our works, takes away sins, abolishes the dominion of death, and, as the prophet says [Ps. 68:19], "takes prison captive." For thus saith Paul, Gal. 2:21: "If by the law righteousness come, Christ died in vain; let it be far from that;" and Rom. 3:28: "We hold it therefore, that a man may be justified without works of the law, through faith only." But of this faith we teach that it is a gift of God, created in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, not formed or shaped by our actions (*actibus*, as they call it), which they have as the acquired faith (*fidem acquisitam*), *that is*, as a dream image. Faith is a living thing that changes the whole man, not by any merit we have, but by the word of God alone,

As it says Rom. 10:17: "Faith comes by preaching, but preaching by the word of Christ."

It follows from this first main part that everything that the popes, schools and monasteries have spread all over the world about gratifications, about meritorious works, about works that are completely and somewhat deserving (*congruis et condignis*) is predatory and an abomination, and that all the essays of the monasteries and the priests are nothing but pernicious sects [2 Petr. 2, 1.] of which Christ foretold [Matth. 24, 5. 23.], "Many shall come in my name, saying, Behold, here is Christ, or there." For if by our works sins are blotted out and grace is obtained, it is not by the blood of Christ. What else can follow from this but that Christ died in vain? But if this is obtained by the blood of Christ, it is not by our works. What else can follow from this than that the efforts of all monasteries and laborers are in vain? Especially since they do not do their works as such, but as if they wanted to live before God through them, which is only due to the blood of Christ. We therefore rightly consider that all monasteries and convents (*cathedrales* == cathedrals) and all similar abominations that stand in holy places [Matth. 24, 15.] must be completely removed or abandoned, since they persuade people to trust in their works, to seek salvation in them, which is nothing other than denying the Lord who bought us, as Peter [2. Ep. 2, 1.] says, to openly insult the blood of Christ and the faith.

The second main thing is this, that for us, who are now justified by faith in the Word and incorporated into the fellowship of Christ, and have already overcome all sins and diseases in Christ, it only remains that we do good and live well; not that we thereby become good or want to eradicate sins (which belongs to faith alone), but that we as good trees testify by good fruit that we are now without sins. For as a good tree is not made good by its fruit, but is known by it as by certain proofs, and it is certain that the tree is good, which is the same as a good tree.

not for itself, but for others: so we also prove, as Paul teaches, the faith that is active through love [Gal. 5:6], by testifying or making certain through works that we do not need good works for righteousness, but already have them in our hearts through faith. Therefore we teach such works, which are not useful to us, but only useful and necessary for our neighbor. This is love. And here again the monasteries and the common foundations throughout the world are rejected, because all their works and undertakings are such, both of the donors and of the things donated, that by them they want to provide counsel for their salvation and that of their own, as it is called, for their souls. There is not a work that is sought for another, but only for ourselves, which is virtually contrary to love.

From this it follows, in the third principal, that no traditions, or decrees of the fathers, or statutes of the conciliar, are necessary, or can make any one guilty of sin; 1) for as the works of them, if kept, or obedience to them, avail nothing in the sight of God to take away sins (for this stands with the Lamb alone, who takes away sins, even those of the whole world, by faith in him): so also their neglect does not make them worthy of punishment. And since it is impossible that there should be a law which, if not kept, should make guilty, and yet, if kept, could not acquit, - for what would that be of a law which, if kept, should profit nothing, and yet, if left standing, should do harm?- Therefore we confess that the world, through the popes, councils, and decrees of the fathers, has been miserably deceived and entangled in the statutes of men, and more properly in the snares of the devil, since all have been persuaded that if these things were kept, they would be blessed, but if they were not, they would be damned. By this fiction, Christ, the gospel, faith, love, righteous good works, Christian liberty, and the right to be free, are all lost.

1) *ad peccatum obligare* == to commit a sin, that is, to make it a sin for him if he does not keep the statutes 2c. - Missed in the old translation: "or may bind us to sin".

and, in sum, snatched away the palm of bliss, so that we are forced to run in vain.

Accordingly, the extremely abominable tyranny of excommunication, with which they fortified their abominations, had to be abolished and abandoned. For the bishops have no other office in the church than the service of the word, and the ban can only have a place if someone sins against faith or love. In these cases the pope not only does not banish, but gives freedom and security in it, both by his own example and by his word. But in his god-robbing statutes alone he lets his lightnings shoot. These [statutes] should (as I have said) be free, rather entirely absent, since Christians must be governed by nothing but the Word, by which they become Christians, that is, free from sins, that is, by the pure Gospel of GOD alone, without the additions of concilia, teachers, and fathers. For what is the use of governing Christians with such a word, by keeping which they neither become nor remain Christians, but rather cease to be Christians and lose Christ? But every word except the gospel is of this kind, since (as I have said) it is not our works but the blood of Christ that washes us from sins. Therefore, salvation reigns in us not by the works and virtues of men, therefore not by the laws of men, but by the power of Christ alone.

Furthermore, those who are not Christians are to be kept in check in another way than by the statutes of men. For these are to be left alone and (as Paul says [1 Cor. 5:11]) have nothing to do with them. It is (as it is called) the secular sword, they are authorities; it is up to them to keep the wicked from evil works through the fear of the sword, as Paul teaches Rom. 13, 4. But the Christians will be governed by a bishop without the sword, only by the word of God, since it is certain that those are not Christians who are not good of their own free will. Such a person grows out of the power of the Spirit of faith, as it says in Rom. 8:14: "Whom the Spirit of God impels, they are the children of God." What is it, therefore, for an

Is it sensible to force the voluntarily good with laws that are for the wicked, or for those who do not want to be good? Indeed, Christians, too, as they do everything voluntarily, put themselves under the sword and under the laws for the wicked. Yes, they also use the sword, not for their own benefit (since they have no need of anything for righteousness and salvation except faith), but as an example to others and to preserve the common peace and to strengthen the right of the sword. Therefore they are free and shall freely use any statutes and ceremonies.

But this is the most abominable thing, and nothing else than the very audacity and sacrilege of the Antichrist, that he has not had enough of plaguing the free Christians with his foolish and useless laws, which are also harmful to the faith, but on top of that, he has laid his obviously robber hand on the testament of God. First of all, he has deprived the whole world of both forms of the Lord's Supper, although Christ so clearly said, "Drink from it, all of you." Here it is absolutely necessary not to be subservient to captivity. It has been spared the weakness of many enough whom he has held captive and still holds captive. Therefore, finally, the use of both parts of the Sacrament must be restored, quite confidently, even though the gates of hell or the angels of heaven would not want it, since we have the prestige and the testimony of the divine majesty, indeed also its institution and command. So [it is also an abominable abomination] that they have made a work and sacrifice out of the Mass, which is a word of the promise of the Gospel, with the attached sign of the body and blood of Christ, instituted to nourish faith, always putting their works in the place of faith. They are senseless and offer Christ every day in so many thousands of masses, while he offered himself once and does not want to offer himself anymore, and this is not necessary, since he has taken away the sins of all who believe once and with one sacrifice [Heb. 10, 12.14.].

These are approximately the main parts of the things I wanted, most Serene Prince, that E. F. G. (as she has started) help

would like with active zeal to bring them to fruition. ¹⁾ I do not want anything to be done or tried by force of the sword, and that will not progress well either, but only that those who preach the gospel purely may be safe and be called under the rule of Your Serene Highness. For this will be the way that Christ will destroy the Antichrist with the spirit of his mouth [2 Thess. 2, 8.], so that he, as Daniel [Cap. 8, 25.] says, will be broken without hand, whose future happened through the effect of Satan with lying signs [2 Thess.

2, 9.]. For Satan will not cast out Satan, but by the finger of God the devils are cast out [Luc. 11, 20]. Farewell then, most noble Prince and most gracious Lord! Stoke up the spark that has begun to glow in you, and make a fire go out from the house of Savoy, as from the house of Joseph, and make all France like straw to him [Obadiah, v. 18. And let the holy conflagration of Christ be kindled, yea, let it burn, that at last France may indeed be called the most Christian of all kingdoms by the gospel, which hitherto, by the ungodly service against the Antichrist, for the shed blood, has been ungodly called the most Christian of all, amen. But the Lord Jesus Christ blow with his spirit into your and your hearts, that you all do what serves the honor of his holy word, amen. Wittenberg, Anno 1523, the seventh of September.

No. 656.

Wittenberg.

September 17, 1523.

To Theobald Billicanns,²⁾ Pastor in Nördlingen.

Luther recommends a married priest to him.

Printed in Stobbel, Neue Beiträge V, 2, p. 347; in *Stobbel-Ranner*, p. 91; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 407 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 229.

1) This letter of Luther was in vain. Carl von Sa'voyen seems never to have had a true inclination to the teaching of the Gospel.

2) His real name is Gerlach or Gerlachner and he was called Billicanus from his birthplace Billigheim, near Landau in the Palatinate. In 1518 he had become acquainted with Luther in Heidelberg.

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To Theobald Billicanus (*Billigano*), the holy evangelist of the church at Nördlingen, his in Christ exceedingly dear brother.

Mercy and peace! Up to now, neither you nor I have made use of your love, dearest Theobald; but the matter requires it in such a way that I am forced to use yours first. I recommend this priest, who has become a husband out of necessity of conscience, to you, since he has the confidence that he can live safely with you for the sake of the neighborhood, if he should be encouraged by your protection. For under his archbishop it is not yet permitted to live chastely in public, that is, in marriage, until Christ has shown otherwise. You will now be able to judge best whether he should live with you publicly or secretly as a husband. I have a very great confidence in you, so much so that I think I would be more difficult for you with more words if I thought differently of you than of a brother who does not look at what is his own, but at what concerns others. To this end serves the exceedingly glorious testimony of Philip about you, so that I expect no less from you than from Philip himself, whom I hold no differently than myself, except for the learning and righteousness of life by which he puts me to shame, not alone surpasses me. You are well in the Lord, and may you have good progress in your holy office. Wittenberg, 1523, Lambert's Day [17 Sept].

Wittenberg.

September 17, 1523.

No. 657.

To Staupitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 610, no. 223.

No. 658.

Wittenberg.

September 19, 1523.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2633, appendix, no. 123.

No. 659.

Wittenberg.

October 1, 1523.

To Conrad Pellican.

Answer to Pellican's attempt to reconcile Luther and Erasmus. About the dispute between Hütten and Erasmus. Luther regrets the publication of his verdict on Erasmus, and wants to keep quiet against all writings of Erasmus, unless he attacks the matter.

Printed in *Judicium Erasmi Alberi, de Spongia Erasmi Roterod. adeoque quatenus illi conveniat cum M. Lutheri doctrina. Epistola Erasmi Roterod. ad Fabrum Constantien. Vicarium. Epistola M. Lutheri ad amicum piissimam, de fucata Erasmi Spongia: deque Christi negotio syncerius tractado*, 1 sheet in octavo, without place and year. Luther's letter on page 14. Further in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 160; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 411; in *opp. Hutt. ed. Bocking*, tom. I, p. 411; in *Balan, monumenta*, p. 308, no. 133, and in Erl, Briefw., vol. IV, p. 233. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 860. - In all editions except Erl. Briefw., the letter is addressed to Nicolaus Hausmann, only Balan has the correct first name *Conrade* in the text, where in the old individual editions it says "N."

Martin Luther sends his greetings to his friend N..

Grace and peace in the Lord! Rather, pray for me, dearest N., since you now have more leisure and surpass me in godliness. Indeed, I wish and pray to the Lord Jesus that he may give you the gift of speech, as you desire, for the praise of his grace.

By the way, that you write that I should not let myself be provoked to anger against Erasmus, that has already been achieved sooner than 1) you asked for it. I at least wanted Hutten not to have published his complaint, much less Erasmus to have wiped it out. 2) If that means: to wipe out with a sponge, I beg you, what then is reviling and blaspheming? In vain Erasmus hopes to mislead all good minds by his oratory, as if

1) We read *quam* with balan instead of: *quod*.

2) The treatment that the fugitive Hutten had received on his arrival in Basel from Erasmus, who tried to avoid his visit in order not to compromise himself with his high patrons, prompted Hütten to write: *Ulrichi ab Hutten cum Erasmo Roterodamo, Presbytero, Theologo, Expostulatio* (June 1523), to which Erasmus replied with a venomous *Spongia Erasmi adversus aspergines Hutteni* (August 1523). The above *Judicium Alberi* is a replica of the *Spongia*, written after Hutten's death.

no one, rather as if there were only a few who noticed what Erasmus was dealing with. If Erasmus writes for himself in this way, it is more desirable that he writes against himself. For he has done unbelievable damage to his name and reputation through this book, so that I really feel sorry for the man who never approaches the matter, and thus rages against the faults of friends for the second time, while he was so mild against his enemy Lee (*Laeum*), and otherwise admonishes everyone not to revile even the enemies, and detests this very much. I always expected he would act the thing. It is easy against life to prove his oratory. Furthermore, my letter, which I wrote privately about Erasmus, 1) then also the other to Fabricius,²⁾ has been published, which makes me very angry. Although I am not ashamed of a word, if I had to defend it publicly, it is nevertheless annoying to me that through these impetuous braggarts (I do not know whom to name) what is written privately to good friends is made public. Furthermore, as the scribblings of Erasmus do me no harm if they are against me, so I will have no more confidence if they are for me. I have one who can defend the cause, even if the whole world should rage against me alone; this is what Erasmus calls persistence in asserting myself. But since I see that man is so far from the understanding of Christian things (which I had not meant until now, although I sometimes suspected it), I gladly suffer him to call me by any name he wants until he touches the matter. For I have resolved that I will protect neither my life nor my morals, but only the matter as I have done so far; whoever wants to may belittle me and my morals. Yes, I clearly owe my life even in my body to those people, and a large part of the joyfulness of my spirit, who revile and torment me most horribly: so much is missing that I would want to be carried by Erasmus' fame or name. I have sorrow and fear

1) The letter to Caspar Börner of May 28, 1522.

2) To Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, Jan. 17, 1522, No. 447.

I am happy when I am praised, but joyful when I am reviled and blasphemed; if this is strange to Erasmus, I am not surprised. Let him learn Christ and bid farewell to human prudence. May the Lord enlighten him and make another man out of Erasmus, and may He preserve and increase all of us at the same time; this is what I wish from the bottom of my heart, as much as it is given to me to wish. Farewell, my N., and greet Erasmus, if he suffers it, in my name. There is no bitterness in me against him, but in truth mercy; if he despises this, and perhaps hopes more for what he thinks, I would like to have lost this wish as well. Wittenberg, October 1, 1523.

No. 660.

(Wittenberg.)

3. October 1523.

Testimony for Gregor Morgenstern.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 177; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 362; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII 580; in Walch, vol. XXI, 59; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 413 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 212.

I, Martin Luther, Ecclesiastes of Wittenberg, bear witness with this manuscript of mine to this dear brother of ours, Gregorius Morgenstern, that he has kept himself honest and honorable in the Augustinian Order, that no one can accuse him of anything else; also that it has always been the custom and right of this Order, in constant practice, not to admit anyone unless he was born of honest, blameless parents and of noble birth.

Therefore, I ask all pious craftsmen, if they would let my handwriting be helpful to him instead of his birth certificates, so that he cannot bring them up before the authority of the sovereign. Since, according to Christian doctrine and truth, he intends to give himself up from the dangerous state to a blessed state, since he, like all Adam's children, wants to nourish himself with the sweat of his brow, with God and honor through the help of pious people. This, in turn, Christ will undoubtedly let them earn with right grace through His own. Hereby commanded by God. At Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Michaelmas [Oct. 3] 1523.

No. 661.

(Wittenberg.)

4. October 1523.

To Spalatin in Lochau.

From the death of Pope Hadrian. Answer to theological questions. News from Halberstadt.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 152 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 175. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 161; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 413 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 237. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 862.

To the Lord George Spalatin, the servant of Christ, his [friend] in the Lord.

Hail in the grace! The death of Hadrian 1) I command Gotte.

By the way, I do not remember that anywhere in Scripture it is found that the faith and gifts of God in us are dark and uncertain, since they must necessarily come into operation; I confess that some [gifts] are weak, sometimes hidden when the opportunity is lacking, as when Elijah, after killing the prophets of Baal, feared Jezebel, and went where his will led him, not the Spirit [1 Kings 19:3].

The word: "The Lord knows the way of the righteous" [Ps. 1, 6] is a contradiction, because the Lord does not know the way of the wicked; that is, he recognizes and approves, again, he does not approve nor recognize. Thus, "He leads His saints astray" [Ps. 4:4] is said of the cross, that He leads His faithful astray, as He led Abraham out of his father's house, and he did not know whither he should go, Heb. 11:8. But for this reason he was not unaware that he believed, rather he felt the most faith at that time, since he did not realize nor know the place whither he should go.

In Halberstadt, some people with disguised faces have the Carmelite Provincial 2)

1) Pope Hadrian VI died at Rome on September 14 at 7 p.m., according to Roman reckoning. Spalatin determines this as 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

2) Valentin *Mustaeus* had come to Halberstadt and had preached the Gospel with the support of Heinrich Schreiber (No. 654). During his imprisonment in Halle, at the instigation of three canons, their servants broke into his cell, threw his library into the latrine and killed him by a man brought with him. They threw his library into the latrine, and had him castrated by a cutter they had brought with them. The council let him heal. In the following year, 15 men wanted to do the same to the abbots of the Bergen and Ammersleben monasteries in retaliation, but they were prevented from doing so.

They beat him miserably at night for the sake of the Gospel (as it is said, they were instigated by the priests); at last they cut out his testicles and ransacked the house; the council now has him healed. Thus, the wretched people are asking the people over their heads. Farewell. On the day of Franciscus [Oct. 4] 1523. Martin Luther.

No. 662.

Wittenberg.

October 4, 1523.

To Johann Ruck.

Luther admonishes him to wait for a call to the pastorate. Interpretation of two scripture passages.

Handwritten in Copenhagen in the old royal library, 1393, p. 71. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 161 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 414 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. IV, p. 239. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 863.

Grace and peace! I do not yet have another place where I can send you, dear Johann, so it shall be at your discretion whether you want to stay there or come here; we are waiting for a calling. To take a wife, if you feel like it, is good, but you will not be able to preside over the service of the word, if you have not first become an ordained minister in a certain place, or if you do not intend to support yourself with your hands.

The passage Jeremiah 9 [v. 26, Vulg.] about those who are circumcised by the hair, refers in general to all Gentiles who cut the hair on the forehead at two angles, as all our laymen do. For the Jews were forbidden both to shave the hair or beard and to cut it off in front, especially on the forehead. Therefore Jeremiah distinguishes the Gentiles from the Jews by this mark. "The mark of the beast upon the forehead and upon the hands" [Revelation 13:16.] (though the book is obscure and uncertain) is, in my opinion, outward obedience to the pope and his laws; which we also keep and confess with our hands, that is, by public observance. For whoever did not do and live and speak publicly as the pope has ordered until now, was a child of death. No matter how inwardly he might be of a different mind, he still had to accept and show the mark of the beast.

will be. Greet the mayor in my name, and farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the day of Franciscus [October 4] 1523. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 663.

Wittenberg.

October 5, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends a clergyman for a parish.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a.*, fol. 244. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 25; by *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 415 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 240. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 864.

His [friend] in the Lord, Magister Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant at the court of Saxony.

Grace and peace! This Mass priest Erasmus is to receive a certain small parish, which the one who now holds it and wants to leave will hand over into his hands. But they claim that the prince's permission is necessary for this. Therefore, he has asked to be recommended to you, so that he can obtain the prince's consent through you. He is a good and learned man, and you will probably use such a service with him; therefore do what you do. By the way, I believe you have received my answer. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Monday after Francisci [Oct. 5] 1523. Martin Luther.

No. 664.

Zschepplin.

6 October 1523.

The Leimbach Brothers to Luther.

(Regest.)

Response of the Leimbach brothers to Spalatin's letter of July 10, 1523 (No. 629), sent to them by Luther, in which they partly answer and partly apologize for the reproaches made to them by the Elector. It was not necessary for them to humble the councilors in the old matters. Now they ask Luther to work so that the last remainder of 2581 florins, together with the Dabrun 1) seizure, will be paid or reimbursed to them, so that the matter will come to an end.

A copy in Spalatin's hand is found in the Weimar Archives, Aa, p. 138, VII, 40. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 64 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 240.

1) In the text: "Dobran".

No. 665.

Wittenberg.

October 11, 1523.

To the community of Esslingen.

Michael Stiefel had sent to Luther the articles posed by the papal clergy at Esslingen, about which Luther here makes his counter remarks.

The first printing appeared under the title: "Meynen liebenn Herrn vnd freunden, in Christo, allen Christlichn bürgern zu Esslingen, von Martin Luther zugeschribn. Wittenberg." 4 leaves quarto. Besides this one, three other single printings are listed in the latest editions. In the collections: in the Wittenberg (1553), Vol. VI, Bl.432b; in the Jenaer (1585), vol. II, p. 253b; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 364; in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 490; with Walch, vol. XXI, 60; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 213; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 416 and in the Weimarsche, vol. XII, p. 151. Latin in *Obsopoeus*, bl. X; in Aurifaber, vol. II, bl. 162 and in the Wittenberg edition, tom. VII, fol. 481.

Grace and peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ! Some articles have been sent to me by Mr. Michael Stiefel, my dearest in Christ, as your pastor 2) together with the side preachers should have put, namely:

The first is that they will henceforth graciously absolve those who dissent from the Lutheran doctrine, even though they may justifiably reject them as condemned by the pope and emperor.

The other is that they want to expel and not absolve those who eat meat or eggs contrary to the custom and the law of the Roman churches, where they do so publicly without just cause.

The third is that they want to keep the people to confess all their sins, of which they are aware, before the priest, because Luther himself praises and praises confession.

The fourth, they want to keep as before, in the cases and sins so reserved to the pope and bishops.

The fifth, because a -good habit is considered so much as a right or laws, they want to keep the people to confess twice in the fast.

The sixth, they do not want to absolve those who do not want to repent and pretend that Christ has done enough for all.

2) Balthasar Sattler from Cannstadt, formerly Docent in Tübingen.

Although now, my beloved, it would not be necessary to answer such poor, loose articles, since I do not doubt that there are many among you who see well what blindness and foolishness are in them, and who do not hold more firmly to the Gospel, because they are moved by such articles, I do not know what good it would do them if I wrote a hundred times against them, since I have in so many books so many times displaced and sufficiently weakened all such dreams of men and foolishness with mighty writings; but because it is so warmly desired by me, I want E. Dearest, as much as I have leisure, I will write about it.

First, we have preached, taught and written that all our deeds are not valid before God, and that we should despair of all our works and abilities; but through Christ's blood and merit alone we must be redeemed from sins and saved, as St. Paul says Rom. 3,23. ff.: "They are all sinners, and lack that they cannot boast of God, but are justified without merit by His grace through the redemption that came by Christ, whom God presented to the throne of grace, through faith in His blood" 2c.

Then we see that it is not our works, since we are all sinners and can do nothing but sin, but Christ's blood that redeems us, if we believe otherwise, for I cannot earn Christ's blood and redemption with works; otherwise what need is there of faith, which alone grasps, accomplishes and retains such redemption? And if our works would earn so much, they could also obtain forgiveness for two, three, ten sins, and finally for all sin. But if they do not merit forgiveness of all sin, they may not redeem one sin.

But now the text is clear, that without merit, and freely, sins are forgiven in Christ's blood, that he might redeem us. So either it must be true that we cannot by our deeds blot out one sin and obtain mercy, or if we can blot out one sin, we may blot out them all. But if we can put away sin by works and obtain mercy, Christ's blood was shed without need or cause; so it is false that St. Paul says, "Sins are forgiven without merit, freely by grace.

forgiven through Christ's blood, whoever believes this.

This is the main point and foundation of Christian doctrine, that we cannot atone for or do away with sin by our works, but believe that Christ has done so with His blood; this faith, without any works, does away with all sin.

From this few pieces you see that your blind pastor's articles are all unchristian and blaspheme against the precious blood of Christ, as well as both pope, bishops, emperor and princes, who condemn and persecute such doctrine, which is so publicly stated by St. Paul. So the priest acts as a wolf, and not as a guardian of souls, that in the sixth article he demands atonement for sin, just as if our works should make atonement for some sin, which is such a great office that no one in heaven and earth could accomplish it, but the Son of God Himself through His own blood alone, as Heb. 1:3. says: "He has purified sins through Himself." Whoever wants to follow this article of the priest must deny Christ with his blood and consider it idolatry, as he, the priest, does with his own.

Thus the first article is also a condemnation of the blood of Christ, for Luther is nowhere condemned, except that he teaches Christ's blood through faith to be useful and necessary for the forgiveness of sin alone; which is against the pope and all his laws, who teaches it by his own works. Therefore Christ's doctrine and the pope's doctrine are contrary to each other, like day and night, like death and life. Whoever follows this article is condemned before God; if he does not follow, he is condemned with Christ and his teachings before the world of Pope and Emperor.

The other article is foolish and foolish, where he has the opinion that such obedience, and shunning meat, should be a good work, and atone for sin. For, as I said, neither eating nor drinking, neither hunger nor thirst, does it, but the blood of Christ alone. If then such obedience does not destroy sin, neither can disobedience make sin. For where obedience is without need and profit, there is also disobedience without harm and danger. Therefore, in the sight of God there is no

It is a sin to eat meat or fish, whichever day I want, as St. Paul teaches Rom. 14, 17. and 1 Cor. 8, 8.: "Eating and drinking does not benefit us before God. Item: "God's kingdom is not eating and drinking, but love, peace and joy." Whoever lets his conscience be bound by this article denies Christ and his blood and is a heathen.

In addition, we have taught the other main thing, that the Christian life is love for one's neighbor, that we henceforth have no law, nor are we indebted to anyone, but to love, Rom. 13:8; so that we may do good to our neighbor, as Christ has done for us through His blood. Therefore, all the laws, works and commandments that are required of us to serve God by atoning for sin are nothing from God, and whoever keeps them denies Christ, such as fasting, celebrations, confessions, pilgrimages, endowments 2c. But which law, work and commandment are demanded of us, to serve the neighbor, those are good, those we should do, as, to obey the worldly power in its regiment, to follow and serve, to feed the hungry, to help the needy 2c.

From this it follows that, because confession is a work that is not directed toward the neighbor and does not serve him, it is not commanded in any way, nor is it necessary. And he who does it as if it were necessary, and must do it before God, denies Christ: for no work of all things need remain against sin, where Christ's blood alone cancels sin. Therefore, the third, fourth, and fifth articles of the priest's unchristian and unjustly set, to bind consciences, and to trample Christ's blood underfoot, so that he may not escape the penny of confession.

It is true that I said it was a good thing to confess. 2) Item, I do not forbid fasting, walking, eating fish, celebrating 2c., but so that such things are done freely, and no one who does not do them, as if he had to do them in his conscience and in a mortal sin, as the pope rages with his ladders for the blind. We want and should have a free conscience in all the works that we do.

1) Weimarsche: "nothing".

2) In the writing "Von der Beichte, ob die Pabst Macht habe zu gebieten". St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 847, § 69.

do not serve the faith or the love of your neighbor. Confess confidently, fast happily if you want, but do not think that it must be, and commit sin if you let it be, or want to atone for your sin before God with it; for with that opinion you fall from the faith, and are never a Christian.

Because there are zero many weak consciences, which are caught in Pabst's laws, it is good that you do not eat meat 2c. For such not eating flesh becomes thereby a work of love, because thou serveest thy neighbor thereby to follow his way, and to spare his conscience. But if your neighbor is not offended by this, or does not see that you eat flesh, then you shall eat flesh, not considering the pope: for in all this the work is no longer in love and the service of the neighbor; therefore you shall not keep it, because it pleases you of your own free will 3) to do so. Such an order of works in love we owe; but the works themselves we do not owe. But where there are impudent drivers, and not weak consciences, and want to make a necessity or law out of it, then one should and must only do the contradiction in defiance, so that not the works, but only the blood of Christ may have the honor to eradicate sin and to make righteous.

This, my dearest ones, I have answered in a hurry to the blind articles of your soul tyrant for the sake of weak consciences; for you may read further reasons and explanations in my booklets on Christian freedom, on good works, on monastic vows, and on the doctrine of man to be avoided⁴⁾ 2c. Although I would like everyone to read and hear St. Paul, who teaches such things so abundantly in his epistles, that my or anyone else's books would not be necessary. But God grant you righteous and evangelical doctrine, and that his word may bear fruit with you, to the praise and honor of the ineffable grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, amen. Pray for me, my beloved. Given at Wittenberg, on the Sunday after Dionysius [Oct. 11] 1523. Martinus Luther.

3) Weimarsche: "freiens willen".

4) The books to which Luther refers here are found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 986; vol. X, 1298; vol. XIX, 1500; and vol. XIX, 598.

No. 666.

(Wittenberg.)

October 12, 1523.

To Spalatin in Lochau.

Ask for venison for a doctor's feast.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 154 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 176. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 25; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 420 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 243. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 866.

To the worthy man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the court of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! The provost Jonas has asked me to come to you, if you could obtain some game by Monday. For the pastor at Nordhausen 1) will put on the Doctorlarve in theology, and another with him. You do what you want. For I do not care much if no venison is eaten at this pomp, only that those hosts wish that their own, who will be present from Nordhausen, be honored. Only this pleases me about these larvae of theirs, that they themselves recognize that the matter is nothing, and they adorn themselves so with the common people for the service of the word. Fare well in the Lord. Monday after Dionysius [Oct. 12] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 667.

(Wittenberg.)

October 12, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Luther reminds him of the letter (No. 453) he wrote to the Elector from Borua and reassures him of the danger that the cause of the Gospel could bring. Lastly, about the abolition of the blasphemous ceremonies in the All Saints' Monastery, about which he does not approve of the Elector's opinion.

Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.*, no. 153 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, lob 175. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 166; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 421 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 244. German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 177 b; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 255b; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 365; in the Leipzig, vol. X VIII, p. 499; and in Walch, vol. XIX, 1450.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1188, no. 142.

1) Jakob Oethe of Nordhausen; the other is Caspar Glatius (Glatz) from Rieden near Amberg. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2627, note 6.

No. 668.

Wittenberg.

October 16, 1523.

To Michael von der Straßen, escort in Borna.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2094, no. 706.

No. 669.

(Wittenberg.)

October 16, 1523.

To Spalatin . 2)

About the matter of the Leimbach brothers. About the economic situation of the monastery and about the unjust treatment of Provost Jonas on the part of the court.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 166 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 423 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 246. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 866.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am sending the letter of the Leimbache, 3) in which you see what they would like to have from the prince; at least I believe that they are very bad about it. But I thought that the matter had been settled and put to rest.

By the way, since you are our and everyone's mediator between the prince and us, our prior asks,⁴⁾ that you execute an order with the prince against our interest man Christoph von Bressen in Mutterwitz, who is almost a whole year in arrears with the payment of the interest of 90 gulden. He has, of course, received various periods of respite from us because of his wedding, and it might have suited us, if we wanted to be wasteful, to waive the whole thing; but because our affairs are not in such a state now, the interest would be postponed with danger for him or would grow to a large sum. Then Blank also urges us from the smaller choir. 5) Accordingly, since at last the whole estate will revert to the Prince, since I am almost alone the inhabitant of our monastery, may he see to it that I spend the short time of my life

2) Spalatin was with the Elector in Jüterbock. Burkhardt, "Luthers Briefwechsel," p. 61, note.

3) No. 664.

4) Eberhard Brisger.

5) The licentiate Christoph Blank had to receive twenty guilders annually from the monastery as a monetary salary for the smaller choir.

here from our interest and next from his. Or if this is burdensome, let him take it immediately. Because of the lack of interest, we have certainly been living for a long time by incurring debts. But I hope I will not live long, if Christ is gracious to me and the prince of the world is angry.

You treat the provost Jonas a bit too ungraciously. It is easy for you to torment a man who is otherwise already well humiliated by more than one complaint, both from his marital status and from his household, while you, meanwhile, are rich and without a wife, free, and have only yourself to care for in good leisure. Dear, do not deceive the good man with even more misery, and do not believe all those who denounce him to you. He certainly does not seem to me to be a different man than he has appeared to me so far, indeed greater than he has been so far. The Torgau man may be good after all, but he is godless and has the prince as his idol; I know that. And how is it that one does not want to allow Jonas in his burdensome situation this small interest for nothing, 1) for a short time, which can be allowed without sin, and that one nevertheless insists that those godless people do not keep their godless masses daily with greater blasphemy against God even, or that one does not even resist them? Here I appeal to your equity. Are you not also men, in that you entertain such an opinion, rather, would you not like to be regarded as being guilty of all ungodliness, since you are the effective cause that they persist in it? Therefore, spare as you wish to be spared, and forgive that you may be forgiven. Let others deal with us, and we would surely find abundantly what we offer them.

1) On October 4, the Elector had issued an instruction to the councils of Torgau, "what they should hold against the chapter of Wittenberg in matters of change in the monastery," in which he speaks out sharply against any innovation (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, Sp. 640 ff.). In this document is the following passage: "For it would not have the opinion that one should earn his salary and additions to the church by idleness and taking wives, and by what he himself performs." This was mainly directed at Jonah.

words, namely that it is not safe to speak against the Word of God and the Spirit. Farewell and pray for me. On the day of Gallus f16. Oct.] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 670.

Wittenberg.

October 18, 1523.

To Gregor Brück, Chursächsischen Chancellor.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 912.

No. 670a.

Allegedly from October 1523, (Wittenberg.) but in fact from April 25, 1524.

To Jakob Strauß in Eisenach.

At this point, in all editions, a German letter is inserted with the wrong address "In den Kanzler Brück" and the wrong time "Im October 1523". This letter is the translation of the first part of a letter to Jakob Strauß from April 25, 1524. We have inserted this note here to prevent the opinion that we have overlooked this letter.

No. 671.

Wittenberg.

18 October 1623.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends a letter to Weimar on an errand.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 244. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 26; by *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 427 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 250. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 868.

To Magister Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his brother.

Grace and peace! I ask that you send this letter with the booklet to the court of Duke John, for I have no one through whom I can send it but through you. I also wish to know whether you have seen to it that my letter is brought to Greffendorf 2), for he has either not yet received it, or has changed his mind. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the day of St. Lucä [18 Oct.] 1523.

Martin Luther.

2) See No. 658.

No. 672.

Wittenberg.

20 October 1523.

To the mayor and council of Zerbst.

Luther sends the desired preacher.

The original is in the city archives at Zerbst. Printed in Sinten's Denkschrift zur frommen Feier des 18. Februar 1846, p. 21; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 166 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 49.

To the honorable and wise lords, Burgemeister and Rathmann of the city of Zerbst, my special favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! I am sending here a letter pointer to the magister, 1) who has been a preacher at Jütterbock, about whom you wrote to me the other day. May E. W. continue to deal with him; for he has been tried and taught enough in many places so far. Command the same E. W. in God's grace. But what I can do, I am willing and ready. Hereby commanded by God. At Wittenberg, on Tuesday after Lucia [20 Oct.] 1523. Martinus Luther.

No. 673.

(Wittenberg.)

Around October 20, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Thanks to the Elector for the game donated for the doctorate. Luther expresses himself more specifically about the confiscation of the goods of his monastery.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 160 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 181. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 29; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 432 (in November?) and in *Erl. Briefwechsel*, vol. IV, p. 251. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 881. The timing is according to Burkhardt, p. 66.

To the Lord *Georgius*, the cultivator of the church field, Spalatin, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Our graduates say 2) to the mildness of the most illustrious

1) According to Sintenis, the preacher Luther sends is Johann Groner; Beckmann calls him Gronau. Perhaps the *album*, p. 68 named Grun. (Seidemann I. c.)

2) *Nostrand* == *magistrandi*. - The translation by: "Promovirte" (not: "to Promovirenden has its analogy in *absolvendus*, which often must be translated by: "the Absolvirte" must be translated. See *Erl. opp. var. arg.*, tom. II, p. 153 and St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 120.

Princes thanks,³⁾ and I at the same time with them. I hear that you handle the gospel in a prosperous way. Hail, O man! This is the way to Christ. I wish that you may become more and more rich; may he who began it, Christ, accomplish it.

By the way, what I wrote the other day about the transfer of our interest into the hands of the prince, 4) we meant in such a way that the prince, after he had taken all our rights, should nourish us with the usual interest until our monastic system completely fell away; then he should have it all for himself, as from the beginning. We are moved by the fact that from now on we have no hope that the interest owed by Staupitz will be paid, and that from day to day he will be burdened again and again with other interest to be paid annually. For our last letter of request and the order of the prince have been of no use to us, so that there is a danger that the property will be burdened too much by the arrears (*retardatis*, as it is called). Some thought that the consent of the vicar or the general should be obtained, but since we now neither read, nor roar, nor say mass, nor do anything that the foundation has decreed, it seems that the benefice and the service have lapsed, and must rightly be confiscated, except that we can be fed for a time because of the war against the pope. You have our opinion, you will judge. Farewell and pray for me. 1523. Mart. Luther.

No. 674.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of October 1523.)

To Spalatin.

Explanation of the Gospel of the Deaf and Dumb, Marc. 7, 31. ff.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 181. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 169; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 428 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 252. German in Walch vol. XXI, 872.

3) Since Luther had requested the game (in No. 666) for October 19, this letter will have been written later.

4) No. 669.

Your Lord Georg Spalatin, the servant of God and evangelist at court.

You will give thanks for the game, my dear Spalatin. About the gospel I have only this:

1. "The ten cities" is the people of the Law, "by the Sea of Galilee," near the promised future grace.

2. "They brought and asked," for the ministers of the Word must outwardly teach, / pray.

Apost. 6, 1) 4. "We / at the ministry of the word, want to stop / at prayer."

3. first "deaf", then "dumb", because the faith and the word is not in him, therefore he can neither teach nor pray.

4. "He took him from the people especially" because faith had transformed him into another Man transformed.

5. Christ / the preacher,
Thrive / the praying,

because
he likes to
record.

6. "Fingers in ears", the gifts of the Spirit follow the word of faith.

7. "With spittle [he stirred] the tongue." The wisdom of the cross is disgusting to the world, but it makes the children eloquent.

So much for the secret interpretations. By the way, according to the history, Christus / as a mystery of faith, /

/ as an example of love. Those who bring the mute show an example of love, and at the same time an example of faith, after they have heard good things about Christ. Martin

hundredfold busy.

No. 675.

Wittenberg.

October 1523.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther comments on the Picards and the Bohemians. He promises to write a book: "Ways to say Christian mass and to go to the table of God" (St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2230).

1) In the original and in the editions erroneously: *Actor*. 4.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmann-Briefe, No. 13. Handwritten in the *Franciscaneum* at Zerbst, *Cod.* 21, fol. 11. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. II, p. 133; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 428 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I V, p. 253. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 840.

To the worthy man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of the Church at Zwickau, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Other things in more detail, when your messenger will return to you, best Nicolaus. Now, by chance, I have given this letter to you to this carrier. I have no bad opinion of the Picards now, after having heard their belief in the Lord's Supper, since they were present themselves. I do not approve of the Bohemians, 2) who communicate the little children, although I do not consider them heretics for that reason.

I have long been anxious to prescribe a way of saying Mass and communicating, but have not yet been able to complete it. However, it is my intention not to admit anyone on future days when communion is held unless he has been interrogated and has given a correct answer about his faith; we will exclude the others. And I think that up to now enough leniency has been granted to the weak, and that the whole Sacrament should be restored, and all should be communicated under both forms, who want it and understand it, without taking into consideration any annoyance, whether it be with the neighbors or with others. But behold, the messenger hastens; more at another time. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 676.

(Wittenberg.)

(October or November 1523.)

To Nic. Househusband.

Luther again promises to publish a paper on the Wise Mass and then again comments on the Bohemian Brethren.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmann-Briefe, No. 20 a. Handwritten in a copy of Georg von Anhalts Schriften, ed. Wittenb. 1555, in the Zerbst Gymnasialbibliothek and in the Zwickau

2) These are the Calixtines, distinguished from the Bohemian Brethren or Picards.

Rathsschulbibliothek, XXXI V. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 167 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 429 and, in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I V, p. 254. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 869.

To the learned and godly man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, pastor of the church at Zwickau, his [friend] in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! Your messenger has returned to you, my dear Nicolaus, but I believe that my earlier letter has reached you. In the meantime, however, while I was thinking about your matter, it seemed good to me to have something printed shortly in which I describe (as I have written) the way to say mass. Meanwhile, if you can, abolish either all or many private masses. Then I will change the Canon and some ungodly prayers. For I do not see why we should change the other customs, together with the vestments and altars and the vessels, since a godly use can take place in these, and one cannot live in the Church of God without ceremonies. For of the other things I have written abundantly in other books.

The Picards hold thus of the Sacrament, that Christ under the bread is not bodily, as some say that they saw there blood and a little child, but spiritually or sacramentally, that is, he who receives the bread visibly receives in truth the natural blood of him who sits at the right hand of the Father, but invisibly. Above this we cannot condemn them, for so we also hold. Then, that they do not worship, they refer to the same thing, that he is not there visibly, as the visions have him, but invisibly, that is, at the right hand of the Father. Take the short letter of the busy man with patience.

Martin Luther.

No. 677.

Wittenberg.

November 6, 1523.

To Spalatin.

Answer to a pastoral question. Information about Luther's behavior in the election of the new canons and about the economic matter of the monastery mentioned in Letter No. 669.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 155 and in *Cod. Jen.* a. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 168; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 430 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 255. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 870.

To Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the court, who is highly esteemed in Christ, his [friend] in the Lord...

Grace and peace! That man who has the flow of seed of which you write to me, when otherwise right seed departs from him, that is, with very great pleasure and a shock, as the flow would be if he attended a woman (for there are people in whom such a flow is so small, and almost without pleasure, that it is thought to be only a kind of superfluous moisture, which neither a woman nor any power could remedy): if this person lives in idleness and abundance, he will be able to try, first of all, to subdue his flesh by bodily work and fasting; then there will be hope of recovery; but if he will not or cannot work, he must, according to God's command, unite himself with a woman, otherwise he will tempt God and remain in sin.

By the way, that you also often write and others reproach me that the three youngest canons were chosen on my advice, while I preach the opposite, I have always despised as an all too great lie. But it is necessary that I finally justify myself, since I see that if I remain silent, this will spread and gain credence. I have advised no one that he should vote, or that he should ever be voted for, since I would certainly prefer that at this hour that house of Satan should lie down. But the matter is as follows: After they had been elected without my knowledge and in my absence, and I was also convinced that the prince's opinion was that their [the canons'] number should remain full and all that idolatry untouched, so they consulted me whether they should accept the election? Here I advised thus: since the money is to be thrown away to any people, 1) who would be [canons], the best would be that it would be thrown away to those who would be worthy and skillful, and they would receive it for this reason.

1) Instead of *quos vel* we have assumed *quosvis*. In the original, which has been damaged several times, the word after *quos* is torn out and the Erl. Briefw. has, according to the *Cod. Dessav.* has adopted the reading *vel*. Aurifaber and De Wette offer: *quos alios*.

gell, so that not Aergere and unworthier it received, how now the servants of the avarice in exactly this house deal with the presences 1).

The prior 2) is surprised that you do not know what is the matter with our debt to Blank 3). When we call Blank our Danista⁴⁾, we mean the smaller choir, to which we have been paying 20 florins annually for many years. Therefore, you will make it clear to the prince that we will receive our money in full from Christoph Bressen, and Blank will kill us (as he is an impetuous admonisher) with words of admonition alone. Then, in this poverty of ours, we have received grain in full from the castle owner, and he presses us even more. Therefore, you will either ask for us that this debt be given to us through the kindness of the prince, or that we soon receive the money from Bressen. Otherwise we have nothing at hand with which we can pay, and in the meantime many other things have been taken on Borg, and that one [the castle owner] is doing us quite nice rude things. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Friday after All Saints' Day [Nov. 6] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 6 78.

(Wittenberg.)

(Before November 13, 1523.)

To the Council and People of the City of Prague.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1548.

No. 6 79.

Wittenberg.

November 13, 1523.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther informs him that "Die Weise, Messe zu halten" will be published soon and sends the previous letter.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmann-Briefe, No. II. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 169b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 434 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 259. German in Walch, vol. XXI,

873.

To the dear man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, pastor and bishop of the church at Zwickau, his brother.

Grace and peace! Dearest Nicolaus, it will happen soon that we will prescribe a way of saying mass for our church, then you can also take from this way what you like. I do not care about Dionysius 5), although I would also like to follow the old custom, but it is so changeable and uncertain, then completely contaminated with new findings, and I would have done it in this booklet to the Bohemians 6), if the lack of time had not prevented me from doing so. Be well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1523, Friday after Martinmas [Nov 13]. Martin Luther.

No. 680.

Wittenberg.

November 17, 1523.

To the mayor and council of Zerbst.

Luther asks that the interest from a debt capital of 400 florins, in the amount of 20 florins, on which someone had placed a charge, be given to the Augustinians in Magdeburg.

The original is in the secret archive at Zerbst. Printed in the memorandum of Sintenis 1846, p. 24; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 167 and in De WetteSeidemann, vol. VI, p. 50. - A receipt of the Augustinian priest Udalricus Möller of September 22, 1523 was not enclosed with this letter, as Sintenis, p. 25, states, but was already earlier in the hands of the council, but was presumably not accepted at first. (Seidemann.).

The honorable and wise, mayor and council of Zerbist, 7) my special favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! The Schöffner of the Augustinians in Magdeburg has asked me to write a petition to E. W., so that he may pay the interest that is to be

1) *cum praesentiis* translates Walch by: "now". But the "presences" are gifts of money, which were distributed among those who were present at the masses and vigils. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1186; compare also *ibid.* col. 1173, note 6.

2) Eberhard Brisger.

3) See No. 669.

4) *Danista* is the name of the plaintiff in Reuchlin's

Scenica Progymnasmata of 1498. it is the Greek word xxxxxxxx, one who makes money on usury borrows, a creditor.

5) Dionysius Areopagita; about this Luther expresses his opinion in the writing "Of the Babylonian Captivity of the Church", St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 111.

6) This gives the approximate timing for No. 678.

7) Luther soon wrote "Zerbist", soon "Zeruist", "Zerwist", "Zerwest", "Cerbist", "Zerbest". (Erlanger Ausg.)

1) I would like to attain with E. W.. That I do not have to Lord, who are in misery and have escaped from the deny him knowledge, although I do not like to trouble E. Babylon of the pope, whether you could help them with W.. However, if it can be done without E. W.'s help, I you by assistance or intercession, so that they learn would like to ask that such interest be paid to them, some work with which they can feed themselves. considering that they are allowed to do so, and that the At the same time, we have a rumor that the King of grief is not fixed, because the caretaker has neither England's orator, Lee,²⁾ is going to trouble me in written nor documented who he is or where he lives, as is Nuremberg. Christ will see what will happen; I expect the proper in such matters, and if he were the one suspected, raging of Satan here. Now that the second part of the Old he could easily be held liable for damage and loss. Hereby Testament is finished,³⁾ which will be published in the E. W. do what God bestows, in whose grace I command next feast, I will immediately start on the third part, the E. W., auras. At Wittenberg, on Tuesday after Martinmas most difficult and greatest. Farewell and pray for me, you man of God, and greet all of us. Wittenberg, on the day [Nov. 17] 1523.

Martinus Luther.

of Barbara [Dec. 4] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 681.

(Wittenberg.)

Before December 4, 1523.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2232.

No. 682.

Wittenberg.

December 4, 1523.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther sends him the "Weise, christliche Messe zu halten," to which the previous letter is dedicated; likewise, several fugitives (probably expired monks), whom he recommends to him. He reports that the English orator Edward Lee, as rumored, will trouble him in Nuremberg; the second part of the Old Testament is finished, now he will go to the third.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmann-Briefe, No. 12. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. II, p. 169 b; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 434 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 261. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 873 f.

To the holy man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior in Christ.

Grace and peace! I send to you, dearest brother from Nicolaus, the way of the Mass as I have been able to bring it about, a short and light little book, but at the same time also a burden and burden of Christian love, that is, these brothers in the

No. 683.

Wittenberg.

December 4, 1523.

To Nicolaus Gerbel.

Luther uses himself for Franz Lambert, who, for the sake of his better advancement, intends to go to the vicinity of France.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 170; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 437 and in Erl. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 874.

Grace and peace! Although I, my dear Gerbel, am writing in vain and am advising myself against it for many reasons, I am urged to do so by the one for whom I am writing, after he had scouted out that there might be someone in Strasbourg whom I know. It is Franz Lambert with us, a Frenchman; two years ago he was an apostolic preacher with the Minorites (as they call it), and has taken a local woman as his wife, 4) who hopes to be able to live better near his France, and does not listen to my advice, so taken is he by his own. For I am of the opinion that if people cannot get along with you, especially people of this kind, they should rather migrate from there to us, than

2) Lee was a member of the English legation that presented the Order of the Garter to King Ferdinand at Nuremberg on December 8.

3) From Joshua to Esther. However, the printing was completed only in the beginning of the year 1524.

4) See No. 628.

1) "stunted" == occupied with misting. See Grimm s. v. Kummer.

here to you. But he has triumphed so that I may have peace.

I therefore ask for his sake that you answer me whether there is an honorable, rather a suitable position with you, from which he would hope to be able to live. He is a man who can do well in reading the 1). He is a man who is able to perform and apply something in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, but is not quite a match for our Barnabas and Paul, 2) then in the translation of my German writings into French. He confidently hopes to produce fruit and earn his living in the vicinity of France, especially in this way. However, our prince sometimes pardons him with a gift of money, so that he has had 40 florins from him this year.

If you do not answer me, neither he nor I will have peace. From this you can see what I suffer from such people who spy on my good friends through me and are a burden to them. Fare well with your wife and children. 3) Wittenberg, 1523, on the day of Barbara [Dec. 4]. Martin Luther.

No. 684.

4 December. 1523.

Wittenberg.

To the City Council of Oelsnitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2092, no. 705.

No. 685.

December 5, 1523.

(Wittenberg.)

To Michael from the streets in Borna.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2096, no. 708.

No. 686.

December 11, 1523.

Wittenberg.

To the Christians of Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1916.

1) Instead of *sanis* we have assumed *sacris*, which the old translator already did.

2) According to *Herminj.* I, 170 2 Allusion to Melanchthon and Bugenhagen.

3) *cum carne et costa tua*. Walch translates literally: "with your flesh and ribbe".

No. 687.

December 11, 1523.

(Wittenberg.)

To Leonhard Puchler, fencing master in Halle.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1338, no. 154.

No. 688.

12 December 4) 1523.

Wittenberg.

To the Lords of the Teutonic Order.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1730, no. 181.

No. 689.

14, December 1523.

Wittenberg.

To Hanna van Spiegel,⁵⁾ a convent virgin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 708.

No. 690.

(1523.)

(Wittenberg.)

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of two village priests.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 235. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 32; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 447 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 267. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 885.

Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his superior in Christ.

Grace and peace! I commend to you, dearest Spalatin, these two village priests, that you may help them in the matter of their exchange, as you will hear. For they have asked me to recommend them. Farewell.
Martin Luther.

No. 691.

(1523.)

(Wittenberg.)

To Spalatin.

Luther asks him to help that the petition of the pastor of Jessen reaches the prince and complains about the unjust behavior of the chancellor Jerome.

4) This date is the conjecture of the Weimar edition, which Vol. XII, p. 229, Note 4 expresses the assumption that this writing is to be set on Sabb. p. *Concept. Mariae*, that is, December 12. This is due to confusion with *Annunciat. Marias* on the 28th of March.

5) This name of the convent virgin is derived from Luther's letter to Spalatin of July 31, 1524.

Handwritten in *Cod.* Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 25; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 448 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 267. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 865.

For the attention of Magister Spalatin, his brother in Christ.

Mercy and peace! I beg you, free me; I am so overwhelmed with foreign affairs that I am weary of living. The priest of Jessen complains that his petitions cannot reach the prince, and he is urged by the chancellor Jerome, 1) who is hostile to him and similar people, to leave his wife, whom he has,²⁾ as I and the whole city know, with good reason. The hostility of this Jerome against the gospel and its things is sufficiently evident to me by many other proofs, so that the great power of this man makes me very angry. Therefore, see to it that this poor priest is heard and helped, so that he does not cry out against us to the Lord. Farewell. Martin Luther,

Court man out of court, even against his will.

No. 692.

(Wittenberg.)

(1523.)

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of a Bohemian nobleman to a farmstead.

Handwritten in *Cod.* Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 29; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 449 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 268. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 880.

To the highly esteemed Mr. Georg Spalatin, ecclesiastical courtier, his [friend] in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! A young knight from Bohemia desires through me to become a courtier at this court, to whom I have answered that he seeks it in vain. But so that I may get rid of him with honor, you answer

1) Here, we should not think of D. Hieronymus Schurs, as Seidemann assumes in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 667 s. v. Hieronymus and p. 695 8. v. Schürf, but of Hieronymus Rudlauf, secretary (*a Secretis*) of Duke Friedrich, as D. Enders assumes. Since the latter died on Sept. I, 1523 in Torgau, this letter would have to be placed earlier.

2) Instead of *quantum* we have assumed according to De Wette's conjecture: *quam tamen*.

me. For he has stopped in such a way that I could not refuse him a letter to you. Although he has a strong body and a good and noble disposition, as it seems to me, there is still something that makes me certain that he will not be admitted to this place. Mart. Luther.

No. 693.

(Wittenberg.)

(1523.)

To Spalatin.

In the same matter as the previous letter.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, with the inscription Spalatin: *Doc. M. Lutherus Pro Boemo Hus (?) Juttobocum*. 3) M. D. XXIII. Printed at the locations indicated in the previous number.

To the worthy man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the court of Saxony.

Grace and peace! The Bohemian himself comes to you to see and hear for himself how things stand and what hope he will have in all this court. You will hear the man, he seems to me to be a good young man, 4) Be well and pray for me.

Martin.

No. 694.

(Wittenberg.)

1523.

To the printers of his sermons.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 456, but according to the *Erlanger Ausgabe*, vol. 65, p. 221, with the wrong year 1522. We have corrected this here according to the *Erlanger Ausg.* (2.), vol. 13, p. 2.

No. 695.

(Riga.)

(1523.)

Joh. Lohmüller, town clerk in Riga, to Luther.

(Regest.)

Lohmüller reports that he wrote to Luther more than a year ago and sent the letter (No. 544) through a young man who went to Wittenberg.

3) Should *Jutte[r]bocum* refer to the place, where Luther sent the letter, so this as well as the previous letter would have to be put approximately on Oct. 16, when the Elector was at Jüterbock. (Erl. Briefw.)

4) Here follow the words in the original, which Luther himself crossed out again: "By the way, I am sending the letter and the booklet at the same time, which are to be sent to the court of Duke John. For [only] through you and no one else have I been able to arrange this."

Now, however, after such a long time, there has been no answer of any kind from Luther. ¹⁾ Since he suspects that his letter has not leached into Luther's hands, he sends it to Briesf again with the present one, repeating the same request. - The end of the letter is missing. As a result of this letter, Luther wrote the "Interpretation of the 127th Psalm, to the Christians of Riga in Liefland", St. Louis Edition, Vol. V, 1284.

This letter is found in handwriting in the archive at Königsberg, volume "Rigische Kirche". Printed by G. R. Taubeuheim, *Einiges aus dem Leben M. Joh. Lohmüller*, program, Riga 1830; in Kolde's *Analecta*, p. 47, note 2, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 270.

No. 696.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early 1524?) 2)

To Spalatin in Nuremberg.

Luther asks him to rewrite some psalm into a German hymn, and wants to use Johann von Dolzig for such work.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 196. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 238b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 590 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I V, p. 273. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 920.

Grace and peace! I intend to produce German psalms for the people, that is, spiritual songs, according to the example of the prophets and the old fathers of the church, so that the word of God may also remain among the people through song. We are therefore looking for poets everywhere; but since it is given to you that you have the German language in your power and know how to express yourself delicately in it, and have also refined it through varied use, I ask you to work with us in this matter and to set about transforming some psalm into a song, as you have my example here. I would like, however, that new words and words that can only be used at court would not be used, so that, according to the comprehension of the people, simple and quite ordinary words would be sung, which would nevertheless be pure and appropriate at the same time, so that the meaning would be rendered clearly and as close to the Psalms as possible. It must here

1) "Luther's Epistle to the Christians in Liefland", dated August 1523 (No. 638), had therefore not yet arrived in Riga.

2) This letter perhaps already falls into the end of the year 1523. Burkhardt, p. 78 places it "at the beginning of January", because already on Jan. 14 Luther refers back to it.

The words should therefore be used freely: one must keep the sense, let the words go and replace them with other suitable words. I do not have the gift to produce something like that in such a way as I would like. Therefore, I will try whether you are a Heman, an Assaph or a Jedithun. I would like to ask the same of Johann Dolzig, who is also rich and graceful in words, but only if you have time for it, which I assume does not happen much now. But you have my seven penitential psalms and their interpretations,³⁾ from which you can take the opinion of the psalm, or if it pleases you that a psalm be assigned to you, I assign to you the first [Ps. 6]: "Ah God, do not punish me in your anger," or the seventh [Ps. 143], "Oh God, hear my prayer," and to John Dolzig the second [Ps. 32], "Blessed are those whose iniquities are remitted," for the [Ps. 130] "Out of the Deep" has been edited by me 4); [the 51st Psalm] "God, have mercy on me" has already been ordered to be made. 5) Or if these are too difficult, take these two: "I will praise the Lord always" and "Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous," that is, the 34th and 33rd, or the 104th Psalm: "Praise the Lord, my soul." But answer what we have to hope from you. Be at ease in the Lord.

No. 697.

Wittenberg.

January 7, 1524.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther reports on a marriage case; then that Carlstadt had set up an angular printing press in Jena in order to escape the censorship to which, according to the imperial mandate, all printed matter should be subjected.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 185, printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 50 (with the wrong date: Jan. 10); in De Wette, vol. II, p. 457 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 275.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 1654.

4) In the song: "Aus tiefer Noth".

5) A Swiss who was in Wittenberg. Erhart Hegenwalt, rewrote it into the song: "Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott". It appeared in Wittenberg on Jan. 8, 1524, so our letter is earlier.

To the respectable and highly famous man, Mr. Gregorius Brück, Chancellor at the Court of Saxony in Weimar, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace. Respectable Mr. Chancellor! M. Wolfgang 1) has presented the case to me like this: The husband accuses the departed wife as an adulteress, promising that he will prove by the testimony of the people and the council that it would not have stood with him, that she would not have stayed. But so far he has neither proven nor produced anything. Therefore, the Gospel of Matthew 18 must be kept here, and the man must be forced to prove the offense either in the presence of the woman and since she defends herself, in view of the church, or, if she could not be present, by testimony of the neighbors and public announcement of the citizens, that she left without criminal guilt of the man. For it is not allowed to condemn her, either when she is present and has not confessed, or in her absence, without her having been convicted. Therefore, that Erfurt Aegidius 2) seems to have passed the sentence after only one part had been heard, which is much stronger against the gospel than against the law.

But I beg you, dear man, to do a service for your princes, in my name and at my request. But it is this. Carlstadt has set up a printing press in Jena in order to have printed there what man only wants by indulging his weaknesses, namely that he is willing to teach where he is not called, but where he is called he is always obstinately silent. Although this matter can do little, indeed nothing, to harm our preaching ministry, it will nevertheless bring disgrace to the princes and our academy, since the Elector and at the same time our academy have agreed and promised through writings and words that, in accordance with the imperial edict, they will not permit³⁾ to print anything unless it has been overlooked and approved by persons appointed for this purpose. Since the Prince and all of us now keep this promise, it is not to be denied.

that Carlstadt alone with his own does not hold it under the rule of the prince. Therefore, the princes may see to it that he first sends his own, which he wants to surrender, to such people for evaluation as the princes want, or that he refrains from doing so, so that the princes and all of us do not get bad gossip and are accused of having violated loyalty and faith. Fare well in the Lord, and commend me to the princes. Wittenberg, Thursday after Epiphany [Jan. 7] 1524.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 698.

Wittenberg.

January 13, 1524. ⁴⁾

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther speaks out about an intended double marriage, and recommends a preacher expelled from Bamberg to be pastor in Oelsnitz.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 451, fol., and in *Cod. Goth.* 185, 4. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 52; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 458 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 282.

To the respectable and highly learned man, Mr. Gregorius Brück, Doctor of Both Rights, Chancellor of the Duke of Saxony in Weimar, his [friend] to be highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace! To the man who desires a second wife on Carlstadt's advice, the prince may answer thus: The husband himself must be firm and certain in his own conscience by God's word that this is permitted to him. Therefore, he may ask such people for advice who can make him sure by the word of God. Whether this is Carlstadt or someone else is none of the prince's business. For if he is otherwise uncertain, he cannot be certain by the prince's permission, who is not entitled to decide anything in this matter, and it is up to the priests to answer the word of God, from whose mouth one hears the word of God.

⁴⁾ De Wette, as it seems to us, has rightly given the letter this date, understanding *Pauli as Pauli Eremitae*, January 10, because this letter is earlier than the next one. Schütze and the Erlangen correspondence have it as *Convers. Pauli* (Jan. 25), and therefore date it: "January 27".

1) Stern, court preacher at Weimar.

2) Mechler

The Lord's law, as Malachi 1) [Cap. 2, 7] says. I confess indeed that I could not resist it if someone wanted to take several wives, 2) nor does it contradict the holy Scriptures; but nevertheless I did not want such an example to be first introduced among Christians, among whom it is proper to refrain even from what is permitted in order to avoid trouble and to lead an honorable life, which Paul demands everywhere. For it is very unseemly for Christians to pursue the highest and outermost things of freedom so anxiously for the sake of their convenience, and yet neglect the common and necessary things of love. Therefore, I did not want to open this window in my sermon 3) and hardly believe that a Christian is so abandoned by God that he should not be able to abstain when his spouse 4) is prevented by God. I am afraid that there is some kind of malice involved. 5) But let it go wherever it goes; perhaps those at Orlamünde will also circumcise themselves and become completely Mosaic.

I also wrote before") about the other case; I do not know whether the one who received the letter delivered it. By the way, I have two preachers for Oelsnitz. But one of them, whom I would most like to have serve in this preaching position, has a female wife; otherwise he is rich in all the gifts that befit an evangelist: Modesty, learning, godliness, and honorable manners distinguish both him and his wife. For he has now lived with us for more than two years without reproach and very praiseworthy.

1) In the Latin text: *Zacharias*.

2) Likewise, Luther speaks in a sermon about the 1st book of Moses, which he preached around the same time. St. Louis Edition, Vol. III, 276, § 10.

3) "On Marital Life," St. Louis edition, vol. X, 898.

4) "It will probably read *conjugue* [instead of *conjux*]." (Erl. Briefw.)

5) This previous opinion of Luther on bigamy was enclosed by the Elector in a letter to the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse of July 3, 1540, in German translation. Lenz, Briefwechsel des Landgrafen Philipp mit Bucer, gives it in Vol. I, p. 342, note as a fragment of a letter from Luther to Carlstadt, and Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 355 gives a regest of it. Köstlin, M. Luther, vol. II, p. 681 ad p. 540 has first drawn attention to it.

6) In the previous number.

worth. This is the priest, 7) who was expelled full of Cranach by the bishop of Bamberg because of his marital status, who would have been more sorry if he had wanted to be a fornicator and adulterer, which had been granted and permitted to him. Whether he likes it or not, whether he can be tolerated or not, I ask to be informed. For I would like him to be kept in our country, as such people are seldom seen, otherwise he will be called elsewhere out of the country. Farewell and commend me to the princes. Wittenberg, 1524, Wednesday after Paul [the Hermit] [Jan. 13]. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 699.

Wittenberg.

January 14, 1524.

To Wolfgang Stein in Weimar.

Luther reports that he has replied to Brück about the case of double marriage, and recommends the pastor of Cranach for Oelsnitz.

Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 51 (from the Kraft collection at Husum); by De Wette, vol. II, p. 460 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 277.

Grace and peace! About the two-woman man you described to me, I have answered the chancellor D. Gregorius, 8) but about a pastor for Oelsnitz 9) nothing is written to me. Here with us is the pastor of Cranach, a married man, whom I believe you know. He would be the most suitable for the place, if it could happen. Therefore, if you want to or can do something in this matter, then show it. In the meantime, I will keep the man here. Farewell with your wife, 10) safe and sound in the Lord. Wittenberg, Thursday after Octave Epiphany [Jan. 14] 1524.

Your Martin Luther.

7) Johannes Grau or Caesius. He died in 1559 as the first pastor and superintendent of Weimar.

8) Namely, in the previous letter. The Erl. Briefw. refers from No. 697, but there is another marriage case.

9) This is how *Parocho Olsnitzensis* will have to be grasped, not: "the pastor at Oelsnitz", Wolfgang Crusius, as the Erl. Correspondence takes it. Because about Crusius was written several times to Luther, as his letters to Michael von der Straßen and to the council of Oelsnitz (No. 668. 684 and 685) prove. Here it concerns the reoccupation of the in the meantime finished parish position there.

10) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, annex, no. 123.

No. 700

Wittenberg.

January 14, 1524.

To Spalatin in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2622, annex, no. 115.

No. 701.

Wittenberg.

January 18, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends him a letter from Argula von Staufen, urges the improvement of the bad road to Kemberg and reports a new act of violence by the Cardinal in Halle.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. A*, No. 163 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 183. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 181; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 461 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 278. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 885.

To the godly and learned man, Magister Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I am sending you, dear Spalatin, the letter of Argula, the disciple of Christ, so that you may see it and rejoice with the angels over a sinful daughter of Adam who has been converted and become a daughter of God. If you can reach her, I ask that you greet her in my name and comfort her in the name of Christ. For I too am seeking how to reach her, and would have written already if I had been sure that letters could come to her through you.

Incidentally, everything is still good with us, as it was, except that the way from Wittenberg to Kemberg is accused with many and great cries up to heaven, and for this reason, the prince also has a bad reputation. God would have him leave his life with this testament and improve this path, since he could easily do so. The Cardinal of Mainz rages now for the third time with the episcopal tyranny also in Halle, after he has raged in Miltenberg and Halberstadt, the unfortunate man. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Anno 1524, the day after Anthony [Jan. 18].

Martin Luther.

Send back the letter of Argula.

It is rumored that the prince was killed by a defamatory note that was posted on the doors.

had been disgraced with the accusation of heresy 2c. Likewise, the rumor comes from Torgau that Gabriel will marry the surviving wife of the chancellor Jerome 1).

No. 702.

Wittenberg.

January 19, 1524.

To Lambert Thorn.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1924.

No. 703.

Wittenberg.

January 27, 1524.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

Luther encourages him not to lose patience in the vexations he has had (probably with the Stadtrath), and declares that a certain feeling prevents him from writing to the Stadtrath until Hess has struggled a little more with the word?

Manuscript in the royal library at Berlin, *Mss. lat. theol.* 8°. 91, p. 103. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 240; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 592 (without date) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 284. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 922.

Grace and peace in the Lord! May he who called you strengthen and prepare you [1 Pet 5:10] Amen. See, there you have your comfort from me, dearest Heß, for what instruction you desire from me I do not quite understand; all that I have is poured out in the books which you have and see. Then you have Paul's instructions for Timothy and Titus, and Christ's for all the apostles, Matt. 10; what more do you want? You have now entered the ship with Christ; what can you expect? fair weather? rather winds and storms and floods that cover the ship so that it begins to sink. But with this baptism you must be baptized, and then better weather will follow, after Christ has been awakened and called, who will sleep for you at times. I would write to the council, but I do not know what movement of the mind keeps me from it, that it seems to me that this matter must first be attacked with the word of God through your ministry, so that you do not seem to have rushed too much to peace.

1) Hieron. Rudlauf. Cf. no. 691.

and good weather. For Christ also created the wicked for If I give you the opportunity to dedicate something to his an evil day [Proverbs 16:4], in which he can harm, name,²⁾ if he can suffer otherwise, that my name brings deceive, seduce, and destroy those who are worthy of his name as a Christian one, which nowadays, as you wrath. But when you have struggled through with the know, is more than hatefulness itself. Thanks be to Christ, word, He will be there, I will be there too, if I am able. who prepares his saints so wonderfully, and who Therefore be at ease in the Lord, and sing this [Ps. 31:25]: condescends to carry out his works through you, who also "Be of good cheer, all ye that wait upon the Lord," Amen. blesses you to grow into many baptizing ones.

Wittenberg, Wednesday after Paul's conversion [Jan. 27] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 704.

Wittenberg. (January or February 1524.)

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 728, no. 113.

No. 705.

(Wittenberg.) (January) 1) 1524.

To Johann Brismann in Königsberg.

Luther sends greetings to the Bishop of Samland and promises to dedicate a work to him; reports that a Prussian gentleman has requested a preacher from Wittenberg, and shares news.

The original is in the Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg. Printed in Andr. Vogler's Briefsammlung, *Regiomont.* 1622, No. 2; in *Acta Borussica*, 1730, vol. I, p. 797; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 109; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 588 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 292.

To the brother, Johann Brismann, evangelist of Prussia (Prutenorum), who is highly esteemed in the Lord, his exceedingly dear [friend] in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your two letters have been delivered to me, dear brother in the Lord. I did not lack the will to reply to the earlier ones, since I always had them in mind, so that I would write if there was a messenger, but none showed up. Now I write through the one who brought the last ones. Your bishop, the excellent armament of Christ, I ask to greet from me most humbly. Also, I will not refrain from writing, if time and

1) This time determination results several times from the contents of the letter.

Herr von Heydeck 3) has requested a preacher from me by letter, whom he wanted to take away with him, just as you were taken away, but he has been forced to go elsewhere, so that he could not visit us in Wittenberg, as he had promised. So I do not know how the matter stands now. I had thought of your Guardian here, Veit Jerig, 4) or at least our Capellan from Königstein, Cölestiner, a fine man.

Your Schatzgeyer (*Thesaurivora*) is silent now. 5) Your booklet is printed again with us, coveted at Nuremberg. Eck, returned from hell, has poured out or rather thrown out two books printed at Rome, one for Purgatory,⁶⁾ the other for the defender of the Roman Church, namely for the King of England, the defender for the defender, but to whom there is no cause to answer. He is Eck, he remains Eck.

The Duke of Bavaria 7) rages about the

2) Luther fulfilled this promise by dedicating his "Notes on the Fifth Book of Moses" (St. Louis edition, vol. III, 1370), which, however, did not appear until 1525.

3) Friedrich von Heydeck, Albrecht's councilor, who later converted to the Anabaptists and became their protector in Prussia.

4) *Jeriken*, Jerig or Gericke, the Franciscan guardian in Wittenberg, because Brismann was a Franciscan. - The capellan is Johann Mantel, who escaped from the Cölestine monastery at Königstein, of which he was prior, at the end of October 1523 and came to Wittenberg.

5) Thus, Luther did not yet know about Schatzgeyer's counter-writing: *Examen novum doctrinarum* etc.. About Brismann's dispute with Schatzgeyer, see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Einl., p. 29 f.

6) *De pargatorio Johannis Eckii ... contra Ludderum libri III.* (rather IV) etc., printed at Nom by Marcellus Franck in June 1523. - The other writing has the title: *Asseritur hic invictissimi Angliae regis liber de sacramentis, a calumniis et impietatibus Ludderi* etc., printed there in the month of May 1523.

7) Wilhelm.

To a great extent, with killing, steaming and persecuting the Gospel with all their might. The noble Lady Argula of Staufen is now fighting a great battle in this country in a great spirit and full of the word and knowledge of Christ. She is worthy that we all pray for her, that Christ may triumph in her. She has attacked the academy at Ingolstadt with writings, because they have urged a certain young man Arsacius 1) to a shameful recantation. Her husband, who is already a tyrann against her, is now pushed out of his office for her sake; just think what he will do! She is alone among so many monsters, and although she has a strong faith, she is, as she herself writes, at times not without despondency of heart. She is a special instrument of Christ, I commend her to you, that through this weak little vessel Christ may put to shame these mighty and glorious ones in their wisdom. All of us salute you. 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 706.

Wittenberg.

February 1, 1524.

To Spalatin in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1792, anh., no. 17.

No. 707.

Wittenberg.

February 6, 1524.

To Hans von Minkwitz.

Luther had pledged for Dietrich Nabel with Valentin Mellerstadt, but had been deceived, therefore he asks to be released from this guarantee, since one could hold oneself harmless at the funds, which have Nabel with duke Johann. 2)

1) M. Arsacius Seehofer from Munich had been forced by the professors of Ingolstadt to recant seventeen articles as heretical in prison on September 17, 1523. Against this, Argula von Staufen (Grumbach) wrote: "How a Christian woman of the nobility, in BeierN, by means of a sendtbrief founded in God's Scriptures, punishes the high school at Ingolstadt for having conned a Protestant youth into speaking the Word of God. Date Dietfurt, Sontags nach erhebung des heiligen Creutzs [Sept. 18] 1523." Luther also issued a writing in this matter: "Wider das blinde und tolle Verdammniß der 17 Artikel" 2c., No. 5 in the appendix of this volume. - "Her husband," Frederick of Grumbach, was and remained Catholic, so she used her patronymic in her writings.

2) De Wette and, according to him, the Erl. Briefw. state the content thus: "Request for a prisoner for whom Luther had said goodbye."

From the original in Unsch. Nachr. 1734, p. 530; in Walch, vol. XXI, 886; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 474, and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 53, p. 232.

To the strict and honorable Mr. Hans von Minkwitz, knight and churfürstliches Rath, and my but lord and friend.

Grace and peace. Most honorable, strict, dear sir, I ask for the sake of Christian love, Your Grace, to help my 3) poor faith out of the prison, which I have had installed at Mr. Valtin Mellerstadt 4) for Dietrich Nabel of good opinion, and unfortunately he is in disgrace, and is not worth a penny more, so he should help many 5) now. But I hear that the same Dietrich has interest or chamber money with my gracious Lord Duke Hansen. There E. Gestr. can help me well. Since faith is no longer valid, I want to earn it with my poor Our Father, if I can. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. At Wittenberg on the Saturday after 8 [6 Feb.] 1524.

Martinus Luther.

No. 708.

Wittenberg.

February 14, 1524.

To Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz.

Luther announces to him that he will send out a letter of consolation to the persecuted Miltenbergers and assumes that the persecution happened without the archbishop's knowledge.

First in the Supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 34 (supposedly *ex Copial. Arch. Vinar.*, but De Wette did not find it there); in Walch, vol. XXI, 66 ff; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 484 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 233.

To Mr. Albrechten, Tit. St. Chrysogoni Cardinal, Archbishops of Mainz and Magdeburg, Primates, Margraves of Brandenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord, Amen. Most reverend in God, most noble, most highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! Although I hear that it is forbidden by E. C. F. G. Mighty, not to write, neither to

3) "my" put by us instead of: "my".

4) *Bindseil, Colloquia*, tom. I, p. 184 it is said that Valentin Mellerstadt served many with his money, but not without his great harm.

5) "many" put by us instead of: "many".

E. C. F. G. nor the one in Wittenberg, because of the trade that has taken place there. I would be heartily sorry if it could remain with a good conscience, which allows nothing to be forbidden to it, against and above all the power of angels. I am also heartily sorry that the third time under C.C.F.G.'s rule the seed has been raised; nevertheless, some violence must be done, even if it were done by holy people, be silent, if such people do it behind C.C.F.G.'s knowledge, or incite C.C.F.G. to do it, who are also not so pure that they would stone the adulteress. This is well known, however, and the country and the people bear witness that the people of Wittenberg are not plagued in this way because of rebellion, but solely for the sake of the Gospel or preaching; and that such things should happen under E. C. F. G. through such people, I am truly sorry. Now that I am not a displeasure to E. C. F. G., I will leave it that way, although I would gladly pray for the poor innocent people, if it could be; but I cannot leave that, since the poor people are also forbidden to receive letters, that I let a public letter of comfort go out, lest my Christ say to me on the last day: I have been imprisoned, but you have not visited me. Now I want to spare E. C. F. G. as much as I can, because I still have good confidence that E. C. F. G. is not of the same opinion as some wolves and lions are at E. C. F. G.'s court, and therefore I want this letter to reach E. C. F. G. beforehand, so that I may, according to the Gospel, first address E. C. F. G. with a letter of comfort. C. F. G. beforehand, whether she might not know this, and whether I would not meet it all at once, and make it most beautiful that E. C. F. G. does not have to speak with me, but with the same wolves and lions, who cultivate their courage under E. C. F. G.'s name. Command hereby E. C. F. G. in God's grace, and ask that my necessary letter be graciously understood. At Wittenberg, on 14 Feb. 1524. Mart. Luther,

No. 700.

Around February 14, 1524.

Wittenberg.

To the people of Miltenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1272.

No. 710.

Wittenberg.

February 23, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther complains about Spalatin's silence and the lack of news from the Imperial Diet. He complains about the difficulty of translating the Book of Job, which is holding up the printing of the third part of the Old Testament.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 165 and in *Cod. Jen a*, fol. 184. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 183d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 486 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 299. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 88-7.

To the godly and learned man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ and minister of the grace of God, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! This, my dearest Spalatin, I write to you for no other reason than that I finally addressed a letter to you, because you are so stubbornly silent about Nuremberg, as if you were in Rome, so that we do not know whether you all sleep on and on, or whether you conspire to some future monstrosity. For a long time I have received a letter from you, but in the meantime everything is so silent that it is equally 1) uncertain to us whether there is a pope or whether an imperial diet can be assumed. But we hope, since Easter time is approaching, that the princes will be incited by their confessors and preachers, that they will render a service to Christ in satisfaction for sins, in order to be able to communicate worthily, and pursue the gospel anew with new examples. I also expect at the same time what spiritual songs you have produced about the Psalms, as I wrote the other day. 2)

With us, everything still stands well. Only in the translation of Job have we had a lot of trouble because of the sublimity of the exceedingly grand style, 3) so that he seems to be much more impatient about our translation than about the comfort of his friends, or certainly wants to sit on the dunghill again and again.

1) Instead of in the outputs, we have assumed.

2) No. 696 and 700.

3) See Luther's Preface to the Book of Job, St. Louis Edition, vol. XIV, 19, s 5.

If the author of this book did not want that it should neverIf you are able to keep your conscience intact, so that you be translated. This circumstance delays the printing of thisdo not serve the laws of those people in any way (which third part of the Bible. Write again at last, and give us newsI believe they cannot stand, unless a new miracle about your and the world's affairs. Farewell and pray forhappens), stay in the name of the Lord. Pray for me. I, me. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Reminiscere (Feb. 23)who am one and alone, am obliged to answer many, so 1524. Martin Luther. you may not be surprised at my short writing, since I am completely overwhelmed with so many books and letters to write. Farewell. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Oculi [March 1] 1524.

No. 711.

Wittenberg.

March 1, 1524.

To Georg Rautb, 1) preacher in Planen.

Martin Luther.

Luther gives him advice on how he should behave in the persecutions affecting him for the sake of the Gospel.

No. 712.

Wittenberg.

March 2, 1524.

To the Counts Günther, Ernst, Hoyer, Gebhard and Albrecht von Mansfeld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1674, no. 176.

The original is in the Superintendent's Archives in Plauen. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 185. printed in "Der vier Evangelisten wahrhafte, eigentliche und kurze Beschreibung", written by Georg Raudt, the son of the recipient of the letter, 1579; in Joh. Paul Oettel, *Historie aller Pastoren und Superintendenten in Plauen*, p. 16; in K.G. Dietmann, *Die gesammte Priesterschaft in dem Churfürstenthum Sachsen*, 1754, vol. III, p. 557; in Schütze, vol. II, p.54; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 107; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 487 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 300.

No. 713.

(Wittenberg.)

March 8, 1524.

To Spalatin.

To the brother in Christ, Georg Raudt, preacher in Plauen, his [friend] in the Lord.

Luther asks him to assist Cranach's pastor.

"Grace and peace." Dearest brother, take care of me with very few words. If the situation is such that you cannot safely and freely follow and speak the word there, and are forced to serve the ungodly masses and ceremonies, then it is advisable that you rather leave the place and go where you can do it freely and produce fruit, and leave it to those to give account for it who oppose it. Thus I have also written to the noble Nicolaus Sack. 2) But if you do it with certainty and

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 245. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 32; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 487 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 302. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 888.

To the good and godly man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant at the court of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

1) Georg Raudt or Raute from Gera, preacher monk in Plauen, had to suffer much persecution from his brothers in the order because he preached the Gospel. Duke John of Saxony took care of him, and (on Nov. 30, 1524) assigned him a certain income. In 1525 he became the first evangelical preacher in Plauen.

Mercy and peace! The village priest of Cranach, 3) who, as you know, is plagued by his bishop, has hurried to the Imperial Chamber Court,⁴⁾ to seek help. If you can help the man a little, then you know how worthy he is of it, and that what is done to Christ is done to him. Therefore do it, dearest Spalatin, which we hope you will gladly do, and be at ease in the Lord. Tuesday after Lätare [March 8] 1524. Martin Luther.

2) He had a concubine and fathered children with her. Now, out of love for the children, in order to make them legitimate, and moved by the teachings of the Gospel, he wanted to marry them, whereby he encountered many difficulties. *Vine*, tom. II, fol. 164. *Bindseil, colloqu., tom. II*, p. 351. There we read: *procreatis ... liberis ex ea, amore etc.* The Erlanger

In his note, Briefwechsel has not only retained the comma before *ex eo*, but also the one from Rebenstock, which Bindseil had already improved.

3) The "village pastor" is Joh. Grau; the "bishop" Weigand of Bamberg.

4) *imperii senatum*. De Wette: "at the Imperial Diet"; but the latter could not take care of such matters.

No. 714.

Wittenberg.

March 9, 1524.

To Wolfgang Stein in Weimar.

Luther asks for supplies for two monks who have left.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* A 1048, fol. 77, No. 144 and in the Wittenberg Seminary Library. Printed in *Nieders Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie*, 1861, p. 618 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 303.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Wolfgang Stein, ducal ecclesiastical prince of Weimar, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace, dear Magister Wolfgang! Two brothers from the Neuenstadt monastery have asked me to write to my lord, the young prince, that his grace would help them to get something from the monastery. Lord, the young prince, that his F. Grace would help them to get something from the monastery. One of them, Michael, would like to study here and then be used for preaching, where my lord could give him something either from his own grace or from his own. Lord either gives him something by his own grace, or provides him with something from the monastery's spoils, since they say it is done badly. The other, Heinrich Zwecz, is almost poor and would like to have a handicraft from the same monastery, in which he has brought something honest of his inheritance. Now I do not like to bother my lord. I do not like to trouble my lord with it, nor do I know how things are done, and you are also more idle and more skilled than I am; I ask in Christ that you take such trouble upon yourselves and think and do in my name for the two brothers in my lord's name. Lord, as much as it is possible, so that they will finally give up the running to and fro, and we will also get rid of them. I will earn this again, and Christ will recognize it. Herewith, in God's grace, together with your Heva. At Wittenberg, on the middle week after Lätare [March 9] 1524.

Martinus Luther.

No. 71S.

Wittenberg.

March 12, 1524.

To Joh. Heß in Breslau.

It is not surprising that the princes seek their own interests in the Gospel; it has been like this at all times. It does not yet seem to him to be time for him to write to the council (compare No. 703), but he will do so at another time.

Manuscript in the royal library in Berlin, *Mss. lat. theol.* 8°. 91, fol 102 b and in the Stadtbibliothek in Hamburg, *Mss. Vol.* I, kok 38. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 234; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 591 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 304. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 915. In Aurifaber, De Wette and Walch without date.

To the highly esteemed Johann Heß, Doctor, the faithful bishop of the people of Breslau, without island. ¹⁾

Grace and peace! It is not to be wondered at when the princes seek their own in the Gospel, and new robbers pursue the old robbers. For the light of the world has dawned, in which we see what the world is, namely the kingdom of Satan. So Paul also complains [Phil. 2, 21] that they all seek their own. Furthermore, this very fact must encourage us, because everything corresponds to the old examples of the Gospel. It seems to me that the council of your city should not yet be written to, but I will write at another time. Indeed, I cannot fulfill so many writing duties, and am forced to let much go without writing. But you be well and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the Sabbath *sitientes* 2) [March 12] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 716.

Wittenberg.

March 14, 1524.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2623, annex, no. 116.

No. 717.

(Wittenberg.)

March 14, 1524.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

News from the Diet of Nuremberg. Answer to two theological questions. From Carlstadt's shameful Behavior.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 14. Handwritten in the Franciscanum zu Zerbst, No. 26, fol. 13 k and in the Zwickauer Rathsschulbibliothek, XXXIV. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 184; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 489 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 306. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 889.

1) *infula* == bishop's miter.

2) *Sabbatho sitientes* is the Saturday before Judica.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of the Church in Zwickau, his superior in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! Nothing has been decided against me at Nuremberg, and our prince has returned.¹⁾ There, however, the Lord has miserably killed the chancellor of Trier by the stroke of the river, who two days before his death had bragged at a banquet that before the feast of St. Martin our trade should be done with the sword; but this obvious hand of the Lord does not at all frighten the stubborn. Furthermore, the princes and bishops accuse the councils of the Imperial Chamber Court and the Swabian League, the latter because they ruled in favor of the Nassau against the Hessians,²⁾ the latter because they devastated their lands when they drove out the robber barons (*praedones*). The emperor also wrote to them and punished them for not carrying out his command against Luther.

I have dealt with the baptism of small children in Postille 3), which is now being printed. You yourself know that confirmation is nothing other than the laying on of hands and prayer.

It would be little if Carlstadt were only ungrateful, but he persecutes us even more horribly than the papists do. He gives birth to many monstrosities, as Spalatin complains to me, as you will learn in due time. Your clan Storck 4) reigns in these people, 5) after being expelled from Zwickau, he has knocked out his hiding place there, but the Lord will do what is good in His sight. You also pray with us, and be at ease in the Lord. On Monday after Judica [March 14] 1524, Martin Luther.

1) The Elector left Nuremberg on February 25, but the imperial treaty was not signed until April 18. See St. Louis Vol. XV, 2243, No. 741.

2) These were territories, namely the county of Katzenellenbogen.

3) In the church postillon in the sermon on the 3rd Sunday after Epiphany, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 486, § 19 ff.

4) Compare No. 536; see St. Louis edition, Vol. XX, Einl., p. 10b f.

5) namely in Carlstadt and his followers at Orlamünde, Allstädt 2c.

No. 718.

March 21, 1524.

Wittenberg.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

Expert opinion on a marriage case.

Manuscript in the royal library in Berlin, Mss. theol. 8°. 91, fol. 104 b. Printed in I. F. Fischer's Refgesch. der Pfarrkirche zu St. Maria Magdal. in Breslau, 1817, p. 48 and in Krafft, 14 Briefe 2c. in den Theol. Arbeiten aus dem rhein. Prediger-Verein, II, p. 93.

Mercy and peace, dearest Hess! If it is the case, as this young man says, that the woman is unable and unfit to perform the marriage duties, then the verdict of divorce is certain. That is how I have advised. Therefore, do it in the name of the Lord that you dissolve the marriage. I wish your theses 6) victory, and I wish you well and pray for me. Wittenberg, Monday after Palmarum [March 21] 1524. Martin Luther.

No. 719.

March 23, 1524.

Wittenberg.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Luther insisted that Melanchthon give lectures on the Holy Scriptures.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. 0, p. 125. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 35; in Walch, vol. XXI, 69; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 490 and in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 53, p. 235.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c, Landgrave in Th. and Margrave in Meissen, my lord. Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, most gracious lord! E. C. F. G. know without a doubt that by the grace of God there is a fine youth here, greedy for the salutary word, from distant lands, also suffering much poverty, that some have nothing but water and bread to eat. Now I have kept to M. Philip, because by the grace of God he is abundantly gifted to read the Scriptures, even better than I myself, and although I would gladly do so, I would have to let up on translating the Bible, so that instead of his greek lection, he would submit to the lection of the Holy Scriptures,

6) The disputation about it took place on April 20.

because the whole school and all of us highly desire it: so he blocks himself with a few words of defense, that he is appointed and paid by E. C. F. G. for the Greek lessons, which he would have to wait for, and may not leave them. For this reason, my most humble request is that E. C. F. G. see to it, for the benefit of the dear youth and for the greater promotion of the Gospel of God, whether it would be possible for E. C. F. G. that such a salary would be interpreted to him on the Holy Scriptures. Since there are many young people who can teach the Greek lesson well, and it is not good that he always deals with the childish lesson and leaves out a better one, since he can produce much fruit, which cannot be rewarded with any money or salary. God would have us have more of those who could read like this; otherwise, there are enough of them, unfortunately, who swarm, and may well need time and people, because they are here by God's grace. The time will come, as it did before, that one must let up for the sake of such people's lack, even if one does it unwillingly. Therefore it is to be understood here that we people go out because we can, and yet do our best for our descendants, and where E. C. F. G. has loved to provide such, I ask you to bind the aforementioned Philipps in earnest to wait for the writing with diligence, and if he should also be given more pay, then he should and must do so. E. C. F. G. be commanded in God's mercy, Amen. At Wittenberg, on Wednesday after *Palmarum* [March 23] 1524.

E. C.F. G. subservient servant Martinus Luther.

No. 72".

Wittenberg.

March 23, 1524.

To Spalatin.

About a nativity placed on Luther and about your right understanding of what Wesel had written about the second request.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 167 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 186. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 2035; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 292 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 309. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 891.

1) Instead of "he" we have assumed "you" with the Erl. Instead of "he" we have adopted "her".

To M. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, his [friend] in the Lord, to be highly honored in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! You are right in that I am busy, nevertheless I send everything and also send everything back again, as you wanted. I had seen my nativity 2) before, which was sent here from Italy, but since the astrologers have talked so much this year, it is not surprising that there is someone who has dared to do these antics as well.

Wesel's article 3) about the kingdom of God, which is prayed for in the Lord's Prayer, is, I believe, not said in any other way than to meet the common opinion, according to which by the kingdom of God only the future glory is understood, so that they do not concern themselves with the present kingdom of Christ, which has begun, but which the Scriptures urge most, although it is the same kingdom, here and in the future; here begun by faith, in the future to be completed by glory. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1524, Wednesday after *Palmarum* [March 23].

Mart. Luther.

No. 721.

Wittenberg.

(Before March 26 [?] 1524.) 4)

To Spalatin.

Proof of a Bible passage. Recommendation of a divorce petition with attached protocol. Rumors, and news of the appeal of the married Strasbourg clergy.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* u, fol. 197. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 241 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 492 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 310. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 924.

2) *Genesin* == *genituram*, the nativity, the horoscope. Walch: "my 1: book of Mosis".

3) Joh. Ruchrath from Oberwesel, usually called Joh. von Wesel, had published a writing in Mainz in 1479: *Johannis de Wesalia concionatoris paradoxa etc.*, in which this sentence is found: "Your kingdom is coming 2c. There we do not ask for the kingdom of heaven, because that does not come to us."

4) This time determination results from the appeal of the Strasbourg clergy mentioned in this and the following letter (whose date is secured by the original). Only the difficulty is, how this writing, which appeared only on April 12, was already in March in the middle of

To the learned and godly man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! The passage of Ezekiel, Cap. 34, is in the middle [v. 10.], where it says: "Behold, I will myself to the shepherds, saith the HErr" 2c., with which Johann Hus wnrde plagued by Zacharias; Staupitz told that he had heard it from Andreas Proles, as you know.

By the way, I ask you to see to it that this note with the enclosed petition is presented to the prince, and see to it that an answer is given. For although I am extremely reluctant to get involved in these matrimonial matters, the inertia and tyranny of both powers have so far sunk the matter so deeply that Christ himself is needed as judge and counselor. I am therefore forced to serve the miserable need, which, I ask, you also do not want to escape.

Rumor has it that in addition to those three servants of Ferdinand, four other servants of the same Ferdinand were found hanged from a tree in the Nuremberg forest, with weapons and spurs. And it is said that at Constance a defection to the Swiss is being attempted because of Faber's violence. The married priests of Strasbourg have issued a vehement appeal against their bishop, which I will send shortly. Oh, about the princes and bishops who are doomed to future ruin, since in such a great movement of things and minds they do not mean what God threatens them with, but rather strive for misfortune of their own free will and bring it on themselves. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg. Martin Luther.

berg could be known? So De Wette, D. Enders says: "I verinag this Räthsel not to solve." - We would like to make the assumption that Luther accidentally wrote *Paschatis* instead of *Pentecostes*, then May 14 would be the date of the next letter. This assumption receives great probability from the fact that Luther mentions the appeal again in a letter to Capito of May 25, and that the same divorce matter is discussed again in a letter to Spalatin on June 2. Already Röhrig, *Gesch. der Ref. im Elsaß*, Vol. I, p. 186, has expressed the assumption that 26 *Magi* is to be read.

1) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XV. 1421, ? 33; *ibid.* vol. XVI, 2106, § 6 ff.; *ibid.* vol. XXII, 1404.

Instruction for the prince next to the petition.

The marriage case behaves like this:

I, Martin Luther, have heard the case between Michael Hanck 2) and his wife in the presence of the priest and the secular judge. Finally, Michael has been convicted by eight witnesses, men of credibility and standing, that his wife has been in constant danger of death with him for many years, that he beats her so, rages so, attacks her so often with his bare sword, that one would think he was out of his mind. Nor does he feed them; rather, if there is anything in the house, he carries it out and wastes it. Since they unanimously testified to this, we passed the sentence that she should be divorced from him and left it to the discretion of the authorities as to which secular law they wanted to punish him by. Above that she agrees to return to him, if he would only be put to the test for a quarter of a year or half a year, or kept in check, whether he might want to or be able to change. Here they say that the magistrate will not agree to a concilium assembled from I know not how many thousands of doctors, that this divorce is valid, and cares not for so many witnesses; nay, at the risk of death (which they say is an empty delusion) they wish to compel them, pretending that this example of divorce would bring many others after it. Here they ask that the most noble prince have mercy on the woman and order the matter to others than the magistrate or us, and provide the helpless woman with justice and equity, as he owes, as the petition enclosed here states.

No. 722.

(Wittenberg.)

March 26 (?) 1524.

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of a pastor and his request.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 245. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 33; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 494 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. I V, p. 313. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 892.

2! According to Spalatin's inscription, Hanck was a shoemaker, his wife was Margaretha Molwitz. (Burkhardt, p. 69.)

Mr. Georg Spalatin, your servant of Christ and evangelist at: Court of Saxony.

Grace and peace! I recommend to you, my dear Spalatin, this priest of Prettin with his cause, whether his petition could not reach the prince through you. For I suspect that there is something behind it and that he is up to something evil (*monstri*) who has caused him this trade, since one must not push away those to whom the people and the leaders of the people issue such testimonies. I send the appeal of the Strasbourg husbands. 1524, the day before Easter [March 26]. 1) Mart. Luther.

No. 723.

Salzburg.

April 1, 1524.

Staupitz to Luther.

Answer to Luther's letter of Sept. 17, 1523. He testifies to his love for Luther. Although he could not agree with Luther in many neutral things, he still held fast to the righteousness of your faith and hated the Babylonian captivity. He sends a man from Salzburg so that he can obtain a master's degree in Wittenberg. - This is Staür pitzen's last letter to Luther, since he died on Dec. 28, 1524. Therefore, we share it here in its entirety.

Manuscript in Bern, *Epistolae varior.* Printed in Krafft, Briefe und Documente, p. 54; in Kolde, Augustinercongregation, p. 446 (with improved text) and in Erf. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 314.

To Doctor Martin Luther, 2) his best friend and Christ's servant, your brother and disciple John, a servant of Christ.

JEsus.

I wish you salvation and give myself to you! 3) You write so often, dearest Martin, and consider my constancy suspicious. To this I say: My faith in Christ and the gospel continues unchanged, but I have need of prayer that Christ may help my unbelief, and that I may abhor human things and love the church [not] 4) lukewarmly. Towards you I have a quite constant love, which is also greater than women's love [2 Sam. I, 26.], always unbroken. But give me credit if

I sometimes fail to grasp what you say because of the sluggishness of my mind, and so pass over it with silence. You seem to me to condemn many purely external things that have nothing to do with faith and righteousness; they are neutral things, and since they are done in faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, they do not trouble the conscience at all. Why then are the hearts of the simple troubled, and what has made the habit of the monks detestable to your judgment, which most of them wear in holy faith in Christ? Unfortunately, abuses creep into almost all human practices, and rare are the people who measure everything by faith; nevertheless, there are some; therefore, one must not reject the essence of a thing because of an accidental flaw found in some. Everywhere you reject all vows, though you have good reason in very few, perhaps in only one. Therefore, dearest friend, I besiege you with petitions, remember the little ones and do not trouble the timid consciences. I beg you, do not condemn what is neutral and can stand with sincere faith. But in those things which are contrary to faith, cry out, do not desist. We owe a lot to you, dear Martin, who led us back from the swine droppings to the pasture of life, to the words of salvation. May the Lord Jesus prosper us so that we may finally live the gospel which we now hear with our ears, which many have in their mouths, since I see that innumerable others misuse the gospel for the freedom of the flesh. But the Spirit blows where it wills [John 3:8]; we owe you thanks because you have planted and watered, and leave the glory to God, to whom alone we attribute the power to make God's children. I have written enough, but God wanted me to talk to you for just one hour and reveal to you the secrets of my heart. I commend to you, my dear brother, the one whom you see before your eyes, the bearer of the present letter, 5) that you make him your disciple by your effort and by your influence, that he receive the Master's Bard as soon as possible and be sent back to me. I certainly hope that he will produce good fruit and bring honor to the University of Wittenberg. My unworthy requests may be somewhat valid with you, who was formerly a forerunner of the holy evangelical doctrine.

5) Georg Führer. He received his master's degree on April 30, 1524. Köstlin, "die Baccalaurei" 2c., II, 18 f.

1) See the first note to the previous letter.

2i In the original only D. M. L., perhaps out of concern that the letter might fall into unauthorized hands.

3) *et se etc.* = *et se ipsum*. Compare No. 76 at the beginning.

4) Inserted by us; the whole passage is corrupted. The text given here is Seidemann's Conjecture.

and, as I still do today, hated the Babylonian captivity. Farewell and greet Philip, Amsdorf, Doctor Hieronymus [Schurf] and the other very dear friends. Given at Salzburg, on the first of April, 1524.

No. 724.

(Wittenberg.)

(April 4) 1) 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther advises those whose conscience commands them to partake of the Lord's Supper in both forms, but who dare not do so for fear, to rather not take it at all. He wants to write against the canonization of Benno.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 195. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 240 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 507 (dated May; the postscript in De Wette does not belong here, but to the end of September) and in Erl. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 923.

To the dear man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the faithful and fair ecclesiastics of the Saxon court, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Thus I advise others and at all times: If someone, through the word of God, has received the conscience concern that he cannot take one form alone, and yet his faith is so weak that he does not dare to take both forms for fear of men, then he should for the time being abstain from the sacrament altogether, since there is no danger involved if one has left the whole sacrament pending. 2)

You courtiers know better than we how to ridicule those antics about the canonization of Benno, since you are clever and well-versed in how to politely reject such tempters. 3)

1) This date is derived from Melanchthon's letter to Spalatin, *Corp. ref.*

2) The foregoing was translated into German by Spalatin, probably for the Elector, because of whom this question will be asked (Köstlin, M. Luther [32, Vol. I, p. 637]. Burkhardt, p. 70, reports this translation as a "concern of Luther, Melanchthon and Bugenhagen freely imposed by Spalatin". Spalatin's manuscript is in the Weimar archives.

3) The canonization of Bishop Benno of Meissen, who died in 1106 or 1107, had taken place in May 1523 by Hadrian VI, and on June 14, 1524, the solemn elevation of the bones was to take place, for which letters of invitation were sent both by Duke Georg and by the Bishop of Meissen, also to the princes of the Electorate of Saxony, with the request that the placates (*cedulas*), in which the bishop had died in 1106 or 1107, should be made available.

However, it seems to me that it is not in the prince's power to do what is demanded, especially at this time and with such kind and minded people, since not even the emperor and the empire, not even Duke George himself has been able or is able to do this in his country. For I myself, as soon as I learn that the nonsensical note has been posted, will not let myself be prevented from attacking these temptations of Satan for the sake of warning in a small published paper. May they therefore post it, it is certain that an edict alone cannot prevent them [the posters] from being attacked with invective, and even hardly by an armed crew, which stands guard without interruption day and night by the note. I have nothing else. Carlstadt, who was summoned by the university, is said to have arrived at Wittenberg on Saturday 4); I have not yet seen the man. Fare well in the Lord. 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 725.

Wittenberg.

April 5, 1524.

To Duke John of Saxony.

Luther sends Johann Grau, formerly a priest at Cranach, to preach in Weimar. He asks for an escort letter for a priest who has been chased away.

Manuscript in the *Suppellex epistolica Uffenbachii et Wolfiorum*, Vol. 92, Bl. 71 in the Stadtbibliothek of Hamburg (mitgetheilt von A. von Dommer). Printed in the Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 318.

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord Johans, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! On E. F. G.'s writing, I have diligently

to have the pious Christians invited to the upcoming festival pinned to the church doors in Wittenberg, Weimar, Eisenach, Zwickau and Torgau. In reference to this, Luther published the writing: "Wider den neuen Abgott und alten Teufel, der zu Meißen soll erhaben werden." St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2323.

4) April 2; he was negotiated with on April 4. See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, inset, p. 19b.

that he Johann Groe, 1) formerly pastor of Cranach, expelled by the bishop of Bamberg, because he has taken a virgin, pious, chaste child, with the will and knowledge of her parents, to marriage, shall within a fortnight be employed in Weimar to take care of the preaching ministry. For he is almost a reasonable, calm, quiet man, has now been with us for two years, and has lived with his wife in all discipline and honor, so that I hope E. F. G. will take a liking to him, and that he will be dear and valuable to everyone. I have also asked Wolfgang Stein to obtain a letter of safe conduct from E. F. G. for a poor priest under E. F. G.'s rule at Arnbach. 2) I humbly request that E. F. G. graciously listen to my request and graciously grant the poor man such safe conduct for the sake of the poor little children that his wife had to leave behind. This will be known to Christ, which grace and strength be with E. F. G. forever, Amen. At Wittenberg, on Tuesday after Quasimodogeniti [April 5] 1524.

subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 72".

Wittenberg.

Around April 15, 1524. 3)

To Erasmus in Basel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1596.

No. 727.

Wittenberg.

Around April 15, 1524.

To Oekolampad in Basel.

Luther reports that he wrote to Erasmus because he wanted Frieden. He expresses his joy about a mandate issued by the local council.

Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 1845; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 501 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 323. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 890.

1) Compare No. 712 and No. 539.

2) "the Schwarzburg village of Arnsbach, which was under Saxon sovereignty; Count Günther von Schwarzburg was hostile to the Reformation". (Erl. Briefw.)

3) This date results from the fact that Luther gave this letter to Joachim Camerarius, who accompanied Melancthon on his journey to his home town of Breiten, and left Wittenberg with him on April 16.

Grace and peace! I have nothing, dearest brother, which I could write; I only wanted to greet you and command myself into your prayer; but it will all be reported by present Joachim, who is not the least bit of us. I do not know whether Philip will also come to you with him⁵⁾, which I would like to do. I have written to Erasmus wishing peace and harmony and an end to this great tragedy, to which I also ask you to contribute if you are able. There has been enough fighting, there has been enough ill-will on both sides; at last Christ is due the place, and Satan will give way to the Holy Spirit. I like excellently the mandate of the council of Basel against the vicar of the bishop and the magistri nostri. ⁶⁾ Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Wittenberg, Anno 1524, Martin Luther.

No. 728.

(Wittenberg.)

Around April 15, 1524.

To Jakob Strauß.

Here, Luther passes the same judgment on Strauß's doctrine of the purchase of interest as he had already pronounced against Chancellor Brück on Oct. 18, 1523.

Manuscript at Gotha in Cod. 185 and in *Cod. chart.* 451. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 55; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 502 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 324.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Jakob Strauß, servant of Christ at the Word of God in Eisenach, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace. My dear Jacob who is to be revered in Christ! That the Evan

4) Camerarius.

5) Here Aurifaber has the misprint: *cum reo nos* instead of: *cum eo vos accedat*. After that Walch translated: "with the guilty (or accused) comes to us".

6) William Farel had come to Basel as a refugee from France and had found shelter with Oekolampad. He had asked the rector of the university to be allowed to debate 13 theses, but was refused, and the episcopal vicarius, Heinrich von Schönauf, forbade the clergy and students to attend the disputation, which the magistrate had already allowed. On the other hand, the city council issued a mandate on February 14, 1524 (according to De Wette), in which the clergy was ordered to attend the disputation under threat of punishment.

7) Melancthon negotiated with Strauss on April 22. Luther probably gave him this letter when he left.

I hear the gospel taught by you, and believe it, and rejoice in it. But I also wish you luck in this, that you condemn the interest of redemption, as I also have condemned it. But this one thing thou dost add of thine own, that thou dost command those who make such [interest] not to pay it, uno making them guilty of usury if they make or pay this illicit interest, as people who consent to usury. This is not gospel, nor have we ever taught it. For on the same ground it will follow that he who takes the skirt, or strikes the cheek, is not to be let off the cloak, and that one must not suffer the wrong. We hold with the Gospel that this interest is unlawful, but that it is not in the power of the common man to set it aside and declare it null and void. For this is the duty of the princes who wield the sword. For the common people it is enough, since they know it is illegal, that 1) they protest that they are paying an unreasonable demand to the one who demands it. They must therefore offer it, however unreasonable they may demand it; they are sufficiently secure in conscience if they say that they suffer the unreasonableness, but do not agree. I would like you to stand thus in the matter; if you do not stand thus, we must necessarily stand against you. Now farewell and pray for me, and may the Lord keep you in his grace. Greetings to your wife. Yours, Mart. Luther.

To the servant of Christ, M. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! The provost Jonas comes to you to prophesy good things; 2) I do not know whether he will obtain them. I have also written before that it would be good and godly to allow those poor people to enjoy this income for their living, who have learned no other business and have ignorantly fallen into these abominations. I am truly displeased that the caretakers of our Bethaven do not want to change anything, even though they know and confess that it is exceedingly ungodly, and also realize that the prince is hypocritical if they do not realize that he even insists on it and demands it; and so they knowingly rage most horribly against their conscience. To these grievances, you take counsel with Jonas, if you are able.

By the way, I would like to know in the name of Prior 3) whether the Prince has written to Bressen (as you wrote the other day) and given him his own order to pay us the money. We have not yet received or heard anything, and the debts are weighing us down and becoming more burdensome by the day. I will indeed finally be forced to seek my livelihood in another way.

I cannot be free of Leimbach's matter; I will soon come and plague the prince with it. Farewell. On Sunday Cantate [April 24] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 730.

(Wittenberg.)

April 25, 1524.

To Jakob Strauß in Eisenach.

About usury, whether it should be offered. Luther asks him to promote the instruction of the youth; he sends groats and complains about his overabundance with business.

No. 729.

Wittenberg.

April 24, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther supports the proposals to be made by Jonas concerning the maintenance of the resigned monks and the abolition of the papist customs in the All Saints' Monastery, as well as Bressen's debt to the monastery and Leimbach's trade.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 169 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 188. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 219b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 503 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 326. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 898.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 451, p. 64. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 56; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 505 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 327. Partly in German, as a letter to Chancellor Brück, in Oct. 1523, in the

1) Instead of *et. ut* will be read.

2) *Praepositus* == *praepositurus*.

3) Eberhard Brisger.

Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 944; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 352; in Walch, vol. XXI, 77; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 426 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 221.

To the faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Jakob Strauß, evangelist of the people of Eisenach, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! I would like, dearest friend, that you think no differently of me than that I think the very best of you, even if such things occurred that would be burdensome. For I am convinced that you triumph above all things through the glory of the gospel. Furthermore, as we are human beings, something of the carnal man must sometimes come in between, but this cannot be such, nor should it be, that love does not want to bear it; otherwise where would it remain [Gal. 6:2]: "Bear one another's burdens"? The only thing I find fault with you for these usurious interests is that you think that they should be allowed to those who take them by force, but that they should not be offered with one's own hand. I beseech thee, since this tyranny reigns in all bodies, how shall he not yield to the adversary, and give them with his own hand to him that commandeth to pay, who, as thou teachest, should leave them to him that taketh them? I beg you to consider only this. The great multitude abuses the gospel, it does not let itself be governed by the gospel. Therefore, they must be left to the laws, so that those who use freedom only to give room to the flesh may be of service [Gal. 5:13.f.]. ¹⁾ By the way, I ask that you pursue the cause of teaching the youth among your own. For I see that the gospel is threatened with a very great fall through neglect of the education of the youth. This matter is the most necessary of all. Greet Schalbe and Scultetus in my name. I would have written to both of them, but it is unbelievable with how great matters I am overwhelmed, so that I alone can hardly cope with writing the letters. The whole world is beginning to be on my back, so I wish either to die or to go away.

to be taken so that I am not completely overwhelmed. Greet your wife and child, 2) and smile kindly at them in my name, and bear your illnesses as the hand of God, as befits. Pray for me very miserable person and be well. On the day of St. Marcus [April 25], which was neither celebrated nor commemorated with procession, 1524.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 731.

(Wittenberg.)

April 25, 1524.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther wants the question about the confiscation of the monastery property to be decided according to canon law.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 185, printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 60; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 505 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 328.

To D. Gregorius Brück, jurist and chancellor.

Grace and peace! "Let the priests do what the priests do. Let the prince refer this matter to the papal jurisdiction, and let it be judged according to the laws of this realm. They may, after all, be ungodly owners and misuse this income in an ungodly manner; what is that to do with the administrators of the [common] box 3)? If now the prince does not want to push the matter away, let him pronounce judgment for Johann "Pfister". ⁴⁾ For "Hans Kappe", after he has separated himself from the corporation of the wicked, does not have the right to keep their goods and rights, or to take them with him. Also the

2) *prolem*. Luther had been very unhappy about the choice of Stein's wife, the "old rich Vettel", because she was not expected to have offspring. (St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XV, Anh., No. 123.) Here we see now that Luther was probably wrongly informed about the Bejhrtheit, because the "offspring" has adjusted itself very promptly, '

3) so here *cistarios* will have to be taken (compare St. Louiser Ausg., vol. X, 956, § 6 ff.), not as "Schösser" (*quaestores*).

4) Pfister, a resigned monk who later turned to study (*Album*, p.120: *Johannes Phister Nurnbergen. June 29, 1525*) and became a priest in Fürth; he served as cupbearer at Luther's wedding banquet and was also present at the tarife of Luther's first son.

1) The text in the German editions goes up to this point.

It is a fault of the administrators of the castes that they quarrel against Paul [1 Cor. 6:6] because of the matters concerning the maintenance, which they should let go, even if they had the right. I beg you, my dear man, it is neither a pleasure nor an honor for me that these things are attributed to the theologians by the legal scholars. Otherwise the rights of the pope must not be attacked by ours, unless the pope's rule is destroyed first. For where he does not rule, we may of course use his bequeathed rights and goods, but not before. Say now thanks to the Prince for what has been obtained by the previous letter, and commend me to the illustrious G. S. (*illustri G. S.*). For I am very busy. And you are well in the Lord with your own (*cum carne tua*). On Monday after Cantate [April 25] 1524, your Martin Luther.

No. 732.

(Wittenberg.)

April 26, 1524.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther does not want to write against Emser, but leaves him to the judgment of God.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 16. Handwritten in the Franciscanum at Zerbst, Ns. 26, fol. 14 and in the Zwickau Rathsschulbibliothek. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 262 b (under the year 1520 with the note: "Anders setzen diesen Brief in das Jahr 1524") and vol. II, p. 204 b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 441 (under the year 1520; he declares the date 1524 to be incorrect) and vol. VI, p. 51; in Studien und Kritiken, 1835, p. 342 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 329 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 690 (with the wrong date: "Den andern Tag nach Martin 1520") and ibid. Col. 892.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, also to his superior.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Nothing needs to be answered to the Emser, 1) dearest

1) Towards the end of the year 1523 Luther had sent out the writing: "Weise christliche Messe zu halten und zum Tisch Gottes zu gehen" ("Wise Christian Mass to hold and to go to the table of God") and provided it with a dedication to Hausmann. In contrast, Emser wrote: *Missae Christianorum contra Lutheranam Missandi formu larn etc.*, which he provided with a note to Hausmann, datirt ex Dresda, prid. Kalend. Mart. [It is to this writing that this passage ...

Nicolaus, because he is such a man, of whom Paul says [Tit 3,10. f.]: He is perverse and condemned by his own judgment and to be avoided, because he commits sin unto death [1 John 5, 16.]. A little more, and I will pray against him that the Lord will pay him according to his works [2 Tim. 4:14], for it is better that he die than that he continue to blaspheme Christ against his conscience. Therefore let him go; all too soon this wretched man will be sufficiently subdued. 2) But you also refrain from praying for him. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. The next day after Marci [April 26] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 733.

(Wittenberg.)

April 29, 1524.

To Spalatin.

About the collection of Bressen's debt to the monastery. Luther sends Staupitzen's letter to Spalatin (No. 723).

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, lob 246. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 33; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 506 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 330. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 893.

To the servant of Christ and faithful steward of the mysteries of God, Mr. Georg Spalatin, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! The prior sends this Johann Lufft, the printer, my dear Spalatin, as the attorney or resident of our interest at Bressen. Therefore, see to it that he is finally sent, if it must be so, equipped with letters from the prince, to the castle of Colditz, so that we finally receive ours, so that we are relieved of the daily increasing debts. Create, therefore, that what has been promised so often may one day be fulfilled by deed. I am sending the letter of D. Staupitz, who has finally begun to blossom again, greeting and addressing us after so long a silence and so many letters addressed to him. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Wittenberg, April 29, 1524.

Martin Luther.

2) Already on Nov. 8, 1527, Emser died completely unconscious, at the age of 50. (Waldau, "Emser," p. 21.)

No. 734.

(Wittenberg.)

(April 1524.) 1)

To the knight Hans Schott.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 712.

No. 735.

Wittenberg.

May 2, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends the Mosaic laws on the punishment for thieves and gives his advice on an intended marriage.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 186. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 204; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 508 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 333. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 894. One part of this letter, the second paragraph, is printed in German as a special concern in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 196 b; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 864; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 433; in Walch, vol. X, 801, also in the St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. X, 674 and in the Erlanger Ausg., Vol. 64, p. 281.

To M. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! The punishment for the thieves no one has established in a cheaper way than the one who created everything, God, who also decreed this to his people among other civil laws, Ex. 22, that from the thief should be restored double, fourfold, fivefold, according to the kind of theft, but he should die if he had stolen a man; if he had nothing [to restore], he should be sold. This law is also approved by Solomon in Proverbs [Cap. 6, 31. f.], since he says that a thief can sell his goods and redeem himself, but an adulterer brings his life to ruin. God would have this law accepted again.

About your friend's marriage this is my opinion: The soul is more than the body, and the spirit greater than the belly; since now here his soul is in danger, but there alone the

1) De Wette has for this letter the time determination: "in May"; the Erl. Briefw. on the other hand: "April 1524" and justifies this by the fact that Melanchthon on April 11 to Spalatin (*Corp. Ref.* , I, 653) treats the same question in a letter and says at the end: "But I assume that D. Martinus will interpret all this amply."

If the belly of his friends, you see what he must choose first: namely, that he hastens to take a wife, and first counsel his soul; after that he may have something left, by which he may also help the belly and the need of those people. This he may do; if not, let him command her to God, and win his soul, and do not tempt the Lord in this.

I have not yet answered Staupitz. However, I hear that tremendous threats are being concocted at Nuremberg. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, May 2, 1524

Martin Luther.

No. 736.

Wittenberg.

May 6, 1524.

To Nicolaus Gerbel in Strasbourg.

Luther expresses his joy that the Gospel is coming to dominion in Strasbourg; he reports of its progress in Germany, but also of a new sect that has arisen.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 233; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 509 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. IV, p. 334. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 895.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Since I had nothing, my dearest Gerbel, which I could write, it suited me well that, since this letter carrier came to me in the litter, I greeted you and asked you that you greet all brothers and sisters in the Lord, admonish them and recommend me to their prayers. For I hear that the word of God has almost come to rule among you; 2) at least among us, the more it is forbidden, the more it runs far and wide. It already has Magdeburg and Bremen in its possession, and soon it will move to Brunswick, as I hope, especially since that Prince Heinrich, who before was extremely hostile, is now becoming a different man. I believe that our Lonicer 3) has received my letter, and I hear that he has received a new master; may the Lord not abandon him. But Satan is setting up a sect among us in another place, which accepts neither the papists nor ours. They boast that they are driven by pure spirits.

2) Only one church was still in papist hands.

3) Joh. Lonicer was corrector first with Joh. Knobloch, then with Wolf Köpfel in Strasbourg; later pastor at Marburg.

without the testimony of the Holy Scriptures. From this you can see that our word is in truth the word of God, since it is already plagued not only with violence but also with new heresies. May you now always be well with your nipple and greet all in the Lord. Wittenberg, the sixth of May 1524,

Martin Luther.

No. 737.

Wittenberg.

May 11, 1524.

To Spalatin in Lothan. 1)

Luther, recommends Johann Apel as successor to the late D. Schwertfeger. News about the progress of the Evangelii.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 168 and in *Cod. Jen. a.*, fol. 187. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 204b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 510 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 340. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 896.

To the faithful servant of God, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the Court of Saxony, his [friend^ in the Lord.

Grace and peace! D. Schwertfeger, the dear man, passed away yesterday in a gentle death and sleeps in the Lord, my dear Spalatin. Now you know that Johann Apel 2) is here, who is also otherwise recommended to the prince, who could be put in his place for the lection, and he wishes it. But why should it be necessary to recommend him to you, since you know the man and know that he is not only suitable for this lecture, but also godly and Christian? Not to mention how he has been plagued up to now by damage to his property and insult to his good name, and spends his life almost in the greatest want, and is oppressed by poverty in his house. Therefore, you see how godly you will make your effort when you recommend him to the prince, and become the cause that his recommendation and the good hope given to him before will be refreshed. If now his wife should be in the way,³ that

1) According to Spalatin's letter to Mutian of May 9, he was in Lochau at that time.

2) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 258, Note.

3) She had been a nun, which is why the Elector might have had reservations.

he- could not be accepted publicly, he could teach in the name of another, but that the salary would be paid secretly. But what is the use of your continuing to pretend, since they [the papists] will not let you go unchanged, and can do so justly, because you cherish heretics.

The people of Bremen are making progress in the word, so that they have appointed our Jacob of Ypres 4) as evangelist at the second church. Both dukes of Mecklenburg desire evangelists, the one through Hans Löser, the other through the prior at Sternberg, 5) Duke Heinrich of Brunswick, as Cordus Rutius testifies, begins to accept the gospel by calling someone of our order from Helmstädt as preacher. After the council of Brunswick had rejected him, he can decree in his house in Brunswick,⁶⁾ that he should preach. For he praises his brother Wilhelm, who is a prisoner, 7) nevertheless as very Christian. The disputation of Johann Hess 8) at Breslau proceeded happily, since the so many envoys of the kings and the artifices of the bishop resisted in vain.

4) Provost; he was employed at the Liebfrauenkirche.

5) Joh. Steenwyck. - Cordus Rutius is the well-known poet Euricius Cordus. However, the favorable circumstances changed very quickly in Brunswick, for already on June 24 he wrote to Lang that the duke suspected him of being a Martinian and that the council was hostile to the Evangelio. It was not until 1528 that the pressure of the guilds opened the gates to the Gospel.

6) This passage offers, since in the original *constituat* should stand, quite special difficulties, on the one hand by the *consecutio temporum: recusasset - constituat*, on the other hand by the sense, which can be with this reading hardly another, than that Henry may order the preacher appointed by him to the chaplain for his imprisoned brother. Aurifaber and De Wette read: *constituit*. Then the sense would be: the appointed preacher has decided to preach in his house. But then the following does not follow the preceding.

7) Wilhelm, the younger brother of Henry of Brunswick, was imprisoned by the latter in 1523 because he demanded the division of the country and co-government. He remained in captivity for twelve years.

8) The disputation took place on April 20-23 on the theses put forward by Hess, which dealt with the word of God, the highest priesthood of Jesus Christ and marriage. The theses are printed in Kapp, Nachlese, Vol. II, p. 606.

set. ¹⁾ This is the news. Fare well in the Lord and do not forget the Apel. 2) May 11, 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 738.

Wittenberg.

May 25, 1524.

To Capito in Strasbourg.

Luther is annoyed that the rumor is spread that there is a great discord between him and the Strasbourg theologians, which probably comes from the fact that his letter to Capito (No. 447) was printed. He rejoices over the marriage of the priests and the departure of the monks and nuns from the monasteries.

In the *Bibl. of Bremen. Class. IV, fase. 5, p. 911*; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 98; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 522 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 347. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 899.

Grace and peace in the Lord! If it were not for your constant assertion, my dear Fabricius, and Bucer's with you, that there are some people who say that we condemn what you do, and that we are in complete disagreement, I would have been ready to interpret this to the weakness of your suspicion because of our long silence, since I heard the same thing said by the brethren who traveled here to us barely three days ago, when I received this letter of yours. And although Christ thus reigns among you, and you have no harm to fear, whether we do not agree with one another, or whether we condemn what is yours, yet nothing is more vexatious to me than to hear our disunity so highly exalted, while there is the highest unity and sincere and perfect unity of spirit. Since I tend to cover up and conceal as much as I can, if some of our people deviate from us in truth (as many I do not know what kind of spirit is already doing), how much less can I suffer this annoyance and this kind of injustice against Christian unity and spiritual peace. Therefore

If I were not too busy, I would not refrain from testifying in a public writing both about the lie of those ear-blowers and about our sincere fellowship in Christian matters.

I like extraordinarily the marriages of the priests 3) and the monks and the nuns with you; I like the appeal of the married against the bishop of Satan; 4) I like those who are called to the parishes. 5) What shall I say? After that I have heard nothing but such things, by which I have been highly pleased with you. Continue, and let your right hand also teach you marvelous things, and let the nations submit to you in the midst of the king's enemies [Ps. 45:5 ff]. Yes, I think that in these years enough has been given to the weak. Henceforth, because they harden more and more day by day, everything must be acted and spoken of in the freest way. For I, too, will begin at last to cast off the habit which I have hitherto retained for the strengthening of the weak and the mockery of the pope. ⁶⁾ We will let the dead bury their dead [Matth. 8, 22.], they are blind and blind guides [Matth. 15, 14].

I believe, however, that this quite trivial rumor of our discord arose from my letter to you, which has already been printed so many times and has now also been translated into German. This almost deters me from writing letters, since I see that they are thus dragged to the presses against my will, although one may and must write many things more freely among friends than is advisable to spread throughout the world.

3) In the last months of 1523 Martin Enderlin, Anton Firn and Matthis Zell had married; in January 1524 Wolfgang Schultheiß (an Augustinian monk), Conrad Spatzinger, Lonicer, Alexander von Villingen (a Johanniter) and Lucas Hackfurt (Bathodius) 2c. Capito did not marry until August 1.

4) Compare Nö. 721 and 722.

5) Namely Bucer to St. Aurelien, Theobald Schwarz (Nigri) to Old St. Peter and Capito to Young St. Peter, all around Easter 1524.

6) Already in 1523, Luther no longer wore the habit in his home, but ordinary clothing, but publicly he took off the monk's habit only in 1524. On October 9, he preached for the first time without it; then only one more time in it on the morning of the following Sunday (Oct. 16), in the afternoon without it (Köstlin, M. Luther [3.], Vol. I, p. 597 f.).

1) In the original *resistente*; in the older editions: *resistentibus*.

2) Apel received the position with an annual salary of 50 guilders, for which he had to give the lectures in *Digest. vet.*; in addition, he took over the lecture on canon law for Jonas, for which the latter gave him 20 guilders.

But you too were then another man and a servant of the court, but now you are Christ's freedman and a servant of the gospel, entirely mine, and I entirely yours. Greet me in Christ M. Bucer together with his wife and children, and all new husbands, especially the Hedio. ¹⁾ Our church greets your church. May grace be with you. Wittenberg, 1524, on the day of Urban [May 25].

Martin Luther.

Excuse me for not answering Bucer and the others; I will write at another time when I am freer and have more leisure.

No. 739.

Wittenberg.

June 2, 1524.

To Spalatin.

About the divorce case presented in No. 726. About the filling of the pastorate in Heimchen, Luther wishes the termination of the Leimbach affair.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 170 and in *Cod. Jen. a.* fol. 188. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 220 (incomplete) ; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 523 (incomplete; the addition in Burkhardt, p. 71) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 349. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 903 (incomplete).

The man to be revered in the Lord, Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the court of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Above all, I ask you to restore my good standing with the prince through these letters, which bear witness, since it has been somewhat injured by the rash rescript of our Wittenberg council, since they indicated to the prince that he had not been properly reported on the divorce case between Michael Hancke and his wife. Perhaps they did not know that the report had been made by me, therefore they dared it all the more. For in the presence of the Schösser and Gregorius,²⁾ the Mitcommissarius, I convinced them that my report was correct, and they promised that they would yield to my judgment as to what could be learned from the Schösser and Gregorius.

I do not know whether I am lying or not. But I do not want them to be blamed as if they had deceived the prince with a lie. Perhaps, as we are human beings and are always driven by Satan, they have been overtaken by this error, and for this reason, in a spirit of prudence, they have considered that we also suffer our punishments in hell,³⁾ each one his own, and no one is pure from filth.

I have dealt with Veit Jerig, ⁴⁾ the guardian; he is willing to take over the office of a pastor in Heimchen, as he is also worthy and suitable, if he is called and elected. I will therefore work with the mayor in Düben (*Didon*) so that he and the citizens desire and call him. You, too, should intercede with the prince so that he will be allowed and appointed. ⁵⁾ Thirdly, the Leimbach have again been to me with very great complaints. And that I say what I have heard: the lapel which they have given to the prince, the copy of which you have sent me by order of the prince, ⁶⁾ is given in such a way that they should obtain the fief and the right of possession in this way. By the way, they were promised at the same time that after the handing over of the reverse a settlement should take place, and they should also be satisfied, I do not know with how large a sum. But this has been postponed until today and has not been fulfilled. This they present with so great a semblance that they have made the matter probable to me. In addition, they show the letters of Frederick Thun, which say more or less the same thing. Then one senses something of violence and coercion in the lapel itself, as if it had been wrung from [them] by the prince. Therefore, I ask you to make an effort that [finally] both the prince and I are freed from this matter. I do not like to burden the prince with these monstrosities, since I have no pleasure in them, and they are not part of my office, and yet

3) *Virg. Aeneid, lib. VI, 743: Quisque suos patmur manes.*

4) Compare No. 705.

5) The following to the end is missing in the above issues.

6) Compare No. 622, Supplement.

1) Hedio did not hold a wedding until May 30.

2) Gregor Burger.

I cannot withdraw from them, since they lament, ask and sigh so much. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, June 2, 1524

Martin Luther.

No. 740.

Wittenberg. June 15, 1524.

To Capito in Strasbourg.

About tithes, which are good and to be kept; the re-purchasable interest should be abolished.

Printed in *Bibl. Brem. Cl. I V, fasc. V*, p. 913; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 100; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 524 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 351. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 902.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Our Philip reminded me, my dear Fabricius, that I would like to open my opinion about the tithes 1) to you, since one hears that the common people there want to refuse them. Indeed, tithes seem to me to be by far the most just of all, since they have existed through divine testimony and almost from the beginning of the world, and also the cheapest, since they increase and decrease only as much as the earth bears through the blessing of the Lord. Therefore, every effort must be made to keep the tithes intact, so that there is something to pay the authorities and the princes. Rather, those who fight against the tithes may be bent on abolishing the re-purchasable interest and other such burdens that plague the whole world. And yet, God wanted that after the abolition of all other interests, not only the tithes, but also the ninths or eights would remain. Of the Egyptians even the fifth was given [Gen. 43:34.], yet they lived. We cannot even live on the tithes, so much do other customs and burdens rage. So I stand and ask that you help others to do likewise, so that the mob may not be allowed such licentiousness. Greetings to all, and pray for me. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Barnabas [June 15] 1524.

1) The gardeners in Strasbourg in particular refused to pay the priestly tithe. In 1525, this dispute was settled amicably. Seidemann in *De Wette*, vol. VI, p. 485, note 7, and others refer this passage to the peasants of Hauenstein near Waldshut, who in May 1524 refused to pay the serf dues to the abbot of St. Blaffen.

No. 741.

Wittenberg. June 15, 1524.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther asks him to intercede for a man with the mayors.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmann-Briefe, No. 17 (the postscript on a separate sheet). Handwritten in the Franciscaneum at Zerbst, Ms. 26, iol. 14d. Printed in *Schlitz*, vol. II, p. 62; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 106; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 572 (*Barbarae* instead of Barnabas, therefore wrongly dated: "December 7") and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 352. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1366.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau.

Grace and peace! This man saw me and spoke to me as he wished. But since he did not press me in his cause, even though I was willing, it pleased him and me that you should act for him, if necessary, with the mayors, so that they may do all they can according to their goodness. Farewell and pray for me, a sinner. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Barnabas [June 15] 1524.

I have written to your brother Valentin before through others who requested letters from me (*postulatores*). Greetings to Mr. Hermann Mühlport.

No. 742.

Wittenberg. June 18, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends some new writings, including a letter to Duke John Frederick for forwarding. Intercession for a captured barber.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 248. Printed by Buddeus, p. 34; by *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 518 (incorrectly dated: "May 21") and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 353. German by *Walch*, vol. XXI, 898.

To the servant of Christ, M. Georg Spalatin, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I send to you the Argula, which is painted in its own image and in a foreign one, 2) and the nonsensical writing

2) This probably refers to a collection of Argula von Stauffen's writings (a number of letters) published at the beginning of March 1524, and a crude mockery of her written by a student from Ingolstadt, Johann von Landshut.

One, 1) at the same time a letter to the younger prince.
 2) The other day, when you were here, I should have asked you for the barber "Master Hansen", but I forgot, namely that you should help the prince to speed up his cause. For it is not only the young man who is burdened by being imprisoned for so long, but also the one who had him imprisoned, because he is ordered by the council to feed him at his own expense. The matter is known to the prince. Therefore do your duty. Be well and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Saint Benno's Day [June 18] 3) 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 743.

Wittenberg.

June 18, 1524.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Expert opinion on the validity of Mosaic rights; on the purchase of interest and on spiritual goods to be confiscated in Eisenach. Lastly by Carlstadt and Münzer.

From a copy in the Weimar Archives printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 35; in Walch, vol. XXI, 70; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 519 (with the wrong date: "May 21") and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 244 (according to De Wette). In all these editions with the wrong address: "An den Churfürsten Friedrich." De Wette's remark with respect to the first piece: "on the validity of Mosaic rights," that it was hitherto unprinted, is erroneous, for it is found in the Jenaer Allsgabe (1585), vol. II, p. 464b and thereafter in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 815; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 351 and in Walch, vol. X, 402. - Completely, this entire writing is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 354, but, just as in the Jena edition, without indication of the addressee and with unresolved time determination. From this a wrong note arose in *ibid.* Col. 912, in which the later letter of the duke (from June 24) is listed as a request to Luther, whereas the earlier letter of Luther to the duke (June 18) is listed as an answer to it. - Readings to be improved: Col. 356, line 2 v. u. read: "ob's" instead of: als, and line. I v. u.: "Gott" instead of: gar.

1) De Wette is mistaken in assuming that this is Emser's writing "Wider der zweier Pröbst zu Nürnberg falschen Grund und Ursachen" 2c., because the writing against which Emser's is directed was published only in October 1524. What is meant can only be either *Missae Christianorum etc. assertio* or the "Answer to the blasphemous book against Bishop Benno of Meissen" 2c.

2) The next following number.

3) On June 16, the Benno celebration had taken place.

No. 744.

Luther's concerns about Mosaic law.

In the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 188, in Walch, vol. X, 402 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 355. The latter remarks: "I find this concern neither in Walch nor in De Wette."

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 356.

No. 745.

Weimar.

24. Jun 1524.

Duke John Frederick of Saxony to Luther.

Response to No. 743.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 352.

No. 746.

Wittenberg.

July 4, 1524.

To Joh. Busmann in Königsberg.

Luther expresses his joy about the blessed effectiveness of Brismann. He recommends to him the Specatus, who has been appointed by the Grand Master, and asks that he, together with him and his colleagues, work to ensure that the Grand Master follows his advice, namely to make his principality a secular one, and to marry.

The original is in the Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg (very damaged). Printed in Andr. Vogler's collection of letters, *Regiomonti* 1612, no. 2; in "Erläutertes Preußen," vol. I (1724), p. 248; in *Acta Borussica*, tom. I (1730), p. 793; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 101; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 525 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. I V, p. 358. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 904.

To the highly esteemed brother in Christ, Johann Brismann, the servant of God and faithful servant at the word at Königsberg in Prussia.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your letter was exceedingly pleasant to me, my dear Brismann, and filled our mouths with joy, because the Lord Jesus thus promotes and strengthens his word with you. May He grant that it may continue in this way until the end, until His [last] day, and increase more and more, amen.

We also love you very much, because you make sure that nothing is done by force and noise, but everything is done by the power of the Word alone. May the Lord keep and increase this spirit in you and all others.

But there comes to you as a comrade D. Paul Speratus, who is called there by the Grand Master. I recommend him to you from

hearts. He is a worthy man and has suffered many things; from him you will hear everything that goes on in these lands. Satan has awakened prophets and sects among us, who finally go so far that they want to use weapons and violence to spread their opinions; I see that we will have to deal with them from now on. Carlstadt also remains the same as he has been and keeps it himself with these people. People boast unbelievably about their spirit, which they claim to have directly from God, almost without Christ, so that it seems as if they only want to make Christ an example for us and take away all sacraments together with Christ.

There is a rumor that the cruel edict of the emperor, which was passed three years ago at Worms,¹⁾ that the Lutheran sect is to be completely eradicated, is to be omitted, and some cities of the empire are in fear; but Christ lives, who will also conquer and triumph.

By the way, when I first 2) spoke with Prince Albrecht, the Grand Master 2c., and he consulted me about his order rule, I persuaded him that he should despise this foolish and confused rule, and take a wife, and make Prussia a secular dominion, either a principality or a duchy. The same thing meant and advised Philip after me. He smiled at that time, but answered nothing. In the meantime, I see that the man liked the advice and that he wishes this to be put into practice as soon as possible. But this could be done most conveniently if the people of Prussia, together with their great ones, were led to besiege him with requests that he should undertake this very thing; then it would happen that he would have a necessary and completely sufficient cause for the work he desires. And for this, if I am not mistaken, Paul Speratus is also sent. Seeing then that a door is opened for the great and marvelous work of the Lord, by which also other poor bishops may be made an example.

1) This will be Edict No. 744 in the 15th volume of our edition.

2) on November 29, 1523, when Albrecht visited Luther. (Tschackert, Preuß. Refgesch.)

who would like to be first and who do not dare to be first without an example: You see, of course, that it is your duty, together with Speratus and Amandus 3) and the other servants of the word, to guide and encourage the people to first call upon the hand of God, so that instead of this abominable principality, which is a kind of hermaphrodite, Instead of this abominable principality, which is a kind of hermaphrodite, neither layman nor monk (*religiosus* == religious), they wish and desire a principality of a right form, and, tired of fornication, urge the Master of the Order with common and united pleas that he take a lawful wife and make a right dominion out of this abomination.

This persuasion of the people must, however, so that it is not too sudden and violent, first be attacked by suggesting and questioning, as with an established disputation sentence (*themate*), namely: after they see that this order is an abominable hypocrisy, it would be nice if the master of the order took a wife, and likewise the other lords, and with the consent of the people made the country a secular one. But after they had discussed and talked a little about this matter (*themate*), and the minds seemed to incline to this side, then the matter would be publicly pursued and promoted with ample reasons. I wish that the Bishop of Samland would have the desire to do the same, but since here one must proceed with caution, it would seem safer that he give himself the appearance of not yet having formed a judgment about the matter.⁴⁾ Finally, however, if

3) Johann Amandus, a Westphalian, had earlier come to Prussia as a preacher of indulgences; later he appears as a preacher of the gospel in Holstein, comes to Wittenberg chased out from there and, recommended by Luther, is sent to Königsberg in the fall of 1523 by Friedrich von Heideck. From there he was expelled because of his stormy nature (he was of Carlstadt's kind) in 1524. Then for a short time in Danzig, then in Stolpe, from where he had to flee because of iconoclasm; then again temporarily in Wittenberg, from where he came to Stettin and was imprisoned by the Catholic Duke George of Pomerania. Through Luther's use by the Elector he was freed again (see Luther's letter of April 26, 1526), then became a preacher in Goslar, where he died in 1530, also often hostile.

4) In the next period, among others, the Comthur of Neydberg, Friedrich von Waldburg, and the Bishop of Samland, Georg von Polenz, took part in the advisory board.

the people agrees, and is overcome by the reasons, also its confirmation would follow. But Christ will give you mouth and wisdom in all these things, and understanding and insight to the people, so that you will be better instructed by the matter itself than by my precepts as to how to act here.

I am editing the notes to your fifth book of Moses, attributed and dedicated to the Bishop of Samland, but being overwhelmed with business, I am slow in advancing the work. Commit me faithfully to his sincere grace and greet Amandus and all the brothers in the Lord. Live and prosper in Christ. Greetings to you from Philip and our prior, whom Satan recently tried to kill in the marketplace by hurling a tile from the roof, but the Lord surely preserved him in a miraculous way. One hears nothing yet from your treasure vulture. 2) Murnar with his own has taken off his habit and has left the monastery with all of them, since he has become, as some say, *canonicus regularis*, or one who strives for a position in the monastery, but he still remains the same Murnar that he was.

Be mindful, my dear Brismann, that you work faithfully for the establishment of boys' schools. For here Satan feels that he is being attacked, since he fears that the children will be snatched from him, and resists everywhere with incredible art. Therefore, I recommend to you this young man Johann Haddamir, 3) who is capable of taking care of these things. Wittenberg, Monday after the Visitation of the Virgin Mary [July 4] 1524. Martin Luther.

No. 747.

Wittenberg.

July 6, 1524.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Luther asks him to assist Justus Jonas in his affairs. He reports Nesen's death.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 309; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 528 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 362. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 907.

1) St. Louis edition, Vol. III, 1370. They did not appear until 1525.

2) Compare No. 705 - Murnar was in Strasbourg at the time.

3) Here recommended by Luther as a school teacher, he became preacher at Saalfeld in East Prussia in 1534, where he died in 1554.

Jonas is coming to you, my dear Lang, while his wife is left here, close to her confinement, in order to take care of the sick brother, then also to take care of his own affairs. Therefore, he asks, and I ask, that you faithfully assist him in the matters in which he may be in need of you, so that he may be ready the sooner and be able to return home. You, who are now out of danger of poverty, know what it means to be in want or in need of money; perhaps Jonah also suffers from this disease, because he has taken a wife and has a household. As we now have confidence that you will do, so we pray that you may do.

William's Nesen perished miserably in the water, to our great sorrow and to the great joy of the enemies, perhaps also to even greater blasphemy of our Gospel and the name of Christ. Satan would almost have killed our prior, too, if he had not been preserved by a glorious miracle. The Lord is near and far at the same time. Farewell and greet your rib. Wittenberg, Wednesday after the Visitation [July 6] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 748.

Wittenberg.

July 8, 1524.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Luther and Hieronymus Schürf ask that three canonists, who had given up their prebends, be provided from them, but that the income of the prebends be assigned to the university.

From a copy in the archives at Weimar in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 36; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 529; in Walch, vol. XXI, 73 and in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 53, p. 247.

To the most illustrious, highborn F. and H., H. Friedrich, Duke z. S., Elector 2c., L. in Th. and M. z. M., our most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, H. F., G. H.! Now have E. C. F. G.

4) In the editions: *Georgius*, but his name was Wilhelm. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 416, § 9. Probably Luther only wrote "G.", which Aurifaber wrongly resolved by *Georgius* instead of *Guilelmus*.

Nesen drowned on July 5 around dusk during a trip on the Elbe River because the barge hit a hidden log.

the three prebends of the three new canonries, given up by them, home again. But because they did this out of comforting confidence that C.F.G. would take such willing work in grace and let them enjoy it, so that they would not bring vain harm and disgrace from it, we are inspired by some, and also moved out of Christian duty ourselves, to ask C.F.G. for these canons. C. F. G. for the same canonries, that E. C. F. G. either from the same prebends and pensions, or shall, as E. C. F. G. knows how to mean, graciously provide for them. Also, because C. F. G. himself sees how schools and lessons are being allowed to disintegrate all over the world, and there is no one to take care of the arts, to the great ruin not only of the German country, but also of the whole of common Christendom, and God has sent E. C. F. G. a letter from the Holy Father. C. F. G. this grace before other princes, that it has almost alone grace and favor to preserve the Studia, which should be the noblest work of all princes: we humbly request and urge once again, E. C. F. G. may you have a gracious understanding of this university and direct the prebendary pension, which now has so much to do to praise God and to raise the dear youth, to proper lessons, so that this few Christian schools may remain a salutary example in the Schwang and the world, so that the gift of God, E. C. F. G. so mercifully given, may be the more richly put to work and bear fruit, for which it has been given, that E. C. F. G. may be praised before God and the world as father and patron of the poor abandoned youth in German lands. This Christ will undoubtedly recognize more abundantly with temporal and eternal grace, which E. C. F. G. may mercifully bestow upon him, Amen. At Wittenberg, on Friday Kiliani 1524.

E. C. F. G.

understated

Hieronymus Schürf and Mart. Luther.

No. 749.

Colditz.

July 10, 1524.

Prince Frederick to Luther and Hieronymus Schürf.

(Regest.)

The Elector rejects the request made in the previous number with regard to the three canons, because in accepting the office, even though it was based on

marks made, would have been obliged. He had committed the canons to read mass, but they did not do so afterwards. With regard to the transfer of the income of the prebendaries to the university, he is not yet decided; but if it should happen and the canons are sent to lection before others, he does not want to prevent them from receiving a provision through the university.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N.* 109, H. 42. 2. B. Printed in Burkhardt, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, p. 73 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 364.

No. 750.

Wittenberg.

July 10, 1524,

To Spalatin.

About the collection of the money Christoph von Bressen owes to the monastery; about Nesen's death; about the provision of the three canons and the occupation of the parish in Belzig.

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The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 171 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 189. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 220b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 530 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 365; German at. Walch, vol. XXI, 908. the postscript is found only in Burkhardt, p. 74 and in *Erl. Briefw.*

To the highly esteemed man, Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, his [friend] in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! Here comes Hans Lufft, my dear Spalatin, who will demand our money from Christoph von Bressen in our name, although there is little hope that we will achieve what is necessary. For I do not see how it could be possible for us to get rid of our debts, since it is already the third year in which he is supposed to pay us 90 florins for the third time; but where can he get such a large sum?

I am sending Osiander's letter: Capito's is not at hand. Satan has taken away the Nesen, while his three companions are miraculously preserved, so that he would not want to corrupt them as well. The Lord has grieved us greatly by this case and opened the mouths of the blasphemers, but he will turn this to his glory after the Amorites will be hardened and blinded by this weakness of his people Israel. Fare well and pray for me.

You, too, work to ensure that the three canonists obtain another grace instead of this one. For it is unworthy and unjust.

that those who had previously been given salaries for the lections now have neither canonries nor lections and are to be deprived and punished twofold. Wittenberg, on the Sunday after St. Kilian [July 10] 1524.

Martin Luther.

There is a certain Johann Boldewan, to whom the pastor in Belzig (*Peltitz*) has given his parish, and he pleases the people. But the council refers the matter to the prince; if he should appoint him, they will take him all. Now he asks through me that this be obtained from the prince. However, he is a learned and good man, who in Pomerania has been cast out from his abbey 1) and has suffered many things in bonds for the sake of Christ. He is worthy that mall demand and set him up like this. I ask you to answer this.

No. 751.

Wittenberg.

July 17, 1524.

To Johann Steenwyck, Augustinian prior at Sternberg.

Luther sends Jerome of Enkhnsen as a preacher of the gospel and expresses his joy that they have thrown away the old superstition.

The original is in the state archives in Schwerin. Printed in the *Jahrbücher des Vereins für mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 12th volume, 1847, p. 274; in Seidemann, *Lutherbriefe*, p. 22 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 366.

To the ill Christo highly venerable father Johann Steeuwyck (*Sternwich*), Augustinian prior at Sternberg, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord. My most esteemed father! We send here the brother Jerome full of Enkhusen with another, when the Lord has done what we hoped. I therefore recommend to you, dear

1) Boldewan had been abbot of the Belbuck monastery near Treptow in Pomerania since 1517, joined Luther's teachings as early as 1520 or 1521, called Bugenhagen from Treptow to the monastery to teach theology in the Collegio he had founded, but was imprisoned by Duke Boguslaw in '1523 because of his evangelical sentiments, and when he was released, had to vacate the land. He then went to Wittenberg and received the parish in Belzig. In 1528 he was active for a time as pastor at St. Peter's with Bugenhagen in Hamburg in the introduction of the Gospel. His successor was Johann Aepinus on October 17, 1529.

Father, the good people, and through you to the prince. I would have written to the prince himself, but some matter intervened that I did not dare, lest I arouse suspicion and fall under suspicion myself. I am glad that you have stopped superstition and have renounced your ungodly food 2). May the Lord grant that the knowledge of Christ may grow to perfection among you, and that the word of grace may reign among you in all the fullness of the Spirit, amen. Greet my brothers and friends and pray for me. Wittenberg, Sunday after Margaret [July 17] 1524. Martin Luther.

No. 752.

Tetschen.

July 27, 1524.

Wolfgang von Saalhausen to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2181 ff.

No. 753.

Wittenberg.

July 31, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther indignantly sends back one of Münzer's writings. Ueber die Sache der Hanna von Spiegel (No. 689).

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A, No. 172 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 190. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 221; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 531 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. IV, p. 371. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 909.

To the godly and learned man, Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Saxony.

Grace and peace! I send you the All-City Frenzy, 3) which is worthy 4) that it should even be honored with any benefice, let alone that it should be cherished and cultivated in the country. Thus it has pleased Christ that we should not be worthy of the

2) Because of "the holy blood" Sternberg was a popular place of pilgrimage.

3) A sermon by Münzer, which he had delivered in Allstädt before the dukes Johann and Johann Friedrich, in which he called on them to eradicate the idolatry of the papacy and to kill its adherents. The castle Zeis had sent it to Spalatin on July 20, and he sent it to Luther. It also appeared in print.

4) Walch assumes: *indignam* and De Wette is inclined to agree with him. But it is obvious that this is irony.

to recognize and take care of what is God's, who until now have taken care of what is Satan's in such a way that we always cherish the same.

I cannot give any advice about Hanna Spiegel, because the court does not follow the advice of God, and perhaps cannot do so; human law and human wisdom are sufficient for it, and it has enough of them without me. Farewell. Wittenberg, Sunday after Jacobi [July 31] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 754.

(Wittenberg.)

July 1524.

To Elector Frederick and Duke John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 4, no. 763.

No. 755.

Wittenberg.

August 3, 1524.

To Wolfgang von Saalhausen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2182.

No. 756.

Wittenberg.

August 6, 1524.

To some convent virgins.

Luther instructs them about the permitted withdrawal from the monastery.

From the original (formerly) in the Elisabeth Library in Breslau printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 36; in Walch, vol. XXI, 74; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 534 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 251.

To the free convent virgins, my dear sisters in Christ, kindly written.

Grace and peace in Christ our Savior! Dear Sisters, I have received your writings that time and that time, and have heard your request, and would have answered long ago, if I had been inspired and if there had been voices, for I have much to do otherwise. First of all, you have understood quite well that there are two reasons for leaving the monastic life and vows: one is where the law of man and monastic work are demanded by force, and the other is where the law of man and monastic work are demanded by force.

If they do not let you go free, but want to burden your consciences with it, it is time to leave and let the monastery and everything go. If it is so with you that they do not want to let you go free of the monastery works, but force your consciences with it, then call your friends all, and let them help you out, and provide for you in their house (if the authorities want it) or elsewhere. If your friends or parents do not want to help you, let other good people help you, regardless of whether your parents should be angry about it, die or recover. For the salvation of souls and God's will should be above all, as Christ says: "Whoever loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me. But if the sisters want to leave you free, or at least let you read or hear the word of God, then you must remain in it, and do and keep the monastery work with them, just like spinning, cooking and the like, so that you do not put any trust in it. The other cause is the flesh: although in this the womenfolk are ashamed to confess it, yet Scripture and experience show that among many thousands there is not one to whom God gives grace to keep pure chastity, but a woman has not herself in the image. God created her body to be with a man, to bear children and to draw them, as the words clearly state in Genesis 1, and the members of the body, ordained by God Himself for this purpose. For as eating, drinking, sleeping and watching were created by God, so naturally He wills that man and woman should be married to each other; therefore this is sufficient, and no one should be ashamed of what God created him for and made him for, where it is, 1) that he does not have the great strange grace to go out and do what he finds himself created for. These things ye shall read and learn abundantly and sufficiently, when ye come forth, and hear right preaching. For I have now proved and demonstrated it superfluously in the book of monastic vows, 2) item, to avoid the doctrine of men, item, in the sermon on conjugal life, item, in the postilla, which, if you read, you will learn all things, there

1) Added by us.

2) See Kirchenpostille, vol. XI, 391 ff, §§ 253-312; vol. XIX, 598; vol. X, 638.

be it confession 1) or other things, you will find instruction enough that it is much too long and not necessary to write, because I am sure you will move to the monastery if these two causes or one hits you, as you complain in the first. If it is the case that the monastery once comes to right freedom, then whoever has the grace and desire to do so can move in, just as now the Council of Bern in Switzerland has handed over the most famous monastery of Königfelden,²⁾ and let go out freely, stay and move in whichever virgin wants to, and give her what they have brought in with them. Hereby God commands and prays for me. Given at Wittenberg, on the day of Sixti Martyris [Aug. 6] 1524.

Martinus Luther.

No. 757.

Orlamünde. August 16,
1524.

Council and congregation of Orlamünde to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2037, no. 683.

No. 758.

Weimar. August 21,
1524.

To the town council and municipalities of Mühlhausen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2, no. 762.

No. 759.

Wittenberg. September 1,
1524.

To Bartholomew of Staremburg.

Luther consoles him for the loss of his spouse and

The first printing has the title: "Am senndbrief Martini Lutheri an den Wolgebornen Herren Herren Bartholomew von Staremburg ausgegangen. 1c. Im jar MDXXIII." 3 leaves in 4. without indication of the place. Then in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 201; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 453; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 803; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 353; in Walch, vol. XXI, 79; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 396 (under your year 1523); in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 202 (1523) and in the Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 10.

Grace and peace in Christ. Gracious Lord! This writing E. G. asked Vincenz Wernsdorfer, out of Christian cause and loyalty.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 814 ff.

2) November 20, 1523.

That is why I ask E. G. first of all to grant me this.

He reported to me how E. G., after the departure of her dear husband, was almost making an effort, especially with much divine service and good works, especially with masses and vigils, to do good to her soul, as she had shown her love and faithfulness to E. G. and well deserved it in her life; in addition, he asked that I turn to E. G. with writings. To whom I did not know how to refuse, considering that E. G.'s best is sought therein. So I now humbly ask E. G. to accept my admonition as good.

And only then shall E. G. remember that Job 1:21 says: "God has given, God has taken away; as it pleased the Lord, so it has been done." So shall E. G. also sing to your faithful dear God, who has given such a dear, faithful spouse to E. G., and now has taken her again. For she was his before he gave her; she was his when he gave her; she is still his after he has taken her, as we all are. Therefore, though it grieves us that he takes from us what is his, yet let the heart take higher comfort in his best will, more than in all his gifts. For how immeasurably better is God than all His gifts. So also here his will is better to keep than the very best and noblest⁴⁾ woman. However, one cannot feel this like this, but faith feels⁵⁾ it.

Therefore, E. G. God cheerfully gives His own, and accepts this rich exchange and immeasurable usury, that you now have for a tender, dear wife a tender, dear will of God, yes, in addition to God Himself. Oh, how blessed and rich we would be if we could make such a change with God! Yes, we could do it, if we understood it. For God meets us with it every day, but we cannot greet Him.

On the other hand, Gn. Lord, my request is that Your Grace refrain from masses, vigils and daily prayers.

3) In the first print: "an" instead of: "nun".

4) "and noblest" is missing in the first printing.

5) "feels" is missing in the first print.

6) In the first print: "right" instead of: "rich".

prayer for their souls. It is enough if God prays for them once or twice with earnestness, because God has promised us: "Whatever you ask, believe that you will have it, and you will surely have it" [John 15:7]. Otherwise, when such prayer is always urged for one thing, it is a sign that we do not believe God, and thus only enrage Him more with unbelieving prayer. For what is it different if I often ask for one thing, but so much that I have not been heard in the previous prayers, and thus have asked against His promise. One should always ask, it is true; but in faith, and always be sure that one is heard: otherwise the prayer is lost. So there is always something else and something else to ask for.

In particular, however, I ask your Lord to refrain from the vigils and masses for the souls, for this is an unchristian thing that greatly angers God. For in the vigils one can see that there is neither earnestness nor faith, but only useless murmuring. Oh, it must be asked otherwise, if one is to obtain something from God. The work of such vigils is only God's mockery. In addition, because God has not instituted the Mass for the dead, but for the Sacrament for the living, it is a horrible, frightening thing that people approach and change God's institution,¹⁾ and make a work and sacrifice for the dead out of the Sacrament for the living. Let our Lord beware and not make himself a party to this abominable error, which the priests and monks have brought up for the sake of their bellies. For a Christian should do nothing unless he knows that God has so commanded. Now they have no commandment of such masses and vigils, but their own little bundle, which carries money and goods, and helps neither the dead nor the living.

Further, E. G. can well find out about all this and report it to the above-mentioned Vincenz Wernsdorfer, who of course favors E. G. and has moved me to write about this. Please, let E. G. please her, and do not err in those who, without God's word, speak against her own deeds and human statutes. Christ enlightens and strengthens E. G. in the right way.

Faith and love towards one's neighbor, Amen. At Wittenberg, on St. Egidio's Day [Sept. 1] Anno 1524. E. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 760.

Wittenberg.

September 1, 1524.

To Heinrich von Zütphen.

Luther informs him of various news: about appeals to Magdeburg and Hamburg, from Duke George and the Landgrave of Hesse. The pope, in order to encourage Ferdinand and the dukes of Bavaria against the Lutheran cause, has assigned them large revenues from the ecclesiastical estates. About the situation in Strasbourg and Augsburg.

The original is in the Imperial Library at Leiden, *Coll. Riveti* XVIII, No. 293 R. Printed by Kolde, Xnnleetu, p. 55, for whom the difficult-to-read letter was deciphered by *D. du Rieu* at Leiden. However, there seem to us to be several reading errors; according to this, in *Bremisches Jahrb.*, 1885, Ser. 2, Vol. I, p. 250, No. 5 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 14.

To S. Sudphen (*Sudpha*), evangelist of the Bremen church, his brother in Christo.

Grace and peace! That I am writing to you, my dear Heinrich, has almost no other reason than that I finally wanted to greet you with a letter written in my hand, so that this messenger would not come to you empty. There is a lot of news with us. The licentiate Amsdorf has been called to Magdeburg and he is going there to care for the church of St. Ulrich. Melchior Mirisch has thrown off his habit and is serving St. John's there. At St. Catharinen they appoint Andreas Kaugsdorf, 2) I do not know if he will go. At St. Jacob's, Doctor Wiedensee, provost at Halberstadt, who takes a wife; at the Church of the Holy Spirit, Joh. Fritzhaus, who has a virgin for a bride, the only daughter of her father. Thus Magdeburg has the gospel and will grow in Christ. The church in Hamburg is crying out for Johann Pommer; if I cannot drive him there, I will drive Jacob, yours of Ypres, 4) there, if I can

2) In the transcript: *Campsdorfium*.

3) *evangelium* is Conjecture of the Erl. Briefw., the transcript offers: *dum*.

4) The original should read: *nigrum*. Kolde suggests for it *magistrum* before. We would like to assume *Iperen*. (*Yperensem*, from Ypres), as Probst is otherwise also called, which has even already been read in.

1) In the first printing: "make of these: and other GOD's appointments a work" 2c.

can. The cruel mandate of the emperor has been published by Duke George, but not much has been done yet, although two or three have been killed, who admittedly challenged it themselves. It is said that 72 1) cities at a convention held at Speier and at one to be held again, 2) are dealing with it, that they do not want to accept this mandate and others. At least the Landgrave of Hesse has given freedom to the Gospel by his last edict. The Count Palatine lets everything go, since he is dirty 3) and stalks the estates of the popes. The pope gave Ferdinand the third part of all ecclesiastical revenues in all his lands, so that he would be an enemy of the Lutherans, and he arouses the hatred of the priests against himself, who suffer this extremely unwillingly. It is said that he also gave the fourth part to the dukes of Bavaria, and the princes and bishops are so senseless that it seems that they no longer want to rule 4) or live, since the spirit of deceit that God has sent below compels them to do so. The bishop of Strasbourg summoned the council and ordered them to expel the evangelists (among whom four are outstanding, Martin Bucer, Fabricius Capito, Caspar Hedio, Matthias Zell, among others). The latter, however, promised that they would gladly carry out this commandment. By the way, they wanted to admonish him, 5) that he himself would leave the city within 24 hours with the whole clergy and the court and all his people, so that they would save their lives; if they would perish, they wanted to be excused. When the bishop heard this, he freely demanded a truce until the feast of Michaelmas. Since it had been planned at Augsburg to expel an evangelist, in a few

1) The number "LXXII" in the text is in any case wrong. There were only 61 imperial cities, of which 28 were represented by envoys at the Speier Convention on July 18.

2) On December 13, another town meeting was held in Ulm.

3) *sordens*. Instead, the Erl. Briefwechsel soeors proposes.

4) Instead of *principare* should probably be read *principari*, because it is a deponens.

5) In the original: *monerent*, for which the Erl. Briefw. has assumed *monuerunt*.

hours, more than four thousand armed men 6) gathered in front of the town hall and demanded that the cause of the expulsion be reported to them. When Fugger heard this, he was the first to flee secretly, followed by the entire clergy. Thus the whole town and even the council were in arms all day. Finally, on the next day, Fugger was admitted at his request and on acceptable conditions, and the people were pacified, but the clergy had not yet returned to the city. This shows God and warns the princes, but they continue to rage blinded 7) so that they perish. And we have heard what your Bremer has committed in Friesland. 8) Another in the letter to Jacob. See also that you first pray for us with your church, then also write of your affairs and condition. Greet all brothers in the Lord. At Michaelmas my little German Psalter 9) will be published, then the other part of the Bible, 10) which is under the press. Now the merchants are strengthened by the printing. Christ strengthen them in faith and in their work, amen. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, the first of September 1524, Martin Luther.

No. 761.

Wittenberg.

September 13, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther expresses his displeasure at the arrogant behavior of the bearer of the letter. He speaks of Leimbach's affair; of Melchior Lotther's slander to the prince; of the sad events in Orlamünde and Carlstadt's obduracy,

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* ^ΛNo. 173 and in *Cod. Jen.* u, fol. 190. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 2336; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 550 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 22. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 914.

6) In reality it was only 1800 who prevented the expulsion of the former Barfüßermönch Joh. Schilling by force on Aug. 6 and 9. Fugger escaped to Biberach on the 9th.

7) *excoecati* is a conjecture of the Erl. Briefw., in the copy and in Kolde: *excecrati*.

8) This probably refers to the victorious campaign of Archbishop Christian of Bremen against the Wurst Frisians on the Lower Weser in May 1524, in which 700 Wursters were slain and the country devastated by murder and plunder.

9) St. Louis Edition, Vol. IV, 1.

10) Das Dritte teyl des alten Testaments. Wittenberg. M. D. xx llll." Folio. Containing Job, Psalter and the Writings of Solomon.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the faithful servant of Christ, his exceedingly dear [friend] in Christ.

Grace and peace! I have sent the messenger you sent with the glasses back to you empty, my dear Spalatin. If you should send him again, then show at the same time from the blood of which kings he sprang, or what kind of kingdoms such a great man possesses, so that I know with what kind of latrine 1) I must honor such a commanding and imperial man. What is it necessary to ask for advice about the publication of the bull 2)? He is allowed to publish it wherever he wants; for even the bull does not require that he be defended by the princes. If they want to be ridiculed with their bulls, who prevents them? yes, we rather want to contribute to it.

The Leimbach have demanded an answer. I have told them what I heard from you, namely that the prince has decreed that the matter should finally be brought to an end. I see that they are oppressed by lack, although they are righteous people. Especially the wife is excellent, and it is worthwhile that this service be rendered to her, also for the sake of the many children. Therefore, help them not to be abandoned like this, or to put the matter on the back burner.

I hear that Melchior Lotther has also been badly reported to the prince; I ask you, what is it necessary that the afflicted be given new affliction? Let us finally spare him, he has enough punishment and misfortune. Therefore, be a good mediator, and if it is necessary that I write for him myself, I will do it gladly.

I believe that you have read enough of the younger prince's tragedy at Orlamünde.

because it cannot be written in a short letter. Carlstadt has finally fallen into a hardened mind, so that I despair of his return. He has always been far from the honor of Christ, and will perhaps always be so, for that is where the senseless desire for honor and praise has driven him. He is more hostile to me, or rather to us, than any enemy has ever been, so that I believe that this wretched man is not merely possessed by a devil. May God have mercy on his sin, with which he sins to death. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, September 13, 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 762.

Wittenberg.

(mid-September) 3) 1524.

To Wolfgang Stein.

What to reply to Carlstadt's letter to Duke Johann zu Sachsen.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 1048, fol. 74. Printed from the Kraft Collection at Husum by Schütze, vol. I, p. 387; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 549 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 268.

Volkango Steyn, ecclesiasti ducali Wy

mariae, suo in Domino fratri. [To Wolfgang

Stein, ducal ecclesiastical priest at Weimar, his brother in the Lord]. *Gratiam et pacem! Scripsi et dixi juniori Principi, quid vocato Andreae Carlstadio objiciendum esset. Nunc ad istas quoque literas vel vocato eo vel scripto ad eum in hunc modum respondeat:* [In German: Gnade und Frieden! I have written to the younger prince and said what would have to be held against Andreas Carlstadt, because he would be called. Now he may also answer to this letter, if it is either called or written to him, in this way:] Dear Doctor! Before you asked us, you started the matter and received the florin from D. Martin. What is the matter now, that you should give us last, when you have done before what you desire?

1) Mockingly, Luther wrote *latrina* (cloake, resignation) instead of *latria* (worship).

2) In 1524, Bishop Adolph of Merseburg carried out a visitation in the Chur Saxon lands, during which several pastors, priests and preachers were cited, deposed and banished, but his decrees were not obeyed (Förstemann, Neues Urkundenbuch, p. 109). Now, by showing a new papal bull, which he had sent to the Elector on Sept. 8, he appealed to the secular sword for help. The Elector refused.

3) De Wette and after him the Erlangen edition put this letter too early: "Anfang Septembers", because this is a reply to be given to Carlstadt to his letter to Duke Johann of Saxony of Sept. 11, which is printed in the Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 20.

for mercy or favor? If you do it well, you will find it good.

On the other hand, that he has been summoned to Wittenberg for interrogation and debate should be said: My most gracious lord is almost surprised, since Carlstadt is so often required to go to Wittenberg to speak, read, and preach according to his office, as he is obliged to do by princely fief, and now first of all blows up his speaking, as if such things had been taught or barred to him, which he nevertheless knows, as no one has yet been able to force him to do, that he should henceforth leave my most gracious lord satisfied with such mirror fencing, and act as he should be responsible for it. *Quia stulta sunt illa, quae de Deo praesumit, primo Principes consulit. Si Deo inspirante facit, quod facit, cur moratur? cur differt? cur homines requirit? Vides hic, quam certus ille nequam spiritus sit¹) sese Deo pellente agi. O furor! Sed sine, ut veniat. Vale cum omnibus. Velociter* [In German: Denn das ist thöricht, was er sich voll GOtt vermißt er zieht zuerst die Fürsten zu Rathe. If he does what he does on God's inspiration, why does he hesitate? why does he postpone it? why does he consult men? Here you see how certain this shameful spirit is that he is led by God's impulse. In haste 2c.], *Wittenbergae*. MDXXIV.

Martinus Luther.

No. 763.

(Wittenberg.) September 18, 1524.

To Nicolaus Gerbel in Strasbourg.

(Fragment.)

This letter was in handwriting in the library in Strasbourg, but was destroyed by fire in 1870. Only this fragment is preserved in Röhrich, *Gesch. der Ref. in Elsaß*, 1831, Vol. I, p. 299.

... It is to be wondered at how much I desire to write to your Strasburgers, especially to the evangelists; but briefly and from the impromptu I do not want to, but at length and carefully I cannot before the too great tyranny of my many affairs.

No. 764.

September 22, 1524.

(Wittenberg.)

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Intercession for the newly elected pastor of Orlamünde, D. Caspar Glatz, that he be allowed to postpone taking up his office until Carlstadt has been forced to leave Orlamünde.

According to a copy in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Abth. Cöthen C. 18, No. 34, fol. 280 printed in *Erl. Briefw.*, Vol. V, p. 25.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord Johans Fridrich, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen 2c., my gracious lord 2c.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! Our Rector, Doctor Caspar Glatz, elected pastor of Orlamünd, has been advised by some great people that he should first ask E. F. G. humbly that they want to see to it that Doctor Carlstadt is removed, and also that they consider it good that he not remain in the place on the Saale, for the sake of his troubled, restless head. For this reason, he has asked me to send an interpellation to E. F. G.. Now, at that time, when I was with your F. G., I told²⁾ and also reported to the chancellor [Brück] with what pieces D. Carlstadt would have deserved, that he invaded behind E. F. G.'s knowledge and will, and took the parish, and in addition did not express his murderous spirit, nor did he act against it, as he should, if there were a good spark in him, that it is to be feared, even with his spirit, where he had room and air, he would do little good. I promise 3) that E. F. G. will know how to keep this seriously, so that the above-mentioned Rector will have peace and quiet, because I do not know how to refuse him such a regulation. May Christ strengthen and enlighten E. F. G. to His praise and salvation, Amen. On Thursday after Matthew [22 Sept.] 1524.

E. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

2) Luther was in Weimar on August 21, on his journey through Thuringia. See No. 758, *St. Louis Edition*, Vol. XX, Eint. p. 20.

3) Transcript: "understand".

1) *sit* Put by us instead of: *sic*, which in the editions is after *sese*.

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No. 765.

(Wittenberg.) (September or October 1524.) 1) To Spalatin.
Intercession for Melchior Lotther. Melanchthon refused to give theological lectures. (Cf. *Corp. Ref.*, vol. 1, 676.)

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 180 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 247. Printed in De Wette, vol. II, p. 508 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 27.

I beg you for the sake of Christ, see to it that Melchior Lotther does not have such a bad reputation with the prince. You would not believe how frightened a man is because he has heard that he has been reported to the prince in the worst way. He is certainly a good man and has been punished more than enough for his offense. There is also some consideration to be given to his wife, who is a very good woman and should not be so troubled, since she is already troubled enough both by many children and by many debts. I beg you, obtain something with which I can comfort him.

Philip, who has become obstinacy itself, refuses the theological lecture, and I (as you know) am overwhelmed, - but I am perhaps guilty of this for the monastery of which I am in use, - and the students extraordinarily persist and demand it. You therefore create council. It is really not good that this school, which has such a great name and produces so much fruit, is so mutilated and disordered.

No. 766.

(Wittenberg.) 3. October 1524.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2036, no. 681.

No. 767.

(Wittenberg.) October 8, 1524.

To the mayor and council of Zerbst.

Expert opinion on how to punish adultery fei.

From Sintenis' 1846 memorandum, p. 26 reprinted in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 167 f.

1) That this letter, which is perhaps only a postscript to another (but not to No. 724, where De Wette has placed it), belongs to this time, results from the comparison with No. 761.

To the honorable and wise,, mayor and councilmen of the town Zerwest, my dear lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear heavens! I have talked with my lords and doctors about your writing concerning adultery, and answer thus: Although according to the law of Most [Deut. 20, 10. Deut. 22, 22.] such were stoned, yet such law is not given, except to the Jews; and we, who are among the Gentiles and have Gentile authority, are obliged to keep and punish ourselves according to the same law. Although, unfortunately, the same law and rule lies 2) and is little in use. Therefore we in Wittenberg let the honorable council punish such with distemper to the city, as with lighter punishment, because the righteous does not go in the custom, which gives imperial law. May now E. W. follow the same Wittenbergers, or, so it loved, undertake the strict punishment 3) of the imperial law. Hereby commanded by God. On Saturday after Francisci [October 8] 1524.
Martinus Luther.

No. 768.

(Wittenberg.) October 11, 1524.

To Wolfgang Stein.

Luther recommends a preacher, and acknowledges receipt of Carlstadt's sent writings and the *Acta Jensia*.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* V 1048, fol. 74b and in the Wittenberg Seminary Library. Printed in Niedners Zeitschrift für hist. Theol., 1861, p. 618 (wrong: Oct. 13) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 33.

D. Wolfgango Stein, servo Christi in aula ducis Saxoniae, Vimariae.

Grace and peace in Christ. My Lord! I wanted to add a preacher to Rall⁴⁾ from here. But because this man Lorenz, who was able to help our Brigitte 5) out of her torture, is available, it seems best to me that

2) The original should read "lugt". Erl. Briefw., vol. 5, p. 33.
3) namely the death penalty.
4) In Ms. "Rall" or "Stall", but such a place name is not provable. Perhaps: "Kahla" ?
5) According to this, the occupation seems to have been to a Brigitten church.

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he will take testimony from the Schösser and Rath zu Eisenberg, and in addition to this my writing by your means to my lord. Lord by your means. For he does not displease me, if I know him. But if it will not be, I will procure a good one Your writing together with the writings of Carlstadt and the Orlamuder I have received, also the decorative booklet 2) *de actis* zu Orlamünde 2c. It does not hurt; search for them, but God will find them. You do not believe how the man Carlstadt in Schmelzen, Prussia, Bohemia and all places strikes and seeks nest, as I will write you another time. There you see what spirit and belly is. Give my regards to your rib (*Costa*), and pray for me. On Tuesday after Dionysius [Oct. 11] 1524. Martinus Luther.

No. 769.

Wittenberg.

October 12, 1524.

To Hieronymus Baumgärtner in Nuremberg.

Luther recommends a young man to him. He asks him to hurry if he wants to hold on to Catharina von Bora, lest someone else beat him to it.

Printed from the original by Christian Gottlieb Schwarz, in the Osterprogramm 1727; in the Unschuldige Nachrichten 1730, p. 529; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 105; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 553 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 34. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 916.

To Hieronymus Baumgärtner, the young man from Nuremberg, who is distinguished by piety and scholarship, his extremely dear [friend] in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! With the multitude of the poor, I am compelled to make use of you as well, my dear Jerome. This young man, Gregorius Keser, desires a position somewhere, and has requested a letter from me to some Nuremberg resident. Although I gave him little hope, because I knew that everywhere everything is full, I nevertheless let him go in God's name, who also feeds the ravens [Ps. 147, 9. Luc. 12, 24.]. By the way, if you want to hold on to your Käthe von Bora, hurry up.

1) Eisenberg, town in Saxony-Altenburg. - The name of the castle was Weyd.

2) "Schmuckbüchlein", because in it her thing was decorated. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2028 ff, no. 680 ff.

with the deed, before it is given to another who is at hand.
3) She has not yet overcome her love for you. I would certainly be happy if the two of you were connected to each other. Farewell. Wittenberg, Oct. 12. 1524.

No. 770.

(Wittenberg.)

October 17, 1524.

To Otto Braunfels in Strasbourg.

Otto Braunfels, school rector in Strasbourg, later a physician in Bern, published some of the writings of John Hus in 1524 and wrote a citation to Luther. Luther responded to this in these! Letters, praises his enterprise, encourages him to continue, and thanks him for the honor done him. - Braunfels placed this letter instead of a preface before the second volume of the writings of John Hus.

This letter is first printed in *Ioannis Huss Locorum aliquot ex Osee & Ezechiele prophetis, cap. v. & viij. etc.. Tomus secundus. Commendatitia brevis M. Lutheri ad Othonem Brunnfelsium etc.* on the back of the title. Then in *Monum. Joh. Hussi etc.*, p. 423. The other locations are given in the 14th volume. In the address there, the following is missing at the beginning: "Martin Luther."

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 264, no. 10.

No. 771.

Wittenberg.

October 17, 1524,

To Spalatin.

Luther sends him a new school plan; he has not yet decided on the change of the ungodly ceremonies in the All Saints' Monastery.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 246. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 235 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 554 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 37. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 917.

To Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Saxony, who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I send you back your booklet, my dear Spalatin, and at the same time also the establishment of the school, which is to be presented to the prince, not with great hope, but it must be tried in the name of the Lord. About the Aende

3) Luther wanted to marry her to Caspar Glatz, pastor in Orlamünde, but Catharina refused. See Köstlin, Martin Luther (3.), Vol. I, p. 763.

I have not yet decided anything about the godless ceremonies in the castle, which are maintained by money in an unjust manner; it will be time, if God wills it, to consult about these as well. Meanwhile, be well in the Lord. Wittenberg, Monday after Gallus [Oct. 17] 1524. Martin Luther.

No. 772.

Wittenberg. October 22, 1524.

All Nicolaus Gerbel in Strasbourg.

See St. Louis edition, Vol., XV, 2045, No. 687.

No. 773.

Wittenberg. October 27, 1524.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2625, annex, no. 117.

No. 774.

Wittenberg. October 27, 1524.

To Burian von Kornitz.

Luther consoles him in his tribulation and speaks out about the faithlessness and deceitfulness of Gallus Czahera. Cf. no. 779.

Printed by C. Höfler, Des Bartholomäus von St. Aegidius Chronik von Prag im Reformationzeitalter. *Chronica de seditione et tumultu Pragensi* 1524-1531. Prague 1859. p. 107, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 40. The Bohemian translation in: *Bartos Präger Chronik*, edited by I. K. Erben, Prague 1863, p. 122.

To the imprisoned and faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Burian von Skornicz, 1) secretary at Prague, my extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

May grace and peace in Christ be with you, who will strengthen and fortify your mind in your sorrow and grief, my dear Burian. The quick departure of this messenger and his haste to Bohemia has caused that I could hardly write this note to you. O beloved in Christ! How great things I hear about Gallus, such that he

1) Burian von Kornitz came from an old Silesian family, was wealthy near Chrubim and was a member of the Bohemian Brotherhood. He was a learned and well-educated man, became chancellor of the Old Town of Prague, and was imprisoned with other town councillors during an uprising in 1524. In May 1525 he was freed again, but banished from Prague.

has deceived and nullified all our trust and good opinion. For since he was so respectable, he was also considered respectable by me. With how much force did he urge me, with how much ardor was I incited to send my booklets quickly to Bohemia! Finally, all the exhortations that are given in these booklets 2) in several places, I had from his hands. He had drafted the things I wanted to send you, but I could not find him already. But you do not doubt, although he is not only the cause, but rather also urged that these booklets are written by me. Thus I poor man have been deceived by his faithlessness. And nothing in these little books is mine, except the manner, the doctrine, and the proof of the Scriptures (*scripturae discursum*); everything else belongs to Gallus. But Christ lives and reigns; at another time I will write more about this 2c. The HErr JESus be with you, Amen. Given at Wittenberg, on the day before Simonis and Jude [27 Oct.] 1524. Martin Luther.

No. 775.

(Wittenberg.) October 30, 1524.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2626, annex, no. 118.

No. 776.

Wittenberg. October 30, 1524.

To Gottschalk Crusius in Celle.

Luther is pleased that Crusius is active for the gospel in Celle and complains about the persecutions in Bavaria and Carlstadt's rage.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 236; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 559 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 43. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 918.

To Mr. Gottschalk (*Gotsaligo*), Christ's faithful servant in Celle.

Grace and peace in the Lord! At last I am answering your three letters, my dear Gottschalk, which I received, the first from Hoya Castle, the others dated from Celle. But it has always been the case that the messengers have not received my letter.

2) In the writing *De instituendis ministris Ecclesiae*. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1548.

because they were sent elsewhere, and I could not reach you in any other way. I am indeed glad that you are in Celle and that my recommendation has been of use to you. ¹⁾ Margaretha is a very good old lady, who has also been strongly admonished by her brothers, ²⁾ our princes, and not only by me, but the woman has such a shattered and fearful conscience due to the long tyranny of the monks that this cannot be repaired in a short time. Meanwhile, it is enough that she has come to tolerate the word and not to persecute it, so you may bear her pusillanimity.

In Bavaria, there is a lot of cross and persecution of the word, even though it is not sown publicly. Thus those swine rage, but the spilled blood will suffocate them. Carlstadt boasts that he was made a martyr by me and chased away. The wretched man rages completely against us and prepares new monstrosities. What he has long nurtured and cared for, he has finally begun to give birth to; but they have to be gangs. I believe that you have heard of Thomas Muenzer. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the Sunday after Simonis and Judä [Oct. 30] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 777.

Wittenberg.

November 1, 1524.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1982, annex, no. 7.

1) In Celle, on Luther's recommendation, Crusius became the successor of Wolf Cyklops from Zwickau, who since 1518 had been the personal physician of Henry the Middle, who had gathered a small Protestant community. Crusius was born in Braunschweig in 1499, entered the Aegidien Monastery of the Benedictine Order there as early as 1508, attended the University of Erfurt in 1518, Wittenberg in 1519, where he became Baccalaureus on Oct. 17, 1521. He then returned to his monastery, but was challenged for his evangelical convictions and transferred to Volkmeroda. Here he was to be attacked by Duke Henry of Brunswick on 17 March 1523, so he escaped to Hoya. Then he came to Celle around Easter 1524 and carried out the Reformation there with Heinrich Bock and Joh. Matthäi.

2) Margaretha, wife of Duke Henry the Middle, sister of Prince Frederick the Wise, turned to the Gospel only towards the end of her life. In 1524, she took her daughter out of the convent. She died in Weimar on Dec. 7, 1528.

No. 778.

Wittenberg.

November 6, 1524.

To Nicolaus Hermann in Joachimsthal.

On his question whether he should leave Jáchymov because of a disgruntled trade, Luther advised him to stay.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 393 d, and *Cod. Aug.* 10, fol. 169. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 238 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 561 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 47. German -in Walch, vol. XXI, 919.

To Nicolaus Hermann, ³⁾ the godly and learned man in Joachimsthal, his [friend] in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! M. Stephan ⁴⁾ has asked me for advice on your behalf, my dear Nicolaus, whether you should leave the valley after the deal and the matters have been settled. But I judge, since the Lord has already given you grace, that you have overcome the past case through patience, that you must persevere, especially since they are already showing themselves friendly, as you write, until you finally overcome everything. Who knows what God thinks about you or what he will do through you. You know the word of Solomon [Prov. 16:7]: "If a man's ways please the LORD, he also makes his enemies content with him." Overcome therefore evil with good, and make thyself and thy guarantors free by goodness, leaving off (as mau saith) stern justice and severity. I recommended you to Frau Hauptmann 5) when she was here; if you wish, you can remind her of my recommendation and make use of it; she seemed to me to be favorable to you and Stephan anyway. However, I have not only complained to her orally about the letter, which was forcibly and fraudulently stolen and published.

3) Nic. Hermann, the poet and composer of several church hymns, took up the cantor's office in Jáchymov in 1518 and died there on May 3, 1561.

4) Stephan Noth, later town clerk in Zwickau, was Rector of the Latin school in Joachimsthal from 1520 to 1522. In the winter semester of 1523, he studied again in Wittenberg.

5) In 1517 the Counts Schlick had appointed a mountain captain in Jáchymov; this was Heinrich von Könnerritz from 1519 to 1545, his wife Barbara, née von Breitenbach. Both were devoted to the evangelical doctrine.

I also wrote to the centurion, pointing out that I was extremely displeased with this and that a great injustice had been committed in it, and I led your cause very vigorously, so that there is hope that everything will finally be better through Christ's help. In him be well and pray for me, a sinner. Wittenberg, November 6, 1524, Martin Luther.

No. 779.

Wittenberg.

November 13, 1524.

To Gallus Czahera. ¹⁾

Luther exhorts him to repent of his ungodly behavior, otherwise he will be subject to divine judgment.

Printed by C. Höfler, *Des Bartholomäus von St. Aegidius Chronik von Prag* 2c., p. 108 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 49. The Bohemian translation in: *Bartos Prager Chronik*, edited by Erben, p. 124.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although I think, dear Gallus, that my letter of exhortation will be too late and in vain to dissuade you from the undertaking you have begun, since you have long since ceased to conceal that with which, as you know, you have unduly deceived us, since you have publicly departed from the truth you have recognized.

¹⁾ Czahera, the son of a butcher in Saaz, after his studies in Prague, first became a pastor in Leitmeritz, where he fell out with the congregation and then went to Wittenberg in 1523. Here he won Luther's trust and prompted him to write to the council and congregation of the city of Prague on how to order and appoint church servants (St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1548). After a three-month stay, he returned to Prague and was elected administrator by the Utraquist Estates on August 23 and became pastor of the church of Yours. At first he praised Luther in the pulpit, but since he did not succeed with his reformatory ideas, especially the abolition of celibacy, he turned to the opposite party, and, violently reviling Luther and persecuting his former friends, sought to bring about the rapprochement of the Utraquists with the Roman Church. His compatriot Palacky (V, 2, 515) passed judgment on him: "His whole conduct revealed in him such a degree of unworthiness as is seldom found in Bohemian history." The negotiations failed, however, although he assured the pope of his obedience. He remained in his position until 1529, but allowed himself many arbitrary acts until Ferdinand expelled him from the city and his hereditary lands on Sept. 5. He went to Nuremberg, but had to leave this city as well, because he went out against the preachers, and after he had married, he ended his life as a gift host in Ansbach.

I have nevertheless wanted to try to show you one last friendship. Return, my dear Gallus, and come back as long as you have time; stop setting yourself against God and Christ; you are a man who has no time to live, and perhaps at this time, when you lie about these things and want to brood about others, your downfall will approach all the more quickly, and it will not be necessary to hasten it of your own free will. Servant of God, what do you have to do with wars, bloodshed and captures? My dear Gallus, do you not believe that Christ is also God, who looks upon you and will finally judge you? "It will be hard for you to lick against the sting" [Apost. 9, 5.], it is not easy to get over the voices of so many good people against you. If you will follow my words and obey me, I will rejoice over the newborn brother; but if you are obdurate and stubborn, you will throw your work ²⁾ and your burden yourself, and I will be excused. But I, by God's gift and grace, will not conceal your works from the descendants. God change and convert you in a short time, amen.

Given at Wittenberg, on the Sunday after the Feast of St. Martin [Nov. 13] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 780.

Wittenberg.

November 14, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends some Bohemian refugees.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 246. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 34; by *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 564 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 50. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 926.

To the highly esteemed man, Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the Court of Saxony, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Here comes the Bohemian baron,³⁾ even equipped with my letter to you, my dear

²⁾ Instead of *corpus*, we have adopted *opus*.

³⁾ His name, as indicated by Spalatin's inscription, was Wilhelm Carowsky.

Spalatin. The secret, however, of which they ask that it be concealed as much as possible, is this, namely that they want to approach the prince with the request to advance them some sum in their need. Perhaps you will hear everything. They first wanted to receive a hope from me. But I had nothing to give them in the way of hope except to say that the prince was very kind and gracious, but that I did not know what he had or what he could do. This is the reason why they induced me to write to you, so that you too might support their cause.

One of them is Martin, 1) preacher at Prague, who was expelled for the sake of the word; he is already sufficiently known to me from letters. The baron's father, however, is also recommended by the fact that he not only indicates good barons as guarantors, but is also a protector of the expelled preachers. His father is extremely favorable to the word of God. You will do what is necessary according to your wisdom and skill. Fare well. Wittenberg, Monday after Martinmas [Nov. 14] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 781.

Wittenberg.

November 17, 1524.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1984, annex, no. 8.

No. 782.

(Wittenberg.)

November 17, 1524.

To the Chapter at Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1190, no. 143a.

No. 783.

Wittenberg.

November 18, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends D. Thomas Eschhaus in place of D. Stagmann, who intends to move away.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten un *Cod. Dessav.* X, No. 176 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 192. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 243 V; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 566 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 55. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 927.

The Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the Court of Saxony, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I would like you, my dear Spalatin, to take care of what I am writing to you now with your usual fidelity and care, I beg you for this most earnestly and urgently. It is said that D. Stagmann is about to move away, either because he has been called elsewhere or because he cannot support himself on his salary, as is easy to believe. He is followed by D. Thomas Eschhaus, a man who is already very old and who, due to an illness that has befallen him, has lost his audience. He begins to become seriously worried, having to beg at his age, which must be credited to the weakness of old age. Now, however, since he has rendered outstanding services to the Academy and has practiced the medical art quite happily before others, and is still the best and first among us, he is also forced by necessity to remain here, and especially for the practical art of medicine, which should be assigned to him. There is no doubt that he will be demanded and requested by the audience for this, if he should leave, that he, if he cannot do it in the college, at least lectures in his house to the whole number of students of this subject: He is worthy that we also ask for him, and you may faithfully strive that he, honored and supported by this grant, will be kept with us in an honorable manner until his end, which will perhaps come sooner than one thinks, especially since he does not ask for this in vain, and can repay it by creating benefits. Since I could not refuse him this service of intercession, I entrust it to your care, since I hope that you will do whatever you can. Fare well in Christ. Wittenberg, Friday after Martinmas [Nov. 18] 1524, Martin Luther.

1) Palacky calls him Martinach, pastor of Bethlehem Church. He was expelled from the city by Czahera and his followers after a bloody tumult at the election of the new council on Aug. 10, 1524, along with others. On Aug. 22, 1524, Laurent. Campegius wrote to Sadolet from Vienna that he had heard from Prague that fifteen Lutheran priests had been expelled from there.

No. 784.

Strasbourg.

November 22, 1524.

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2053, no. 689 a.

No. 785.

Strasbourg.

November 23, 1524.

The Strasbourg Preachers, Capito, Zell 2c., au Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2055, no. 689 b.

No. 786.

Wittenberg.

November 24, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends a letter to Argula von Staufen for forwarding. About an ecclesiastical matter in Kemberg. He complains about the poor supply of the pastor in Leisnig and the pastors in general.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 177 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 193. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 244; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 567 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 72. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 929.

To the godly and sincere man, Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Saxony, his superior.

Grace and peace! When you answer our Argula, my dear Spalatin, I ask you to send this letter of mine to her at the same time, because you can do what I cannot.

I also commend the Kemberg matter to you. The small priest's office is for the most part arranged from the goods of the citizens; now that the masses have fallen away, they intend to turn this over to the common treasury and want to pay the salary of the schoolmaster from it. This is a godly thought, a holy and necessary work, that schools should be established, as you know. Now the cunning,¹⁾ who, according to vicariate law (*vicario jure*), alternate with the council of Kemberg in conferring the small priest's position, is resisting. But they have given it to a certain person who otherwise already holds three parishes,

1) *Listani*, that is, Christoph and Heinrich List, provosts of Rakith. Christoph was provost of Kemberg in 1500.

then does not live there, nor does he do anything, except that he does not consume the income, either by right or by necessity, while leaving the work to be done that can be supported with it, especially since it is the property of the citizens. Therefore do what you can, and prosper in the Lord.

Those at Leisnig will finally drive out the Tilemann 2) through hunger. The good man complains very much; why does the prince stand still there? 3) But we may believe that after such examples good men will give up their pastorate, who will be left like this afterwards; or will they not rather be driven into the monasteries again? I am very much troubled by this exceedingly evil example, which, as it is the first, should also have been the best. 4) The care for this matter will be yours first and foremost. Again, be well. Wittenberg, Thursday after Elizabeth [Nov. 24] 1524. Martin Luther.

No. 787.

(Wittenberg.)

November 27, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther complains about a vehement letter from Spalatin in which he has wronged Jonas. In this way, he fears, he and Jonas will be forced to leave. The matter concerns the abolition of the mass in the monastery, against which the Dean Beskau, Georg Einer von Staffelstein and Johann Volmar from Billingen, canons, sat down and slandered Jonas.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 245d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 568 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 74. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 932.

2) Tilemann Schnabel, Augustinian, was already Luther's "schoolboy" in the Erfurt monastery, in 1512 in Wittenberg, on Oct. 4, Baccalaureus. Under Luther's decanate he received his doctorate on Sept. 9, 1515, became a provincial in 1520 as Gerhard Hecker's successor, and preached the gospel in Alsfield even before Landgrave Philip of Hesse was won over. When the latter forbade him to preach, he went back to Wittenberg in 1523. In 1526 he followed the call of the people of Alsfield, whom the landgrave had allowed to ask for a reprieve because of their faithful service in the Peasants' War. He remained in Alsfield until his death in 1559.

3) The Elector had still not confirmed the order of the common caste at Leisnig, but did so only in 1529. The council withheld the income from the common caste and the preachers were not paid.

4) The opinion is: as the order of the common chest in Leisnig is the first of its kind, by which the church foundations were put into the service of the Gospel and the poor, so it should also have been executed in the best way.

Grace and peace! What has befallen you, my dear Spalatin, that you yourself write so threateningly and imperiously? Is Jonas not yet despised enough by you and your prince, unless you continue to pierce this very good man so often? It is certainly not necessary that you chase away good men, who are held in such low esteem, in such a hopeful manner; it may happen that they are chased away too much elsewhere. If my testimony is valid, he is innocent in this matter. But I roll this stone. But you, because you harbor an old grudge (*monstrum*) against him, immediately believe the lying and god-robbing canons in everything they write and turn your suspicion against him, and you accuse me of sedition. But the prince's way is known to disrespect men. So we honor the gospel that we cannot grant his servants a pittance for their living, while we give others the abundance without difficulty, so that they may blaspheme our God. Then this is by far the most unjust and hateful thing that you call to proceed in such a way that you do not want to be considered less than if you had commanded it, and think that Christ does not see such mischievousness. Why don't you either command it outright, or just let it go? Just show it, and we will immediately heal your resentment if we are so spiteful or obnoxious.

Jonah is such a man, who should be bought with great money and kept in the country, but to you he is less than stubble and seaweed. ¹⁾ But God is just, who forces you to feed the most ungrateful boys and the most harmful hypocrites in the most delicious way for such injustice. Then I believe that we have not been or are not to the prince's detriment, to say nothing of the advantages; unless you think that the gospel that has risen again through us is not an advantage by which your souls are made blessed, and that not a little money and goods have begun to flow into the prince's purse and are flowing into it more every day, so that if we deserve hatred from those who have changed us.

we should at least have deserved better thanks from you than this. Unless this word be fulfilled [Ps. 35:12], "They have done me evil for good," or this [Luc. 4:24], "No prophet is pleasant in his father's country." But the Lord will still feed us, that we lack nothing [Ps. 23:1.], if ye deny us sustenance and the accursed little money. But if you intend anything in this matter, you may wish, but you must not and must not hope for anything.

If the Lord wills, I will abolish these masses or do something else. If you want to protect them, let them be protected; 2) I can no longer tolerate the deceit and deceitful violence of the third and a half canons against the unity of our church. I know what they are dealing with, while you are claiming what has happened to the one female. 3) Therefore, my dear Spalatin, I ask you to treat us, the poor and exiles of Christ, more mildly, or to speak your mind roundly, so that we know where to turn, only so that we are not forced to disgrace ourselves at the same time by this ambiguous (*obliqua*) order, which you want to make use of in the future, so that when we are forced to leave, we can call no other kennel but ourselves, and you may remain with honor both expellers and preservers. Farewell and pray for me. First Sunday of Advent [Nov. 27] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 788.

November 30, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther resisted his request to leave the court and his position, unless his marriage required him to do so. He declares of himself, with reference to a statement by Argula von Staufen, that he is not willing to enter into marriage.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth. A 1048*, fol. 179, No.220; in *Wolfenbüttel*, II, 10, fol. 231; in *Copenhagen*, alte

2) Instead of *tuetor* may well be read *tuentor* (*tuetor*).

3i Namely, the dean Beskau had given the sacrament to a woman outside the church under one figure.

1) Virg. Ecl. 7, v. 42. *Horat. Sat. lib. II*, 5, v. 8.

Library, Ms. 1393, p. 107; in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 332 (without the postscript) and in *Cod. Jen. b*, fol. 66. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 245 (without the postscript); in De Wette, vol. II, p. 569 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 76. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 930. The postscript alone in *Buddeus*, p. 35.

Grace and peace! About your asking me for advice, my dear Spalatin, whether you should leave the court and your office, 1) this is my opinion. It is certainly a significant cause if the word is not heard, as the wise man says [Sir. 32, 6. Vulg.]: "Where there is no hearing, do not throw away your speech." But if some hear, there is no need to desist, or I, too, would have been silent long ago in the face of so great a contempt for the word. If, therefore, there is no other cause for you which weighs on your conscience, it is not enough for you to leave your place or your profession or to do anything for the sake of it. For if marriage did not drive you away from this place, I could not even think of any cause that should move you. But since you now know the court completely from experience and can be of use to many at the prince's: if a newcomer enters, what will he be able to do before he gets to know this court? Even if everything is done in the same way, when will it happen that he will gain such great confidence and such a high opinion from the prince as you have, and which is brought about by long trial? So either stay, or, if you leave, you may go, because the need of marriage compels you. Perhaps, however, you are afraid to cite this cause, and instead of it you would like to use another as a reason.

1) The people at court found fault with Spalatin in many ways, as he wrote to Warbeck on Sept. 24: to some he was not tall enough in stature, to others not strong enough; he did not have a pleasant voice, was not short enough in speaking 2c. Furthermore, Seckendorf reports, *Hist. Luth. lib. I*, p. 314, add. II, that Spalatin wrote to the Elector on Nov. 25, requesting that he be dismissed from the office of a preacher at court and given permission to marry, because "he could no longer stand the unpleasantness in his conscience. The name of Spalatin's chosen one was Catharina Heidenreich. The Elector will have given his answer orally. Through his request, Spalatin did not fall out of favor with the prince, but the wedding was postponed until the following year and was not consummated until after the prince's death. Then Spalatin also left the court and became the successor of Wenc. Link in Altenburg.

I don't see what use that could be, since it must finally be given by the deed itself all day long, if you do it.

I thank Argula for writing to me about taking a wife, and I am not surprised that such things are gossiped about me, since many other things are also gossiped about. But you thank her on my behalf and say that I am indeed in the hand of God as a creature whose heart he can change and change again every hour and every moment, kill and make alive; but with the attitude that I have had and still have, it will not happen that I marry. Not that I do not feel my flesh and my sex, since I am neither wood nor stone, but my mind is far from marriage, since I daily expect death and the deserved punishment of a heretic. Therefore, I will not let GÖtte set a goal of his work in me, nor will I rely on my heart. But I hope that he will not let me live long. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, St. Andrew's Day [Nov. 30] 1524.

Martin Luther.

I would like to know which people will be sitting in the Imperial Council at Esslingen in the name of the Prince, because I have been asked to intercede for the imprisoned Lord Mantel, whether he could be freed by them; as is written from Esslingen, a promise has been made by Ferdinand's supporters. I also recommend this last petition of poor Sophie to you, if you can do something for her. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, on St. Andrew's Day [30 Nov.] 1524. M. L.

No. 789.

Wittenberg.

December 2, 1524.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther complains about Amsdorf's silence, complains about the spread of Carlstadt's error about the Lord's Supper, asks him to take care of the Augustinians in Magdeburg, and reports that finally the mass in the monastery has been abolished.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 246 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 571 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 80. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 935.

2) The Elector's envoy in Esslingen was Dietrich von Techwitz.

Grace and peace! It is certain that you have become 1) even a Crösus, such an evangelist, who has converted all at once, my dear Amsdorf, how else would it be possible that you would be so proud and write to us so seldom. But we don't begrudge you having something to be proud of; we have nothing but such things to be humbled by. For Carlstadt's poison creeps around far and wide, Zwingli at Zurich and Leo Juda (*Judaeus*) have fallen for his opinion and many others who constantly claim that in the Sacrament there is only bread, like on the market 2c.

But I ask you to help faithfully so that the Augustinian brothers are not treated so fraudulently among you. It was determined in my presence 2) that those who wanted to leave would be given a small sum so that they would not go out empty-handed, about which they will report to you themselves. Now both the council and the prior 3) seem to refuse.

We finally got our canons to agree that the masses should be abolished. ⁴⁾ Now this house of abominations has been negotiated; what will happen you will know. Farewell and greet all of our people. Wittenberg, Friday after St. Andrew's Day [2 Dec.] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 790.

Wittenberg.

December 12, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther repeats to the council that Spalatin should remain in office.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 1048, fol. 179, No. 219; in Wolfenbüttel, 11,10, fol. 231; same *Cod. Helmst.*, 108, fol. 459; in Copenhagen, old library, 1393, fol. 103 and in *Cod. Jen. a.* fol. 65. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 280; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 572 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 81 (with the wrong date: "December 2"). German in Walch, vol. XXI, 936.

1) Amsdorf had been in Magdeburg since the end of September.

2) Luther was in Magdeburg on June 24, 1524, and negotiated with the council about the conditions under which the monastery should be handed over. Only on November 6, 1525, the monks left the monastery and handed it over, after it was determined that the income should be used for charitable purposes.

3) The prior since 1523 was Udalricus Müller, previously prior in Zerbst.

4) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1196.

Grace and peace! About leaving the preaching ministry, my dear Spalatin, I still have no other opinion than before. For your reason does not satisfy me that others are more knowledgeable in languages or adorned with greater gifts. I know of none, unless you want even Philip or Pomeranian or Jonas to be your successor; I have none in all our company whom I could prefer to you. But see to it that it be not a temptation which afterward, when thou hast resigned, deceiveth thee with irremediable repentance; Satan is a mischievous man. Therefore I counsel thee even more now to persevere, that the spirit may be tested, whether it be of God, or whether thou be tempted. For why do you want to leave the prince, who is perhaps very close to the grave, and disturb his last days with a new minister? For if, on your resignation, it should happen that he should soon pass away, you would always suffer for not having persevered until that time. That is my opinion, therefore take it to the best. Farewell. Wittenberg, Monday after Nicolai [Dec. 12] 1524, Martin Luther.

No. 791.

Wittenberg.

December 14, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends letters from Strasbourg to Spalatin, in which Carlstadt's arrival and activities there are reported. He immediately wants to send a letter to the Strasbourg people.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* [4, No. 178 and in *Cod. Jen. a.* fol. 194. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 247; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 573 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 82. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 936 f.

To the servant of Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, servant of the words at the court of Saxony, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Today I received letters from friends 5) in Strasbourg, my dear Spalatin, about Carlstadt, who travels from there to Basel and has finally spit out five books, two others he still burps. In it I am a twofold papist, a brother-in-law of the Antichrist and what else. It is too

5) No. 784 and 785.

I am surprised how he rages against me; he leaves nothing good about me, so that he also annoys his own with this rage. He has taken Otto Braunfels (*Brunfeldium*), whom he also addressed there alone. Therefore, a new conflagration breaks out. I am issuing a letter to the Strasbourg people in two days from now and have tasted them until Christ grants me to answer completely. Send the letters back, you will soon see the books of this Satan.

I have spoken to the man you recommended. But pray for us that the glory of Christ may triumph, and fare well. I have indeed answered your last letter; I believe you received it today. Wittenberg, Wednesday after St. Lucius [Dec. 14] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 792.

(Wittenberg.) , (December 15, 1524.)

To the Christians of Strasbourg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2047, no. 688.

No. 793.

Wittenberg. December 17, 1524.

To Catharina Zell, née Schütz, in Strasbourg.

Luther wishes her happiness in her knowledge of the Gospel and in her marriage to a man from whom she can learn it better and better.

Printed from Luther's manuscript in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 196; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 855; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 548; in Walch, vol. XXI, 83; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 580 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 277.

Of the virtuous women, Katharin Schützin, my dear sister and friend in Christ, at Strasbourg.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear, that God has given you His grace so abundantly that you not only see and know His kingdom yourself (so hidden from many people), but have also been given such a man, from whom you may learn better daily and without ceasing, and always hear, I will grant you, and wish you grace and strength for this, that you may keep this with thanks until that day, when we shall all see and rejoice, God willing.

Now nothing more, pray GOD for me, and greet me your Lord, Mr. Matthias Zell. ¹⁾ Hiemit Gott befohlen, am Sonabend nach Luciä [17. Dec.] Anno 1524.

Martinus Luther.

No. 794.

Wittenberg.

December 21, 1524.

To Johann, Baron von Schwarzenberg.

Luther wishes him luck on his daughter's departure from the convent.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 185; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 515; in the Leipziger, vol. XIX, p. 324; in Walch, vol. XXI, 83; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 581 and in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 53, p. 277.

Grace and peace in Christ. Gracious Lord! I have received your Grace's letter and history concerning your daughter with joy. I was pleased to learn of your daughter's letter and story, and because Doctor Franciscus has been here, I cannot refrain from wishing her salvation and grace in writing, with thanksgiving for the divine goodness that has so abundantly befallen her. Grace so abundantly that she not only recognizes the truth, but also has the courage and sense to prove it by deed and to carry it out without a trace, in the comforting hope that it will serve as a strong example for many other gentlemen to also help such poor, imprisoned children, and to confirm the truth of the Gospel. I hereby command E. G. in God's grace, together with your dear daughter, the new creature of Christ, and wish her much good in Christ. Given at Wittenberg, on the day of St. Thomas [Dec. 21] Anno 1524.

E. Gn. Servant

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 795.

(Wittenberg.)

(Before December 24, 1524.)

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony. Luther asks that the Elector take the goods of the monastery, in which he and the prior alone were still warm, and which the latter also wanted to leave, to himself.

1) Zell was the first evangelical preacher in Strasbourg in 1521. In December 1523 he married Catharina Schütz, 46 years old, He died in 1548. His wife survived him, because in 1562 she was still alive.

In the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 197 b; in the Jena double, namely (1585), vol. II, p. 509 and (1556), vol. III, p. 436; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 854; in the Leipziger, vol. XIX, p. 353; in Walch, vol. XXI, 78; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 581 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 278.

Grace and peace to Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! Your Lordship has given us some grain this year. G. has given us some grain this year through the locksmith; now the locksmith reminds us strictly every day, and we still cannot pay it, because our interest is not falling, nor has it fallen so far: for this reason, we humbly request that E. churfl. G. will absolve us of the same grain at the aforementioned locker for the last time. For I trust and hope that it will no longer be necessary.

Also, most gracious Lord, because I am now alone in this monastery with the prior (because of Christian love we keep with us some who have been driven out [by the enemies of the Gospel]), and I have now kept the same prior longer than a year to serve me, which length I cannot nor will not endure, because his conscience demands of him to change his life; 1) to the fact that it will not do with me to have such misery daily, with the interest to be collected: we are minded, Ew. churfl. Gn. the monastery with all that belongs to it, as the youngest heir. For where the prior leaves, my work is no longer there, I must and will see where God feeds me.

But so that we, as the last ones, do not leave so much as bare-handed, I humbly ask that Your Eminence, the Holy Father, will graciously grant and let occupy either the same prior or me in my name. Your Grace will either graciously grant to the same prior or to me in my name and let us occupy the space that our monastery has purchased next to the hospital tower 2) for N. florins. Not that I want to receive a public favor or writing from E. churfl. Not that I want to have a public favor or writing for it, because I know well what your churfl. Gn.'s interest in this, but that Ew. churfl. Gn. see through their fingers, so that we may take it with a good conscience and secret favor to reject it, or to

1) The prior Eberhard Brisger married in the next year.
2) In addition to the large space in front of the monastery, the Elector donated the monastery house and the monastery garden, and this donation was confirmed in documents by the following Electors in 1532 and 1536. Brisger received a building site on the space in front of the monastery, on which he built a small house.

to protect with my name against the N., if they want to be a bit too clever or otherwise too clever in this, that we then want to refer to E. churfl. Gn. as a means of acquiring future favor and leave. However, God will also advise a public favor.

Such a request is forced upon me by guilt and love, because the prior must do without his paternal inheritance, which lies under the bishop of Trier, for the sake of the pursuit of the Gospel, in which he would otherwise be rich enough. May the grace of God protect E. churfl. Grace keep you, Amen.

Ew. churfl. Gn.
subservient
Martinus Luther.

No. 796.
Wittenberg. December 24, 1524.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends a married monk from Nuremberg. In the postscript, he complains that Spalatin sent him a different form of petition requesting the surrender of the monastery than the one in the previous letter.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 247. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 35; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 583 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 86. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 937.

His in the Lord exceedingly dear M. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, evangelist at the court.

Grace and peace! This Jodocus Kern, a newly married monk from Nuremberg, has asked me, my dear Spalatin, to recommend him to you; he was recommended to me by Hector Pömer (*Behemo*), the provost of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg. Although it would not have been necessary for me to recommend him to you, because you will do what you can of your own accord out of love for your homeland, for the sake of Christ, I nevertheless recommend him, so that I may also serve him, if you are able to do something. He is praised to me as good and learned. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, Saturday after St. Thomas [Dec. 24] 1524, Martin Luther. The form in which the petition you sent to the prior is to be written puts me in a difficult position.

3) Spalatin was a native of Eichstadt and had attended school in Nuremberg.

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in amazement; I don't like it either, since it tastes of something and contains something in it, I don't know what. Also, I do not think that it matters much whether one makes his request this way or the other. Therefore, you may either reveal if there is something hidden here, or be satisfied with the previous petition. I will not be tempted against my will, and you know, I think, that I cannot take much notice of any thing, especially such a thing as is calculated to tyrannize me. If I do not have meat dishes and wine, I will also be able to feed myself with bread and water. Therefore, I do not want anyone to be troubled on my account.

No. 797.

(Wittenberg.) (After 24, Dec. 1524.)

To Spalatin.

Luther explains himself in more detail about the postscript to the previous letter and complains bitterly about the economic embarrassment in which he is left.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 329. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 36; by De Wette, vol. I I, p. 584 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 88. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 938.

To the man of proven godliness and faithfulness, Mr. Georg Spalatin, court evangelist to the Elector of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! If I did not respect or despise friends or friendship, I would not have written to you so freely, nor would I have poured out the suspicions of my heart into your bosom, but would have eaten them into myself. Therefore, you wrongly interpret the proof of my trust and friendship towards you as the opposite. Even hypocrites are not in the habit of revealing their suspicions to those of whom they know that they are sincere. By the way, the reason for my suspicion was the manner of this court, then also the monstrosity that was shown in the idol's house with us, because I know the prince's mind, since he does not care if one lets the interest go, and everyone goes his own way. I cannot doubt that among their number are also those who, having left the orders of the monastery, [still] consume something.

[want]. ¹⁾ In addition, we have still not received the interest on our many requests. In the past year Christoph Bressen has paid nothing, ²⁾ and still owes the whole, namely 90 guilders. ³⁾... Likewise, St. Martin's Day ⁴⁾ has arrived. Meanwhile we live full of debts and pay with it. ⁵⁾ This way of living cannot last long. Shouldn't this hesitation of the prince rightly arouse suspicion? I would certainly have left the monastery long ago and turned elsewhere to live from my work (although I do not live without work here either), if the shame of the Gospel and even of the prince had not kept me, so that malt could not say that I was expelled and the enemies of godliness could rejoice in what they hope for. For my change could not happen without a great stir. Therefore I would like nothing better than to know whether we have to torment ourselves in such a way or not, although I wish this in vain. But I will not be burdened further with requests, and the Lord will give what may be necessary. 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 798.

Wittenberg. December 29, 1524.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2627, annex, no. 119.

No. 799.

Wittenberg. 1524.

To Spalatin.

On a sermon by Jakob Strauß on the purchase of interest. On the often-touched economic matter. Finally, news from Switzerland.

- 1) Here a gap is indicated in the editions, which we have tried to fill in with the words *jam aliquiã volunt*.
- 2) Instead of *pendit* we have assumed *pependit*.
- 3) Gap.
- 4) Instead of *those* we have adopted *this*.
- 5) The Latin text offers: *Item Martini die ingressus est. Interim non alieno aere et v.... impendimus*. Walch translates: "Likewise he has entered Martini. Meanwhile, with quite a bit of gusto, we ... applied." We have assumed: *Interim nos alieno aere et v[ivimus et] impendimus*. Cf. De Wette vol. II, p.424: *aere alieno vivimus*. - Walch reads like the other editions also: *non alieno aere* and translates: "at quite air".

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 248. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 38; by *Schlegel, vita Spalatin*, p. 213; by *De Wette*, vol. II, w. 585 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 94. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 940.

To Georg Spalatin, the man of God and servant of Christ, his friend in the Lord.

Grace and peace! The sermon of Strauß pleases me more than his booklet before, because he has softened this point that one must also pay usurious interest. The only thing missing is that he condemns the interest of repurchase without distinction as usurious; for if they were brought into proper order (although they are abused everywhere), they could not be censured.

Bressen has paid 120 florins, which have been used almost entirely for debts; there are still 60 in arrears, of which we have forgiven him thirty, because of his exceedingly great complaint that it is difficult for him to pay 6 per 100, although this is not our fault, but that of those who have ruined that estate, from which one could have taken more than 6 per 100, or it could have been sold for hundreds more. But he also got into this trouble without any fault. We would rather suffer this double damage than he would suffer the single one. Finally, he asked me to ask the prince to allow him to pay 5 per 100 forever, which we will do in due time. Farewell and pray for me.

I am sending you the decree of the Swiss in Bern about the nuns, 1) which must be returned to me. It has brought me this, together with a nun sister from the same place, that noble woman in Christ, Magdalena "von Heylnitzen", who is the victress in the Mark (*Marcia*) over Wimpina and all Sophists. Wittenberg, Monday 1524. 2)

Martin Luther.

1) See No. 756 towards the end.

2) With regard to the dating of this letter, we agree with *Erl. Briefw.* The same says: "We refrain from wanting to determine the date of this letter in more detail. *De Wette* places it at the end of December after No. 800, in any case, moved by the fact that in No. 800 Luther complains that Bressen has not paid anything yet, while here he reports about a partial payment. But apart from the fact, that the numbers of the debt appearing in both letters

No. 800.

(Wittenberg.)

1524. 3)

Marriage certificate for Johann Gilden (*Aureus*).

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 730.

No. 801.

(Wittenberg.) (1524?) 4) [After June 25, 1535.]

To Spalatin.

Request safe conduct for Johann Gilden.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 234. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 40; by *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 588 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 96. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 943.

To hoods of Mr. Georg Spalatin, court evangelist in Saxony.

Mercy and peace! I beg you to have mercy on this Johann Gilden and to provide him with peace and safe conduct for his cause through this petition. For I believe that this can be done by the prince in a general form, so that everyone may obtain his right. You see his plight and that of his wife and two children. Fare well in the Lord.

Martin Luther.

No. 802.

1524.

Concerns about whether a forced marriage was valid.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 740.

do not correspond to each other, *) the dating of the letter would be a conspicuous one. The only Monday that was left after the letter No. 800 is December 26, and Luther has hardly called the second Christmas day simply a Monday, also he would have written then probably, according to the custom of that time to begin the new year with Christmas Day, already in 1525".

3) This writing is probably to be moved to the time before Pentecost, because Jakob Probst was present, who left Wittenberg around this time.

4) This time determination, which is found in the editions, is not permissible, because Gilden married in 1524 (as the previous document shows), but here it speaks of his wife and children. We assume that this letter is to be placed after Luther's letter addressed to Aureus on June 25, 1535. Cf. no. 583, note.

*) We cannot admit this, since there is a gap in the debt amount in No. 800.

No. 803.

1524.

To the Christians in Riga and in Liefland.

See St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1284.

No. 804.

(1524 or later.)

Book inscription about Joh. 12, 32.

See St. Louis edition, vol. IX, 1830.

No. 805.

(1524.)

To Urban [Rhegius?]

Luther is said to have written this warning against trusting in the saints in a copy of Carlstadt's book: "Ein Frage ob auch jemand möge selig werden ohn die Fürbitt Maria 1524" and addressed it to Urban Rhegius in Augsburg. Doubts about the authenticity of this document have been expressed several times, so by Uhlhorn, "Rhegius", p. 85, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 99. "Luther's name," says Masch, "has stood at the end of the first letter, but the hand of the bookbinder has left only a few traces of it." On this the Erl. Briefw.: "From these 'features' Luther's name will probably only be guessed. Masch also provides no evidence that the letter was addressed to Urban Rhegius." However, we also share this letter, despite all justified doubts.

From Masch' Beiträgen zur Geschichte merkwürdiger Bücher, 8. st. 1774. Also in G. G. Kohlreif, *diss. de literis D. Lutheri biblicis*. Rost. 1731. 4th ; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 593 and in Erl. Ausg., vol. 53, p. 280.

(On the back of the first sheet:)

Dear Mr. Urban, I beg you to read this present sermon diligently for my sake and also for your instruction, so that you may later turn completely from the departed saints to Christ, who alone is our mediator, consolation and salvation, in whose name alone all believing people must be saved. *Non enim est aliud nomen sub sole, in quo nos oporteat salvos fieri*. Neither Mary, nor John, nor Peter, nor *Franciscus*, nor *Benedictus* helps here. It is the only Christ who remains, who is the cornerstone and foundation of our salvation. *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus*. Therefore, I ask you to stay with your conscience and let go of what is uncertain. Saints to, saints to, we are all saints in Christ, if we believe otherwise. For

In Christ nothing can be unclean or unholy; all things are sanctified through him. He will not be alone; for he speaks through the prophet: *Honorem meum alii non dabo*. Do now what is dear to you. Farewell.

Mart. Luther.

(At the end:)

How now, dear sir, do you not think he has hit it? Therefore, be careful not to make an idol for yourselves. Take care that you do not rely on the prayers of others, much less on the saints who have died. For *tempus acceptum* is over with him. So it is written 2. *ad Corinth: Tempore accepto audivi te*. And Paul admonishes us not to let the grace of God fall away.

No. 806.

Wittenberg.

January 11, 1525.

To Johann Brismann in Königsberg.

Several fleeting remarks and news. Luther is busy with the second part of the writing "Against the Heavenly Prophets" against Carlstadt, about which he expresses his entire displeasure. On the martyrdom of Heinrich von Zütphen, by Thomas Münzer 2c.

The original is in the Rathsschulbibliothek in Zwickau. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 63; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 611 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 100.

To the extremely dear brother in Christ, Johann Brismann, the servant of Christ at the Gospel of God in Prussia, his [friend] to be highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I answer late, my dear Brismann, through the fault of the messengers, but even this one almost passed by. Carlstadt, who is completely given over to the devils, rages against us with many published books, which are full of poison of death and hell. He denies that the Sacrament is the Body and Blood of Christ, to which I now reply, 1) although he has deceived many of the common people with hidden plots in various places.

1) Now Luther was busy with the second part of the writing "Wider die himmlischen Propheten" 2c., the first part had already gone out in 1524. - This is in answer to the question of the Erl. Briefw.: "How does it relate to the fact that Mel. on Jan. 2 wrote to Thom. Blaurer writes: *Lutheri responsio edita est?*"

has. Erasmus will be answered 1) as soon as there will be leisure. I hear that Amandus 2) has departed from you, and I am not very sorry, rather I am glad; he seems to have Carlstadt's spirit. In Ditmarschen, our Heinrich, the evangelist at Bremen, was killed and burned with cruel fury. Deuteronomy 3) is held up by the wickedness of these prophets. Apart from that, everything goes its usual course. We gladly accepted Peter Weller, 4) who is recommended to us. Thomas Münzer wanders around and is uncertain where he should stay. In Mulhouse he had caused a great and dangerous uproar. Several other prophets are also rising up, so that those who are faithful may be proven. The papists are happy about our disunity. But God will find Carlstadt in his time, who I believe is sinning to death. For it seems that, despairing of the kingdom of Christ, he has given himself up to it, that he also wants to corrupt as many as possible against the known truth and hurry to hell with a great multitude with will and knowledge, as some once heard something like that from his mouth. You pray for us and respectfully greet the Lord Bishop. 5) I am very busy and suffering from a painful ulcer on my thigh.

If dll don't know it yet: Hanna *Grauschwitz* (*Graswitzinne*), who escaped from the gangs in Seußlitz 6), lived with us and married Johann Schneidewind, and told me to greet you kindly in her name, and with her three others, Barbara Reckenberg, Catharina Taubenheim and Margaretha Hirstorff. The Duke George has

1) By the writing: "That free will is nothing" on the diatribe of Erasmus. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1688 and 1600.

2) Compare No. 746.

3) Luther had promised in No. 746 that he would dedicate it to the Bishop of Samland.

4) Peter Weller von Molßdorf, born in Freiberg in Saxony in 1503, was very friendly with Luther. He studied law in Wittenberg at the expense of Duke Albrecht of Prussia, received a scholarship from him in 1534 to attend the Italian universities, but made a pilgrimage from Italy to Jerusalem, where he died in 1536. *Bindseil, colloquia*, tom. I, u. 418.

5) Georg von Polenz, Bishop of Samland.

6) In Seußlitz near Großenhain (district of Dresden) was a Clarissinnenkloster.

personally bribed the monastery, and found shameful abominations, and removed the brothers and fathers, those bridegrooms or rather brothers-in-law of the nobles, from the place. Farewell. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Epiphany [Jan. 11] 1525, Martin Luther.

No. 807.

Wittenberg.

January 11, 1525.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther declines the commission to examine a Hebrew book and reports that he is working on the second part of his writing against Carlstadt ("Wider die himmlischen Propheten").

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 268d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 612 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 102. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 944.

Grace and peace! I will hand over the Hebrew booklet to Aurogallus when he has returned, my dear Amsdorf, because it is beyond my strength. If you send the prophets written, perhaps we will be able to help them. I have little interest in Coppius' 7) sophistical remarks and slanders. I have answered Carlstadt in part, now I answer with a second part. 8) I believe that you have seen the book. He is completely possessed, not just by a devil. Besides, there is no news, except of the future war of the Emperor with the King of France. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Epiphany [Jan. 11] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 808.

Wittenberg.

January 13, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends back one book and one letter, and asks for the carriage of another. News from Basel, where Carlstadt's books were banned but his opinions were applauded.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 181. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 269; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 613 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 103. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 945.

7) Probably the Magdeburg city physicist Gregor Coppius, also called Calvus.

8) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 22 a. - "The Book" is the first part of the writing "Wider die himmlischen Propheten".

To Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, evangelist
at the court of Saxony, his extremely dear [friend]
in the Lord.

Wittenberg.

No. 809.

January 18, 1525.

To Amsdorf.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am finally sending you back the Urban Rhegius 1) with the letter of Matthes Busch (*Matthaei Puschi*). I have added a letter to Hartmann Jbach 2) (*Hypachium*) which you can easily send to him; I have no messenger. Jodocus 3) Kern has gone to Alstädt, also recommended by me through letters, and will not return yet; what he may do or suffer, I do not know.

Friends write to me from Basel that Carlstadt's printers have been punished there with imprisonment, and it would have been little missing that his books would have been burned; he had been there himself, but secretly. But they write that they agree with his opinion, Oecolampad and Pellican, Annemundus Coctus 4) but so stubborn that he threatens me that if I do not depart from my opinion, he will write against me. Behold the monstrosities of Satan. But, as far as I understand, they are not caught by his reasons of proof, but by their own sense; because they have before already thought the thing so themselves, they now dare to come forth more freely, having obtained an author of their opinion, and a guide. Christ upholds me and all those who are his. Just as I am not caught by his evidence, but rather strengthened, so I am not stuck in that error by my own opinion, even though I have been strongly challenged. It is certain that our opinion is the true one, even if I, or that one, or all of them fall away. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, Friday, the eighth day after Epiphany [Jan. 13], 1525.

Martin Luther.

All sorts of news, including that a Polish Jew had been sent to poison him. Amsdorf should ask the Elector of Mainz to keep his people from rebellion.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 270; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 616 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 105. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 950.

Grace and peace! I have given the small booklet to Aurogallus, my dear Amsdorf. You will find out what will happen. I cannot be present at the wedding of Melchior Mirisch, you may tell him that. For I suffer from a bad leg, but for the health of my body. I also do not have any money to send him, and it is also needed for our family, if it comes in. Staupitz has passed away, 5) after having administered his position of power for a short time. Our Leonhard, who was imprisoned in Munich and has been freed by the Lord, is now with us. I will not answer Erasmus yet until I have finished with Carlstadt, who has aroused and is still arousing extraordinary unrest in Upper Germany. One thing is desired of you, and I would not have you despise it, namely 6) that you write to the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Cardinal, and admonish him to keep his own from rioting and unrest. This is advised by the friends for the sake of it, because by this evidence it is more testified that only peace is sought by you and ours, then also the bishop gets the opportunity to do something with greater activity, who is otherwise not hostile to the Gospel. There is a Polish Jew here with us, who was hired for the sum of 2000 gold florins and sent to kill me by poison; he was betrayed to me by friends through letters. He is a doctor of medicine and is ready to dare and do anything with unbelievable

5) Staupitz died on December 28 in Salzburg, where he had become abbot of the Benedictines in 1522. "Leonhard" is Leonhard Beier. (Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 221, note 1.)

6) Instead of *sed* in the issues, we have adopted *scil*.

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2628, note 1.

2) Jbach was first Hartmuth von Kronberg's preacher, then in 1522 briefly in Frankfurt a. M., then on Amsdorf's recommendation in late 1522 preacher with the knight Joh. von Minkwitz in Sonnenwaloe (Lower Lusatia). Later, in 1529, as a Zwinglian in Marburg.

3) In Latin: *Justus* from the shortened: Jost.

4) Aurifaber and De Wette read: *coactus* instead of: *Coctus*.

Cunning and skill. I have let this one take hold at this hour; I don't know what else will happen. This is the news. Greet all brothers and friends, and you pray for me and be well. Wittenberg, on the day 1) after Antony [January 18] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 810.

Orlamünde. January 18, 1525.

Caspar Glatz, preacher in Orlamünde, to Luther.

(Regest.).

Glatz reported to Luther about the situation of his enthusiasts in Orlamünde and the deceptions Carlstadt had used to seduce the people. Luther's writings on the Sacrament and the heavenly prophets were treated extremely shamefully, for they said that everything in them was written against the Son of Nazareth. They did not want to hear about baptism, sacrament and obedience to the authorities. Shortly after Luther's departure from Kahla (where he was on Aug. 23, 1524), Carlstadt had preached that Luther was not faithfully using his pound, given to him by God; he was pushing the gospel under the bench and perverting the Scriptures as he saw fit. The spirit of which Carlstadt pretended that he had it with him was his chaplain, a monk, a bad boy. He had caused all kinds of hauntings by throwing stones, boards, etc. in the house. Then Carlstadt said (among other big lies): Luther's teachings were not from God, therefore one should beware of them, as the spirit says, as of a pestilence. Often this spirit hid itself in the church and rang at unusual times with the big bell. Carlstadt, asked by the people what this meant, then answered: "the spirit can have no rest, unless the images, altar, sermon seat, baptismal font, sacrament are even taken away and burned to powder". Carlstadt also translated several psalms from Hebrew (in the most miserable way) and taught the people to sing them in German.

Transcript in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Abthlg. Cöthen, 618, Xo. 34, fol. 280. Printed in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 107.

No. 811.

Wittenberg. January 22, 1525.

To Spalatin.

After answering quite a few exegetical questions, some news.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in Cod. Jen. a, fol. 199. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 2695; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 617 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 109. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 946.

1) Here, what is otherwise unusual, *feria* is written without an attached number. Should the same have failed, the date would fall one or two days later.

To the man of God, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Suchsen, his dearest [friend] irr dem HErrn.

Grace and peace to your Lord! I have answered that Swabian nothing, will also not answer. That the Lord created the heavens and the earth in six different days, Genesis 1, as the text itself reads, I have taught and kept, and the transcripts of some from my mouth are available; then that the serpent was a real serpent, through which Satan spoke, using it as a tool. For one must not do violence to the revealed words of Moses without cause. Rebecca undoubtedly, according to that ancient custom, asked the Lord for counsel in Shem the high priest, or one of the fathers of that time, who was in charge of the service, who was full of the spirit. Thus the Lord also spoke to Cain through a priest who was in charge of the sacrificers, namely through his father Adam, just as Christas Matth. 19 [v. 5] says that God said: "They will be one flesh", while Adam said this in Gen. 2, 24. This custom was later transferred under Moses to the mercy seat and the prophets and the publicly appointed priests, therefore they are called Elohim, that is gods, because they answer the word of God. But in the New Testament every Christian is such a one.

I am sending the letter that was sent to me from Austria. Our Joachim 2) writes that Carlstadt has gone to Nördlingen, likewise that a child with a lion's head was born in Bamberg, which soon died. Some crosses have also appeared over the city, but the rumor is suppressed by the priests. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Sunday after Antony [Jan. 22] 1525, Martin Luther.

No. 812.

Wittenberg. January 22, 1525.

To Johann Lang.

Luther recommends a young man to him and reports that his writing against Carlstadt will go out this week.

2) Camerarius, then in Bamberg.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 293; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 618 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. III. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 977.

Grace and peace! I commend this young man, Andreas Landauer, 1) to you, my dear Lang, that he, if you can, may earn his living somewhere through service. Here, although we are poor, we are overrun daily, and our church is weighed down by foreign poor, while we cannot do justice to the local ones. Erfurt, however, the great and immense city, which is situated in a fat place and is richer than we are, and more fertile, can feed more, if only the power of the word goes in some measure. I have refuted Carlstadt's nonsense about the Sacrament; this week the booklet will go out. Greetings to your wife, who, I pray, may make you a father through beautiful children. All of us greet you. Fare well in the Lord, and in him greet all yours. Wittenberg, Sunday after Antony [22 Jan] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 813.

Wittenberg.

January 29, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther recalls the request for remission of the monastery's debt to Korn and sends the letter from Orlamünde.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 249. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 40; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 618 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 111. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 952.

To Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the Court of Saxony, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I thought that this had long since been achieved, my dear Spalatin, that we would be forgiven the debt of all the wheat that we owed to the Wittenberg locksmith 2) as the last bell, since we must leave shortly thereafter, especially since we asked you as a mediator, since you would be present. But the locksmith lets

1) Aurifaber: *Laudauer*. The above is a Conjecture of the Erl. Briefw.

2) Gregor Bürger.

He does not cease to press us, and says that he cannot desist until he sees (to use his words) "the red wax of the court. Therefore, I still ask you, if it is possible, to obtain this indulgence for us and to free him from the danger. If it cannot be done, let it be known, and we will see to it that by selling what is ours (all that we have left) we can satisfy him. For I do not want him to be in danger any longer, nor do I want us to be inconvenienced.

I am sending the letter of our Glatz,³⁾ so that you may see what monstrosities D. Carlstadt has dealt with and is still dealing with, which I have always feared. "There is nothing hidden that will not be revealed," says Christ [Luc. 12:2]. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1525. Sunday after Paul's conversion [Jan. 29].

Martin Luther.

No. 814.

Wittenberg.

(Beginning) 1525.

To the Christians of Bremen,

With interpretation of the 9th Psalm, as a dedication of the story of Henry's martyrdom. from Zütphen.

Luther asks the Christians of Bremen to praise and thank God for the martyrdom of Heinrich von Zütphen, therefore he interprets the 9th Psalm and sends them the story of the martyr's death.

This writing appeared in many individual editions, of which the Erlanger edition, vol. 26 (2.), p. 400 f. lists seven, mostly under the title: "Von B. Henrico ynn Diedmar Verbrand, sampt dem zehenden Psalmen ausgelegt durch Mart. Luther. Wittenberg." Several of them without indication of the place of printing and the year (1525). Only one gives the place Breslau (printer Adam Dyon); one is in Low German and offers various additions that seem to be taken from the acts, also some omissions. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1553), vol. VI, p. 398 b; in the Jena (1556), vol. III, p. 32; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 32; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 324; in Walch, vol. XXI, 94; in the Erlangen, 1st ed, Vol. 26, p. 314 and in the second edition, Vol. 26, p. 400. The letter with the Psalm interpretation, without the history, in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 65 and in the Erlanger (1st), Vol. 53, p. 347. - In Latin translation (which was first published in the *Farrago of Vincentius Obsopoeus* at Hagenau by Johann Sece

3) No. 810.

rius appeared in 1625) in the Latin Wittenberg edition, tom. VII, fol. 492 b and in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 252b. - In any case, Luther will have compiled the story of the martyrdom of Heinrich von Zütphen according to information that he received from Jakob Probst in Bremen, and which is probably based on information from the priest Boye (because only a resident there could report the details except for the names), of which, however, the letter that Probst sent to Luther at the end of 1524 contains only an infinitesimal part. It was originally written to the Augustinians in Antwerp, but because the messenger had left without taking the letter with him, he sent it to Luther and added the request that Luther comfort them with a letter addressed to the whole church in Bremen. Luther complied with this request by the present writing. Probst's letter is printed in Erl. The history contained therein takes up not quite one and a half pages, the one given by Luther, however, ten whole folio pages in the Jena edition. Therefore, we did not consider it necessary to include Probst's letter.

Martinus Luther, Ecclesiastes zu Wittenberg, allen lieben GOTTes auserwählten Freunden in Christo zu Bremen. .

Grace and peace from God our Father and Lord Jesus Christ. Dearest in Christ! I have not let the story and torture of the blessed Brother Henry of Sudphen, your evangelist, which I have had investigated and actually experienced through trustworthy pious people, lie hidden in darkness or doubt, but have intended to bring it to light in praise and honor of the divine graces, which at this time are so abundantly given to us who are damned, lost and unworthy, lost and unworthy, that we not only have, hear and read the clear Word of God, and also see it rising in many places like the bright sun, but also feel and sense the Spirit of God beside it with powerful and mighty deeds that prove and confirm His Word as He has cultivated it from the beginning. Especially in that he makes such courageous and free hearts that both, preachers and hearers, in many places make the number of the saints daily more and greater, since some shed their blood, some are imprisoned, some are driven from their homes, and all of them bear the reproach of the cross of Christ, and now come back in the form of a right Christian life, which with suffering and persecution is horrible to look at in the eyes of the world, but delicious and precious in the eyes of God, like the Psalter. Psalter [Ps. 116, 15] says: "Delightful in the sight of the Lord is death.

of his saints," and again Ps. 72:14: "Their blood is precious in his sight."

Among them, of course, your Henricus Sudphen shines the brightest, who suffered such a? shameful torture for the sake of God's word in Diedmar, and so powerfully confirmed the Gospel with his blood. Although the two, John and Henricus in Brussels, 1) the first, also became two fine lights, by such beautiful deaths, in which they were sacrificed to God for the sacrifice of a foot odor. Here also belongs Caspar Tauber, burned in Vienna, and Georg 2) Buchführer in Hungary. And now recently, when I am reporting, at Prague in Bohemia one was burned because he left his order of impure chastity and entered the divine marriage state and order of pure chastity. These and their like are the ones who will drown the papacy and its god, the devil, with their blood. They are also the ones who will keep the word of God against the impure defilers, the new false prophets, who are now stirring up and tearing themselves down everywhere, pure and loud. For God, by grace and without doubt, allows them to die and shed their blood at this time, when all kinds of error and corruption are rising up, so that He may warn us and testify through them that this is the right doctrine, since the right spirit will be given within, which they have taught, kept, died over, and testified to with their torture; just as in the past the holy martyrs died for the sake of the gospel, and sealed it to us with their blood and made it certain.

Such glory has never been enjoyed by those who have taught and seduced the world with works, human righteousness and free will. For the sake of such teaching the devil kills no one, can suffer them well, yes, gives them great wealth, honor and power of this world, so that they have peace and lead a sweet life. And even if they die, they are not God's martyrs, but their own and the devil's, just as the pagans are for the time being.

1) See No. 637.

2) In De Wette, vol. II, p. 563: *Joanni*, perhaps more correctly. (Against Erl. Ausg. [2.], vol. 26, p. 403, note d.) Compare St. Louiser Ausg., vol. XVIII, 1985, note.

For justice, good and honor have died, as St. Paul says in Romans 5:7: that for the sake of good 1) someone might die, that is, for the sake of all the things that the world calls good, such as wealth, honor and power. For for the sake of right hardly anyone 2) dies. But to die for the sake of God's word and faith is the noble, precious death that belongs only to God's spirits and children. For such death entails that one dies for the unrighteous and for those who put on death, and prays for them in death, as Christ did, according to the saying of Isaiah: "And he prayed for the transgressors" [Isa. 53:12]. Therefore, we do not read any example that a Christian ever died for the sake of the doctrine of free will and works or anything else, but for the sake of the word of God.

Since the merciful God has so graciously visited you in Bremen and is so close to you, and has so apparently shown His spirit and power among you in this Henrico, that you may grasp it, I have deemed it good to write and omit his story and suffering to you, that I may exhort your hearts in Christ, that ye be not grieved, nor speak evil of his murderers in Diedmar, but be merry, giving thanks and praise to God, who hath made you worthy to see and have such his wonders and graces. For his murderers have already been repaid too much and too greatly, that they have so miserably stained their hands with the innocent blood, and have indebted themselves so highly and terribly before God, so that it is much more necessary to weep and lament over them than over the blessed Henricum, and to pray for them, that not only they, but the whole Diedmarian land be converted and come to the knowledge of the truth. Which fruit is comforting to hope that it will follow from this suffering of Henrici, especially because many in the same country are eager for the Gospel, and they are sorry for such murder committed among them. For God, who wanted the blessed Henric to suffer, certainly has it in mind that he does not only want to punish the wicked who do not convert, but that he also wants to punish the wicked who do not convert.

1) Erl. (2.): "GÖttes". The same error also in Latin: *pro Deo*. In the Vulgate: *pro bono*.
2) Erl. (2.): "jdermann".

The first step is to make the murder of many in the same country salvific, and thereby help them to eternal life.

For this reason, I ask and command you to sing and read the 9th Psalm in this case, which actually belongs here, so that I will not be saddened by the martyrs, but will happily praise God for the fruit that God works on earth through their suffering. And I shall not be displeased to sing over the same together with you at present in the spirit and to interpret it recently.

**A brief interpretation of the ninth Psalm
by the martyrs of Christ,**

who thus sows:

A psalm of David high to sing, of the youth of the Son.

This title indicates what the psalm sings about and how it should be sung. It is to be sung high, that is, joyfully and with pleasure, and of the youth of the Son, that is, of the martyrs of Christ, the Son of God, who are his young, strong people, who have become complete through faith in death.

**V. 1. I thank the Lord with all my heart
and will tell your wonders.**

These miracles are, as it follows, that God compels and converts the world, not by force, but by the blood and death of His saints, and overcomes the living by the dying and the dead; this is a wonderful victory.

**V. 2. I rejoice and am glad, and praise
your name, O Most High.**

His name is also strange, like the work; because from the work he has the name, that he promotes life through death, and thereby proves himself a Lord over life and death (Rom. 14, 9.).

**V. 3. that thou hast driven mine enemies
behind thee; they are fallen and perished
before thy face.**

O a blessed activity, falling and coming about, which from God's face (that is) through his

3) In all individual editions, also in Latin and in the Wittenberg: "tenth".

The knowledge of His grace comes when the wicked fall so that they rise and are saved.

V. 4. for you have executed my right and my cause; you sit on the throne a right judge.

The matter is the word of God, over which the wicked are hostile to us. But God leads it out, that our doctrine may remain right, and that they may be put to shame. For he is a righteous judge; of this we take comfort, that he cannot leave our righteous cause.

V. 5 You rebuke the nations and destroy the wicked; you destroy their name forever and ever.

So you bring my things to pass, that by your word you punish them and convert them, and bring all their things to nothing, so that they are no longer respected.

V. 6. the swords of the enemy are ended, the cities you turn back, their memory is gone with them.

That is, they cease from persecuting and become believers, so that they no longer praise or remember their former nature.

V. 7. But the Lord abides forever; he has his throne ready for judgment.

That is, his word and kingdom exist, condemning all the ungodly with their being.

V. 8. He judges the earth rightly, and rules the Levi uprightly.

That is, by his word he guides and teaches the world rightly and well.

V. 9. The Lord is the shelter of the poor, a shelter in time of need.

For even though he allows us to be challenged and some to be killed, he protects them spiritually so that they will be courageous and not fear death, but overcome it. He also keeps us from all perishing, as the wicked would have us do. And so his multitude remains forever and increases.

V. 10 Therefore they that know thy name hope in thee: for thou trustest not, O Lord, they that seek thee.

This is a great defiance and comfort that God promises us that He will not abandon those who ask for Him, that is, those who have His word, in which His name is recognized and praised, not our deeds or name, as the works saints do.

V. 11: Praise the Lord who dwells in Zion, proclaim his deeds among the people.

That is, only seek and praise his name, and preach his word, and he will in turn seek and praise you, as follows:

V. 12: For he remembers and asks for their blood; he does not forget the cry of the poor.

He causes them to be killed and blood to be shed, as if he had forgotten them; but he remembers them powerfully and causes their blood to be smelled, so that the faithful become more and more, and the wicked less and less, the more they shed blood.

V. 13. Be merciful to me, O Lord, behold my misery among the enemies, who lift me up to the gates of death.

That is, continue as thou hast begun, and keep on helping, that through death we may become more. For thy way is to help out of the gates of death, that is, out of the power of them that kill, and to subdue them.

V. 14 That I may tell all thy glory in the gates of the daughter of Zion, that I may rejoice in thy salvation.

That the more you help, the more I have to praise you, so that your name and glory may be greater and greater among the faithful, as follows:

V. 15: The Gentiles are sunk in the pit they have made, their foot is caught in the net they have set.

That is, with their killing and persecuting, they are killing themselves and killing themselves. For God makes His word stronger by this, so that it converts more people than otherwise.

V. 16. The LORD is known to do right, the wicked¹⁾ is entangled in the work of his hands, sela.

1) Erl. (2.): "Gottlob", probably a misprint.

He does not forsake his word, but at the last makes it manifest that it is right, and the wicked are caught with their own words and sayings.

V. 17. The wicked must be turned to hell, all the heathen who forget God.

So let us pray against them, that God may stir them in conscience, and by our word make them afraid to be come.

V.18. For he does not forget the poor, and the hope of the wretched will not be lost forever.

This is what the wicked would like, and God allows it to be seen as such, and the wicked are subject to it. But he comforts us here, that we should not judge ourselves according to appearance, but according to his word.

V. 19. Arise, O Lord, lest men get the upper hand; let all the Gentiles be judged before you.

This is as thou hast spoken, so do, and let thy word be heard far and wide among all the Gentiles, that they may be condemned and terrified in conscience.

V. 20. Set them, O Lord, a teacher, that the Gentiles may know how they are men, selah.

He who knows a man knows that he is nothing and vain in the sight of God; therefore he leaves off his boasting and presumption, and is humble to learn from anyone. But such knowledge is brought by the word, preached outwardly. Therefore he calls for teachers, as Christ says: "Ask the householder to send laborers into his harvest" [Matth. 9, 38]; he does not want to deal with us with spirits without doctrine or outward word, as some mad prophets are fooling us now.

So you see here, my dear lords and friends, how this psalm comforts us and gives us hope that through the precious blood of Henry God will create much good and benefit; therefore let yourselves be comforted by such divine comfort, and help to pray with this psalm that his name may be sanctified and his kingdom increased, amen.

I ask you for God's sake, let the people in Diedmar be commanded to you,

comfort them kindly and help them to come here as well. For I hear that many are extremely sorry about such misfortune caused by the monks in their country. This is a good spark, lit by God; there will be a good fire, where you act with a kind, gentle spirit, so that it will not be extinguished.

Let Jacobum Probst, your preacher, and the others be in your charge, whom God will strengthen with you all and give grace that you may abide by the doctrine sealed by Henrici's blood, and where God demands it, cheerfully follow him. Amen.

All our brothers in Christ greet you. Pray for us. May the grace of God be with you, Amen.

The story of Brother Henrico Sudphen.¹⁾

In the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and twenty-two, Henricus came to Bremen, not that he wanted to preach there, for he wanted to go to Wittenberg, as he had been driven from Antorf 2) by the tyrants for the sake of the Gospel. But he was asked by some pious Christian citizens to preach a sermon, which he did not refuse after Christian love, but did the first sermon on the Sunday before Martinmas [Nov. 9]. Since the people heard him teach the Word of God, he was diligently requested and demanded by the entire congregation in the same parish,³⁾ to preach the Word of God to them, and thus to remain with them, which he accepted for a time, to try this with them. But when those who are called the clergy, by name the priests, together with the monks and priests, became aware of this, they made every effort to restrain and expel him with the word of God, for the sake of their avarice, as is the custom in all countries. Therefore they asked the honorable wise council to expel such a wicked heretic, because his teaching and preaching would be against the holy Christian church. At such a request, a wise councilor ordered the following to be done

1) We give this story after the Erl. Ed. (2.), vol. 26, p. 409 ff. - The family name "Müller" or "Moller" is not historically verifiable, but un, known (Erl. Briefw.).

2) That is, -Antwerp. .

3) probably the church of St. Anschari.

The builders 1) and rulers of the same parish demanded that Henricus preach and reproach them with the complaint of the chapter along with all the priesthood. The builders of the parish answered that they knew of no other way than that they had accepted a pious, learned preacher who taught them the word of God purely and loudly. But if the chapter or anyone, small or great, could prove that he had taught or preached something against the word of God, or otherwise heresy, they would not suffer or hold him in any way, but would help to persecute him together with the chapter. If, however, the lords of the chapter and other clergy could not bring anything upon him that he had taught against God's word, and intended to force him out without any guilt, they would not suffer this in any way. For this reason, they asked an honorable councilor with all humility not to encourage them to do so, but to let them do what was right; they would also be inclined to keep their preacher right at all times. Such an answer was sent by an honorable council to the chapter through their envoys. But when the clergy noticed that they could not achieve anything with good words, they began to be angry and angry, and from hour to hour they ran to their bishop 2) and showed him how the people of Bremen had become heretics, did not want to be obedient to the clergy, with many complaints, as it was to be feared that the whole city would be seduced.

Then the bishop sent two of his councilors to Bremen and asked them to send the monk to him. 3) But when they asked why he should be sent to Bremen, they answered: he preaches against the holy church. But when they asked for what reason they should send him, they answered: he preaches against the holy church. If someone asked: in what and what articles? they did not know how to answer. Among them was the suffragan bishop of the Order of Preachers, who made every effort to catch the pious Henricum, fearing that his craft would perish. Finally they were answered by an honorable council: According to

If the preacher, accepted by them, would not be overcome by any scripture, and also no one could indicate any article in which he preached unjustly, they would not be able to bring about in any way with their citizens that the citizens would let him follow. Therefore, it would be their humble request that the bishop, their gracious lord, 4) procure his scholars to Bremen to debate with their preacher. If he would be found wrong, they wanted to get the preacher away with quite a punishment; but if not, they would not know how to leave him. But the suffragan bishop answered and asked most earnestly, for the sake of the peace of a whole country, that the preacher be handed over to him, and protested most earnestly, as he sought nothing else but the salvation of their souls; but he could accomplish nothing, for the people of Bremen persisted in their first answer.

Because of this, the suffragan bishop was angry and departed from Bremen, and out of great anger, he did not want to fermalize the heretics' children. When the suffragan bishop returned to his lord, he showed him this answer and what he had heard from the priests and monks. After that, as new newspapers came daily, showing how the preacher was preaching angrier and angrier against the clergy, they found another council, and sent excellent people to warn the people of Bremen about the damage the city would suffer because of the preacher, since he was preaching against papal holiness and imperial majesty's command; they also showed how he was a prisoner of Frauen Margrethen, which would cause them great damage. They also brought urging letters from Frauen Margrethen, that she demanded her prisoner; but all this did not help her. For an honorable wise council always gave an answer in writing and orally to everyone. Then the bishop and his group devised another council to muffle the word of God, and held a provincial council, not at Bremen, as is customary, but at Buxstede, 5) so that they would have room to act with Brother Henrico as they wished. For this purpose

4) Thus the Jenaer. Erlanger: "wöllt ihrer gnädiger Herre seine" 2c.

5) That is, at Buxtehude. It took place on March 10, 1523.

1) The church builders Heinrich, Esch and Arend Wittelob. both at the same time Rathsherren. Iken, p. 50.

2) Archbishop Christoph (1511-1558), from the Brunswick - Lüneburg house of princes, who at that time stayed in his episcopal city of Verben.

3) That is, to solicit, desire, demand. Latin: *postulans*.

The prelates and scholars of the entire diocese were called upon to act on what they believed and held to be true.

The preacher was also called to the council, but with the difference that they wanted to proceed with and against him as with a heretic, since he was unconquered and unheard. For this reason, the rulers, together with a whole congregation, kept their preacher with them, because their wickedness was in the day. But Brother Henry summarized his sermon, what he taught and believed, in short articles, and sent them in a letter to the archbishop, and showed his innocence, along with the articles, and offered, where he was mistaken, that he could be shown from Scripture to desist from such error and to recant. But he should be shown his error from the Scriptures, because he would know how to prove his teaching or preaching from the Scriptures 1). But such an offer, together with the articles, was despised, for he received no answer. What the verdict was, however, may be seen from this: for immediately thereafter they had the Pope's Leonis of the tithe, together with the imperial mandate, written at Worms, proclaimed and posted. Therefore, the pious preacher always continued his sermon and did not cease; besides, he always stipulated that he wanted and would be ready to give everyone an answer to his doctrine and sermon. The papists, however, had no peace, and daily sent their chaplains into the sermon to catch him in his words. But God showed His wonders and converted some of them, so that most of the chaplains they sent there confessed that such teaching and preaching was the truth and from God, which no one could resist, because they had not heard such teaching from any man all their lives. Therefore, they should renounce their evil and not pursue the word of God, but believe that they would be saved. But their wickedness had blinded them and hardened them with Pharaoh, so that they became worse according to their merit. To this day, no one of all the monks has been able to raise a word, 2) even though they daily cry out heresy, heresy, and are still unable to do so.

1) Erl. (2.) "knew".

2) Erl. (2.): "could".

Since God Almighty saw the time that the good Henricus should testify with his blood to the truth preached by him, he sent him among the murderers whom he had prepared for this purpose. For it happened in the 24th year of small number 3) after Christ's birth that he was called by Nicolao Boye, pastor, and other devout Christians of the same parish at Meldorf in Diedmar, to proclaim the word of God to them, and to bring them out of the Antichrist's night, for he ruled mightily there, which calling he accepted as from God, and for this reason promised them that he would come to them. After that, on St. Catharine's Eve [Nov. 24. 1524], he summoned six pious confreres and citizens, told them how he had been called to Diedmar, and indicated to them that, since he was not alone obliged to proclaim the word of God to them alone, but to anyone who desired it, he intended to go to Diedmar and wait to see what God would do with him; Therefore, he asked them to give him good advice on how he could most easily get there, so that the whole community would not become aware of it and would not prevent his journey, as had happened. The devout Christians answered and asked that he stay with them and see how the gospel was still almost weak among the people, especially in the surrounding towns, and the persecution was still great, and see that he was called by them to preach the word of God. But if the people of Diedmar wanted a preacher, he sent another one there, because they knew what kind of people the people of Diedmar were. They also told him that they would not let him go without the consent of the whole parish.

Good Henry answered: although he knew that he had been called by them, they would otherwise have enough pious, learned people to preach to them. The papists would also be partly overcome, so that henceforth women and children would see and judge their foolishness. I had also preached to them for two years; but the people of Diedmar had no [preacher], so he could not refuse them such a request with a clear conscience. That they

3) "smaller number": usually "of the smaller number," that is, omitting the larger number of centuries.

but that they could not leave him without the knowledge and will of a whole congregation, did not conclude anything with him, because he did not want to leave them altogether, because he intended to preach in Diedmar only for a short time, namely a month or two, as long as he himself laid a foundation orally, and then to come to them again. Therefore, his opinion and request would be that after his departure they would inform the congregation of his profession, which he could not resist, and at the same time excuse his secret departure, because he would have to go secretly for the sake of his enemies, who would want to harm him, who were striving day and night, as they themselves well knew how they would kill and slay him, and also indicated how he would soon be with them again. With these words he satisfied them that they would allow him to go, because they hoped that the people of Diedmar would come to the right knowledge of the word of God, who otherwise are almost burdened with idolatry before other people.

After that, on Monday of the first week in Advent [Nov. 28,¹⁾ 1524], Henricus went through the middle of the monastery of Bremen in Diedmar, and came to Meldorf, where he was called, and where he was received with great joy by the pastor and other pious Christians. As soon as he arrived, although he had not yet preached a sermon, the devil became angry with his limbs, and in particular he aroused Augustinum Torueborch, prior of the black monastery, which is called Jacobite or preacher, who ran from hour to hour to his companion M. Johann Snicken, the official of Hamburg Vicarien or Commissarien, and held council, what to do, so that their kingdom would not fall. Finally they decided that they would have to make sure that he did not preach, because if he preached so that the common man heard him, their mischievousness would come to light and they would not be able to do anything about it. For they knew well how things had gone in Bremen. On this decision, the Prior of the Order of Preachers set out early in the morning, for he had not slept much during the night due to great worry, and came to the Heath on the Saturday before the other Sunday of Advent [Dec. 3].

48 regents of the whole country, and complained highly and indicated how the monk of Bremen had come to turn the whole country of Diedmar, as he had done to those of Bremen; also had to help M. Günter, the country's common chancellor, and Peter Härmen, 2) both great enemies of the Word of God. These two helped the prior with all diligence, and held up to the other 46 unlearned, simple-minded ones, how great praise they would receive in the whole of the Low Countries, and how great thanks they would earn especially from the Bishop of Bremen, where they would put this heretic monk to death. When they heard this, the poor unlearned people, they soon wrote, 3) and decided to kill him, whom they had not seen, much less heard, nor overcome. Finally, the prior issued a letter or command to the parish priest of the 48 regents to expel the monk before he preached, with the highest penalty according to the custom of the land. Immediately the prior went with haste to Meldorf with the commandment, and delivered it to the pious parish priest during the night, for he hoped to prevent Henricus from preaching, for he knew well what was in it for him. When the priest read this letter or commandment, he was very surprised by such a commandment, since it was unusual that the 48 regents were concerned with the churches, when according to the old custom of the country the regiment belonged to the whole parish. For it was decided by a whole country, in long use, that any parish church, according to its good will, had the power to appoint and dismiss a parish priest or preacher. The parish priest showed this letter to Henrico, and showed him what the custom and usage of the country was. Henricus answered: after he was called by a whole parish to preach the word of God, he wanted to comply with the same calling, as long as it pleased the whole community, because one had to obey the word of God more.

2) Here all editions have: "Härmen", and so it is called in Latin throughout; the German editions offer after: "Nannen",

3) "They soon wrote," according to all German editions; it is not expressed in Latin. Shouldn't "schrieen" perhaps be read, since writing is spoken of immediately afterwards?

1) In Latin: *octobris*.

than man. If God wanted him to die in Diedmar, heaven would be as close there as elsewhere; he would have to shed his blood once for the sake of God's word. With such courage he stood up the following Sunday and preached the first sermon from the saying of Paul, Rom. 1, 9: "God is my witness" 2c. and from the Gospel of the same day. As soon as the sermon was over, the entire congregation of the parish was called together, and there the previous prior delivered a letter from the 48 regents of the country, that they should not let the monk preach under penalty of a thousand Rhenish florins, and that they should also send their legates to the heath with authority, because there a whole country would come together for a great reason.

When they heard this letter read, they were almost angry that against all national custom such a commandment had happened to them, when any parish church had power to choose a preacher whom it wished, and with one accord they decided to keep and protect the pious Henricum as a preacher, for they were completely inflamed by the first sermon they had heard. After noon, Henricus preached another sermon, on the saying of Paul, Rom. 15:1: "But we who are strong" 2c. On Monday after that, the people of Meldorf sent their messengers to the Heida, and offered themselves justly before everyone of the whole country, showing what Christian sermon they had heard from Henrico. At the same time the priest wrote to the 48 rulers of the country how neither he nor Henricus were of the opinion to make rebellion, but to teach the pure, clean word of God; he claimed that he wanted to stand right with brother Henrich before everyone. Therefore, his humble request would be that they would not give credence to the monks who, for the sake of their hatred and avarice, thought to suppress the truth, and [that they] would not condemn the word of God, but would investigate the truth completely [for] the first time, and would not condemn anyone unheard. If it were the case that they were found wrong, they would be ready to suffer their punishment.

This offering, together with the testimony, they despised, and gave no answer to it, but everyone talked, one this, the other that, in

the other that. Lastly, Peter Dethleves, as one of the elders, answered: "Although there was almost great discord in all the lands because of the faith, and they, as the most unlearned and unintelligent, could not judge, it was their serious opinion to postpone such a matter until a future concilium, which, as reported by their country clerk M. Günter, should be held shortly. What their good neighbors would hold and believe, they would also think of accepting. But if the word of God (as they say) [so far] 1) had not been taught clearly enough, and if someone could teach it more clearly and more purely, they would not think of forbidding it, because they would not think of suffering any uproar in the lands. 2) Therefore, everyone should be satisfied and let the matter rest until the next Easter; in the meantime, it would become clear what was right or wrong. Everyone was satisfied with such an answer, and the envoys went home from Meldorf and showed such an answer to the whole community with great joy, hoping that the matter would become good.

On the day of Nicolai Episcopi [Dec. 6] he preached two sermons, the first on the Gospel [Luc. 19:12 ff.]: "A nobleman went far away into a country" 2c.; the other on the saying [Heb. 7:23]: "There are many who became priests" 2c., with such spirit that everyone marveled, and asked God with diligence to let them have such a preacher for a long time. On the day of the Conception of Mary [Dec. 8] he also preached two sermons on the Gospel [Matt. 1:1 ff. This is the book of the Nativity], in which he showed the promise made by Christ to the fathers, and what faith they had, and how we also with such faith should be saved, without any merit on our part; and all this with such spirit that everyone marveled and diligently thanked God that he had sent them such a preacher, for they now clearly saw how they could be saved by monks and

1) Inserted by us after the Latin, for easier understanding.

2) This is more clearly expressed in Latin as follows: the rulers only wanted to prevent that a window would be opened by anyone to arouse a riot.

They were seduced by the priests. They also asked him with diligence to stay with them during Christmas and to preach every day, because they were afraid that he would be called to another place. In the meantime, the prior and M. Johann Snicken did not rest. For when the prior saw that his wickedness could not go away, he went with Doctor Wilhelm of the Order of Preachers to Lunden to the gray monks, who are called Barefoot or Minores, to seek help and advice on how he might accomplish his will, for these same monks are almost adept at seducing the poor wretches with their legerdemain.

Immediately the gray monks sent for some of the regents, named Peter Rannen, Peter Swyn and Claus Rodeun, and showed them with great complaints, as it is their custom, how the heretic preaches and seduces the people, which is partly dependent on him; if they would not see to it and kill the heretic, Mary's praise would go down together with the holy two monasteries. This was the scripture, 1) when they intended to kill the heretic as well; when it happened. When the poor, unintelligent people heard this, they became angry, and Peter Schwyn answered that they had written to the priest and Henrico about what they should do; if it were necessary, they would write again. The prior answered: No, because you have to deal with the matter differently. For if you begin to write to the heretic, he will answer you, and you will undoubtedly come into heresy with him before you know it; for if he were to speak, nothing would be done to him. Then they decided that he should be caught secretly in the night and burned immediately, before the country would know and he would speak. Such advice pleased them all, and especially the gray monks. On such advice Peter Rannen, as a special friend of the prior, wanted to earn the gratitude, and drew to himself several Ammeral 2) from other villages, with the help and advice of M. Günter. One should spare the names here; however, after they had sought honor

1) That is, the scriptural evidence.

2) This word is missing in Grimm and also in Dietz.

According to the explanatory addition of the Low German edition: "große Hansen"; *Obsopoeus: praefectos*.

have, it is not necessary to deprive them of their honor. These are the names of the captains:

Peter Rannen, Peter Swyn's sons, Hennick zu Lunden, Johann Holm, Lorenz Hanneman, Ludwick Hanneman, Bastel Johann Bren, Claus von Weslingburen, Brost Johann von Workenhausen, Marquard Kremer zu Henstede, Ludecke Johann zu Welsing, Peter Groß, Vogt zu Hemmingstet. These captains, together with the others they had with them, were summoned to the parish of the New Church, and met in M. Günter's, the scribe's, house, and held council, as they sang and did not let him get a word in edgewise, for the verdict was that they wanted to burn the good Henricum. They decided to go together to Hemmingstet, half a mile from Meldorf, the next day after Conceptionis, so that no one would warn them. They were also ordered to gather in all the villages when the night came and the Ave Maria was rung. And they came together by the five hundred peasants. When they were gathered together, it was publicly shown for what cause they had been summoned. For no one, except the captains, knew the cause and what they should do. When the commoners heard this, they wanted to retreat and not commit such an evil deed. But the captains commanded them, body and soul, to go away. They had also drunk three tons of Hamburger Four there, so that they would be all the more courageous. They arrived in Meldorf at midnight at 12 a.m. with their hands armed.

The Jacobite or preacher monks gave them light and torches, so that they could see and the good Henricus could not escape. They also had a traitor with them, named Hennig's Hans, who had betrayed all things; they forced their way into the parish, smashed everything that was there, as is the custom of full, foolish peasants: pots, kettles, clothes, cups; but what they found of silver and gold, they took with them. They also attacked the priest by force, cutting and stabbing him and shouting: "Hit him dead, hit him dead! Some of them pushed him naked into the dirt on the road and took him prisoner, telling him to go with them. The other part shouted that they should let him go, because they had no order to let him go with them.

to catch him. Afterwards, when they had exercised their courage with the priest, they invaded the good brother Henrich, and took him naked out of bed, beat, stabbed, like the senseless full peasants, and tied his hands almost hard on the back, pulled and pushed him so long that [it] also moved Peter Rannen with mercy, who was otherwise a poisonous enemy of the word of God, and said that they let him go, he would probably follow; ordered him to lead Balke Johann, who dragged him more than he led. When they brought him to Hemmingstet, they asked him how he had come into the country and what he was looking for. He answered them kindly with the truth, so that they were also moved, and called out: Only away with him; where we heard him long, we would become heretics with him! Then he asked to be put on a horse, because he was very tired and weary, and his feet were sore to him, for he had walked and led barefoot and naked all night in the cold and ice. When they heard this, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, "Should your heretic be kept on horseback, for he must be able to walk? There they brought him to a man's house, named Raldenes, 1) and wanted to put a stick with iron chains on him. But the father of the house had compassion, and would not suffer such things. Since he would not permit their courage, they brought good Henrich to a priest's Hans, named Mr. Reimer Hozeken, a servant of the official of Hamburg, locked him in a cellar, and gave him to the full peasants to keep, who mocked and jeered at him all night from then on. Among others, Mr. Simon, pastor of Altenworden, and Mr. Christian, pastor of the New Church, both almost unlearned persecutors of the Word of God, came to him and asked him for what reason he had taken off the holy garment, to which he answered kindly from the Scriptures; but they did not understand what he said.

M. Günter also came to him, asked him whether he preferred to be sent to the Bishop of Bremen or to receive his wages in Diedmar? Answered Henricus: I have what

1) So the German editions; in Latin: *Caldenes*.

If I have taught or acted unchristian, they could well punish me for it; God's will be done. M. Günter answered: Listen, dear friends, he wants to die in Diedmar. But the people in general waited the whole night of their drinking. In the morning, at eight o'clock, they went to the market to discuss what they should do. Then the full peasants shouted: Always burn! to the fire! so today we will win honor from God and from the people; for the longer we let him live, the more he consorts with his heresy. What is the use of much long misgivings? He must die! So good Henry was condemned to the fire without being heard. Then it was announced that all those who could have helped to catch him should go out to the fire with their weapons. There were also the gray monks or barefooted men, who strengthened the poor people and said: Now go after the matter," and they incited the poor, miserable, drunken people. Then they took him and bound him neck, feet and hands,²⁾ and led him with a great shout to the fire. When this happened, a woman stood in the doorway of her house and saw this misery and wretchedness and began to weep bitterly; good Henry said to her, "Dear woman, do not weep over me. When he came to the place where the fire was ready, he sat down in great weakness. Then came the bailiff, the bailiff Maes, bought by money,³⁾ as it is said, condemned the good brother Henrich to the fire with this sentence or judgment: "This wicked man has preached against the Mother of God and against the Christian faith, for which reason I condemn him to the fire on account of my gracious lord, the bishops of Bremen. Answered the good brother Henry: I have not done so; but, Lord, thy will be done! cast upon his eyes toward heaven, and said: Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do; thy name alone is holy, heavenly Father! There went along a good Christian woman, Claus boy's wife, with woman's name 4)

2) So all the issues. Maybe: "with hemp, feet and hands" ?

3) Probst in his letter gives as the sum ten guilders.

4) The editions have no comma before female names, but after them. This has already been conspicuous to Walch and he offers: "Jungenfrau, mit Namen Wibe". Also Jken, p. 77, has: "Frau Wiebe Jungen".

a sister Peter Nannen, living in Meldorf, before the fire, and offered to have her beaten to distemper, so that her wrath would be atoned for; for this she wanted to give a thousand guilders, 1) only to reinstate the man until the next Monday, so that he would be interrogated by the whole country, and then burned. When they heard this, they became furious and insane, and beat the woman to the ground, trampled her underfoot, and violently beat the good martyr of Christ. One of them hit him in the skull with a rapier, but Johann Holm of the New Churches hit him with a hammer; the Audern stabbed him in his sides, in his back, in his arms, wherever they could reach him; and not once, but as often as he began to speak.

Then the people admonished and incited M. Guenter, and called to them, saying: Free, dear fellows, here dwells God! Then the same M. Guenter brought an unlearned gray monk to him to confess, but the martyr of Christ said to him, "Brother, have I ever harmed or angered you? Answered the monk, No. Said the good brother Henry to him, What then shall I confess unto thee, that thou shouldest forgive me? Then the gray monk was ashamed and stepped back. But the fire would not burn, no matter how often they lit it. Nothing less did they exercise their will of courage on him, and beat him with halberds and spears. This went on for about two hours, during which time he stood naked in front of the banners in his shirt with his eyes raised to the sky. At last they got a big ladder, on which they tied him almost hard, so that they threw him into the fire. Then the good martyr of Christ began to speak his faith, but one of them struck him in the mouth with a fist and said to him: "First he should burn, then he may pray,²⁾ whatever he wants. Then one of them stepped on his chest with a foot, and tied him so hard to a sprout on his neck that his mouth and nose bled, so that he might "suffocate"; for he saw that he could not die from so many wounds.

After that they raised him up with the ladder.

Then one of them put the halberd on the ladder to help raise it, because the country has no executioner. The whisker slipped off the ladder and pierced the holy martyr in the middle. So they threw the "good man" with the ladder onto the wood, but the ladder jumped off to the side. Then Johann Holm ran to him and took the hammer and hit him on his chest, so long that he died and did not move after that. So we roasted him on the coals, because the wood would not burn.

This is the recent true history of the suffering of St. Martin Henrici full of sudphen.

No. 815.

(Wittenberg.)

(January or February) 1525.

To Hans von Minkwitz, Lord of Sonnenwalde.

Expert opinion on the church order to be introduced in Sonnenwalde and on the use of an endowment from the father of Minkwitz.

From a manuscript in the archive at Weimar in the supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 42; in Walch, vol. XXI, 137; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 619 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 281.

Grace and peace in Christ. Strict, firm,³⁾ dear Lord! I hereby send you both notes, one full of your father's foundation, the other of the order, so far kept at Sonnenwalda, as I have received it. And it is my opinion, as best I understand it, that the first three pieces in your father's endowment, namely that a chaplain is to be appointed to the altar of the Holy Trinity, item the two priests with the pupils at Our Lady's Tide, item the pageantry with the annual service, 2c., are to be completely off, as I have indicated, that they are of no use at all. But the persons, who are endowed thereon, I wanted to let them use such interest annually throughout their lives, and after their death to invest and endow the same interest elsewhere to poor people or a pious child for marriage.

The fourth piece with the "gray cloths", to be healed under the arms, remains cheap and fine.

3) "best" at De Wette, which the Erl. Edition reprinted, will probably only be read from "Bester".

1) Probst also reports this in his letter.

2) Thus the Low German edition; the others: "read".

The fifth piece with the soul bath 1) also pleases me, without wanting it to be not a soul bath for the souls, but an example of Christ, when he washed the feet of his disciples in the Lord's Supper, as also such washing is taught by St. Paul, and is an old custom of Christianity; so that such a bath of the same example and old Christian custom would mean an advertisement and likeness, and be held in honor of Christ, your pious bather and foot washer.

The sixth piece, of the four masses, is also to be taken off and given to poor housewives and brides, because the masses are no good.

The order, which is set in the other note, does not please me badly, and where it would be in the swing, I would let it remain so, namely:

That on Sunday morning a short mass be sung with the students and the other priests, because they are alive, so that the young boys remain with the psalter and chant, and the other priests have something to do.

However, I did not want to take all Sundays in the same way, but always to continue that the whole Psalter and Biblia and chant remained in use throughout the year, and the students were used to it all.

Mass to German I let go, I also do not refuse to give Latin Mass.

But I hope to arrange a German one in Wittenberg with the time that has the right kind, but that the Canon remains outside in all cases, and where there are no communicants, that one may not consecrate, but sing the chant of the Mass. The sermon has its own order, the vespers are also pleasing to me, as they are recorded, without always using other and different psalms and chants, as is found in books of the time, for the sake of the boys' training.

I do not consider it necessary to have a lesson every working day, but it is enough on three days a week, but that the boys are nevertheless practiced daily, early in the morning and in the evening, with psalms and singing; no saint should be sung or celebrated without the feasts that concern our Lord Christ.

1) "Seelbad" is a foundation of baths for the poor, where the same were sometimes given food and money, for which it was hoped relief in purgatory.

I consider this to be enough for worship in the place, and it is well answerable to God, but how it is to be answered for before the world, I do not know; even where there is more to be ordered, the preacher can well provide for himself, or where he is loved, through our assistance. An. 1525.

Martinus Luther.

No. 816.

Wittenberg.

(First months) 1525. 2)

To Count Albrecht von Mansfeld.

Luther gives his opinion on two questions posed by Chancellor Müller: 1) whether the count should yield in the collegiate church and in the whole country to those who want to resist the sacrament under both forms and other innovations; 2) whether it is permissible to enter into an alliance.

In the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 225; in the Jena (1556), vol. III, p. 165; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 99; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 354; in Walch, vol. XXI, 122; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 71 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 354.

To the noble and well-born Lord, Lord Albrecht, Count of Mansfeld, and Lord of Schruppe! 2c., my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Gracious Lord! Caspar Müller, by E. G.'s order, has asked me to answer two questions. The first, how far E. G. should go and how far he should vacate the monastery church in the castle to prevent the sacrament under both forms and other innovations, as they call them. It is my humble opinion that, because God knows that it is God's word and will, and they insist on it, not a hair's breadth nor a moment must be yielded, as St. Paul boasts that he would not have yielded for an hour in Jerusalem to allow Titum to be circumcised [Gal. 2, 3]. For one does not have to suffer any opposition to God's word.

2) On Nov. 24, 1524, Count Albrecht of Mansfeld gave an expert opinion to Duke John of Saxony on the question of whether, in the event that force should be used to suppress the divine word as a result of the Regensburg Convention, the Elector Frederick and Duke John, together with other princes adhering to the evangelical doctrine, should make an "understanding" as to how such action should be resisted. This opinion did not yet fully convince the duke, and he asked for a further opinion from the count. Inspired by the count, Luther also discussed this question at that time. Therefore, this expert opinion probably dates from the first months of 1525.

However, because the dispute is over the collegiate church, the church may be taken as an external thing, which they take by force and outrage, and they may stipulate that this is not done with the will or full consent of the church's conscience, but that they charge such outrage and the theft of other people's rights and property to their conscience. The G. must do no more than suffer such outrages without consent.

Apart from that, the Gospels may still keep the Gospel in the castle, in the hall or in the parlor in God's name, and leave the monastery church to them as an outrageous robber with the devil inside; it will probably be different in ten years.

However, it cannot be that in the common dominion, the law should also be so soft. For here the matter concerns not wood, stone or space, but conscience. Because the people recognize themselves as subjects of the King, they would refer to the King as a natural ruler, and without the King's consent and full word, they would not want to create a rivalry among the people. Again, the governor cannot allow such common subjects to give way to the other lords, for this would make the governor herself guilty, as if she had given way herself. However, if some of these common subjects want to give way of their own conscience, the authorities cannot do so. For she can neither drive anyone to faith nor keep him in it, as little as she can allow anyone to step away from it. Therefore, let him who is weak depart, and let him who is standing remain; so the LORD cannot permit them to depart, or to say, Behold, our hereditary lord has decreed it, and will have it; therefore we do it, and would not do it otherwise.

But that God should hand over the rule is not yet time; it is only a temptation and a dispute for a short time, in which God wants to prove and strengthen God. G. and strengthen him. But E. G. only hold fast to the poor common man, do not give in, and command the matter to Christ, who will do it well, as the 37th Psalm [v. 5] teaches, which I command E. G. to read for comfort and strength.

The devil cannot do all that he would have us do, and God boasts that he is pleased to destroy princes and rulers, and has pleasure in doing so, Ps. 33:10.

He has soon strangled a lord at Mansfeld if he wants to make it too much for him, or he can well ward him off before such a thing is understood. If God wants E. G. out of power, he will probably attack it differently; they will have to use other force. But there we have one who boasts: "The earth is the Lord's, and all that dwell therein," Ps. 24:1. item, Ps. 76:13: "He taketh away the courage of princes, and dealeth strangely with the kings of the earth."

Therefore be E. G. only fresh and confident, and learn in this also spiritual warfare, as the 31st Ps. [v. 25] says: "Be of good cheer, and hold fast, all ye that wait for the Lord."

The other is whether one should unite under, behind, or against the authorities, or how to resist such tyrants. In the first place, E. G. well knows that no union is valid against the overlords. For God wants to honor the overlords, be they evil or good, Rom. 13,1. and 1 Petr. 2, 13.

On the other hand, it is also forbidden that one should avenge or defend oneself, as Paul Rom. 12:19. says: "Dear brethren, do not defend yourselves, but give place to wrath."

As for the third, that you otherwise make a union on a free, unnamed accident, neither of which is intended, I do not consider it unreasonable, although the appearance would remain, since the wicked would have to fear as if it should apply to them. For since they hear and see that one does not want to grant them, and yet they see a connection arising, it is probable that they would worry and become suspicious. Otherwise, one must give way to violence and sacrilege, and let go of the earth for the sake of heaven, of the temporal for the sake of the eternal, just as the princes of Saxony have so far sat completely silent, and would not have had to defend themselves over the matter if they had taken it up. Nevertheless, the appearance has remained, as if they will and want to defend themselves. However, God has made the tyrants' defiance stupid, so that they have

1) "made" put by us instead of: "would like" in the editions.

must not dare anything. Who knows where we believe and ask God that God will also be a shy, be it through the appearance of a covenant or otherwise, that they will not be so defiant as they threaten. The bow does not hit everything it aims at, indeed, it rarely hits it.

I have indicated this to your humble opinion, at your request, and command the same in God's grace, mercy, protection and consolation, amen. At Wittenberg, An. 1525. E. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 817.

Wittenberg.

February 2, 1525.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther has finished writing against Carlstadt and is now busy with the Postilla and the 5th Book of Moses,

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 20. Handwritten in the Franciscanum at Zerbst, Lfs. 26, fol. 15. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 270 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 621 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 115. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 953.

To the Lord Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of the Church at Zwickau, his Superior in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am glad that you have returned home safe and sound, my dear Nicolaus. I have answered Carlstadt's devil in two books, in which the Pickards will also see our opinion sufficiently. I have not yet read through their writings, since I was busy with other things. I have met Gallus,¹⁾ the monster of the Bohemians; may God destroy his nobility, since he has deceived us so. We have assigned to some of our scholars the task of collecting not only what Tertullianus, but also what all the ancients have held of this sacrament, 2) so that the mouths of lies may be stopped up [Ps. 63, 12]. Jonas and Eisleben have been instructed to prepare a catechism for the children. I have set myself to'

1) Czahera. See No. 779.

2) In this sentence the construction is broken: *ut... colligendi* instead of: *ut ... colligerent*. Now *ut* is too much.

I have put the Postil and Deuteronomy, on which I will have enough to do for a while. You pray for me bravely. There is nothing new with us. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, on the day of the Purification of the Virgin Mary [Feb. 2] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 818.

Wittenberg.

February 4, 1525.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

Luther complains that fanaticism has also crept into Nuremberg, but does not want the erring ones to be punished unless they do not want to recognize and obey the authorities.

The original is at the Coburg fortress. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 37; in Walch, vol. XXI, 85; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 622; in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 53, p. 283 and in the Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 116.

To the careful and wise Lazaro Spengeler, Syndico of the city of Nuremberg, my favorable master and good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. More careful, more favorable, dear Lord and friend! From your letter, sent to me next, I have received joy and displeasure: Joy that Christ is so bravely with you, and looks to the wolves; displeasure that the disaster has already come so far through the messengers of the devil, that such articles are held in doubt and denial under the Christian name. For although I have always suspected the All-City Spirit 3) that he will send it out,⁴⁾ I do not think that [it] should already have happened. But it is good that such an abomination comes to light, so that such spirits' foolishness and arrogance become known and disgraced. But that you ask how they should be punished, I do not yet consider it *blasphemous*, but consider them like the Turks or disowned Christians, whom secular authorities do not have to punish, especially on the body. But where they would not confess and obey the temporal authorities, all that they are and have is forfeited; for there is surely sedition and murder in the

3) After his expulsion from Allstädt, Münzer came to Nuremberg, had an invective against Luther printed and gained many followers, but the city council confiscated the books and expelled Münzer from the city, as well as Pfeiffer and Reinhard of Jena, who had come from Thuringia.

4) lenden == to turn.

Hearts, it is the duty of the worldly authorities to see that your masters know how to keep without doubt. Pray God for me, and grace be with you all, amen. At Wittenberg, on the Saturday after *Purificationis* [4 Feb.] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 819.

Wittenberg.

February 4, 1525.

To Johann Brismann in Königsberg.

Some news.

The original is in the Wallenrodt Library at Königsberg. Printed in the Vogler Collection; in *Acta Borussica*, 1730, vol. I, st. 6, p. 799; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 112; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 623 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 117.

To his extremely dear brother in the Lord, Johann Brismann, servant of God at Königsberg.

Mercy and peace! I, too, have been deceived by the messenger's unexpected departure, in that he left at the same time and requested letters, and I have not yet heard everything from Christian. Therefore, my dear Brismann, I could only write you a very short greeting. Greetings, I beg you, the Lord [Bishop] of Samland. Deuteronomy goes forward (*currit*). What I answered to Carlstadt, you see. That Amandus has gone away, I am glad about that. For here, too, Satan is making such progress through these prophets that already in Nuremberg some citizens deny that Christ is something, deny that the word of God is something; they deny baptism and the sacrament of the altar, deny civil authority, confess only that there is a God, and for this reason they are imprisoned in the dungeon. Namely, that is where Satan, the spirit of Allstadt and Carlstadt, goes.

Farewell and pray for me. Greetings to Speratus with his family (*carne*), 1) The brother Leonhard, who was formerly imprisoned by the Duke of Bavaria, is now, after two years, finally freed by Christ and with us. Wittenberg, on the Saturday after [Mary's] Purification [4 Feb.] 1525.

Martin Luther.

1) Specatus had married Anna Fuchs, probably a relative of the canon Jakob Fuchs, during his stay in Würzburg in 1520.

No. 820.

February 7, 1525.

(Wittenberg.)

To Wenceslaus Link in Altenburg.

Luther refuses Link's request to give a manuscript to his bookseller. Of a writing by Staupitzen; of Carlstadt and Orlamünde and the establishment of a parish in Altenburg 2c.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 272; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 623 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 122. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 956.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I received the glass, which is healing for the eyes, with thanks, my dear Link, although it would not have been necessary for you to deprive yourself of it. By the way, I cannot promise a copy to your bookseller, both because I cannot fill my pockets, and elsewhere the same is desired by many, to whom I would also owe it, and also because you too are teachers of novices and readers at table, who know how to write books, even if you do not change the names.

I am sending the Staupitz 3) back; it is quite cold, as it always was, and not strong enough. Do what you like; the booklet is not unworthy of light and publicity, since so many monstrosities come out and are sold every day.

I have answered Carlstadt, as you see. At Basel, he turns many, the Oecolampad, the Pellican and others, who were otherwise already inclined, likewise at Strasbourg, the Otto Braunfels and others, so that they laugh at us; so certain are they of their opinion. The peasants of Orlamünde wipe their butts with my little book, 4) so the devil rages.

Why are you consulting me about the establishment of the parish in the city? 5) Since the matter

2) Gabriel Kantz.

3) Probably the writing that was finished in the fall of 1524: "Of the holy, right, Christian faith", which was not pure in doctrine, since such passages occur in it as: "The evil spirit gives the carnal Christians the idea that one is justified without works" 2c.

4) Glatz had written this to Luther. See No. 810.

5) Link planned to divide the city of Altenburg into two parishes, each with a church; ordinary clergymen were to be employed at these churches, and one was to be superior to them as pastor. He had communicated this plan to Luther. However, since he left Altenburg in August, he could not carry it out, but immediately after his departure, two full clergymen, Spalatin and Brisger, were appointed to Altenburg.

is in your free will, only that this either increases or See where this wretched hopeful spirit has gone, where awakens the appearance of ambition, if you alone claim he has been carried away! Pray for him, whether he can to be the one pastor. But it would be nice and proper that still be healed. His disgrace is at the door. Whoever is in one city one would be the bishop, and the others subject to such things, what do you think he thinks of the presbyters, as Paul ordains in Titus 1. It would please me cause of godliness? Farewell and greet the fat husband if silence were imposed on the Minorites by the Melchior, to whom I wish an obedient wife, who will pull authorities, and I do not believe 1) that the prince will be him around the market seven times a day by the hair, and repugnant to them in this, since he always wishes to be during the night will pamper him three times with conjugal neutral 2) in such matters. Farewell and greet your rib and words, as he deserves. Wittenberg, "Friday after" pray for me. Tuesday after Dorothea [Feb. 7] 1525. Martin Dorothea [February 10] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 821.

Wittenberg.

February 10, 1525.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther jokes about the nativity notes (*schedas natales*) sent by Jonas to Amsdorf; he indicates that the Hebrew book contains only little prayers; he tells him what Glatz has written to him (in No. 810) about the alleged ghost in Carlstadt's house; finally, a joking greeting to Melchior Mirisch.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 271; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 624 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 123. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 954.

Mercy and peace! I do not take paper from the secret chamber, like our Jonas, -who does not esteem you higher than that you are worthy to read *schedas natales*, that is, from the wiped butt (*de natibus purgatis*). By the way, as I also wrote before, the little booklet you sent contains nothing but little prayers (Aurogallus is witness to this), but I have instructed him to look at it even more carefully, after which it will be returned.

There is nothing new here, except that Carlstadt's Satan will come to light. For our Glatz has his own to witness how Carlstadt had a monk as a chaplain, whom he used as a spirit in his house, who penetrated him and revealed secrets; thus he deceived the poor common people. You will see miraculous things in the near future.

1) Instead of *hic* (which is expressed by in *hoc* once again) we have assumed *nee*.

2) Instead of *venter* in all editions we have adopted *neuter*, which will be read in *uenter*.

No. 822.

(Wittenberg.)

February 11, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther reports that the Jews who tried to poison him have confessed nothing, but he has worked for their release, although there is urgent suspicion. All kinds of news.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 182 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 199. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 271 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 625 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 124. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 955.

His [friend] in the Lord, Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ in His Gospel.

Mercy and peace! Tomorrow you will hear the news, my dear Spalatin, which you desire to know, namely what those imprisoned Jews,³⁾ who prepared poison for me, would perhaps betray, by whom they had been sent. Since they did not do this voluntarily, I did not want them to be martyred, but worked to have them released, although I am firmly convinced that it was the one whom my friends have indicated to me: all the characteristics are so true.

I cannot understand or explain the passage Joh. 1, 51. of the ladder any better than Philip did in his notes, 4). I also hold this way.

Erasmus will be answered as soon as there will be a little leisure. For I

3) Compare No. 809, where, by the way, only One Jew is mentioned.

4) Melanchthon in the Notes on the Gospel of John, 1523 (*Corp. Ref.*, vol. XIV, 1076) says: "Christ is the ladder" 2c.

I am forced to finish Deuteronomy so that the printers do not suffer damage.

I am glad that Christ is so supportive of Jodocus Kern and that Allstädt is getting along again. What the pastor of Orlamünde writes, see in these letters of his, so that you may recognize that I prophesied clearly about Carlstadt when I said that he had been handed over to the devil. O about the wretched misery of men when Christ leaves us. He yesterday, I today (said that one). Who should not fear this life, which Satan so mightily and wickedly possesses? Fare well and pray for me. On the Saturday after Dorothea [Feb. 11] 1525. Martin Luther.

What you write about the Carmelite Bernhard seems to have happened by a mistake in the name, because it is about the same with the story of our Heinrich von Zütpfen.

No. 823.

Wittenberg.

February 16, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Invitation to an Actus of Young Poets and Speakers at Wittenberg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 250. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 41; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 626 (with the wrong date: 17 Feb.) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 125. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 958.

Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the court of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! And also I invite you in place of our whole famous poetic empire and kingdom, my dear Spalatin, that you disguise yourself next Sunday, in the evening, to see and hear our poets and orators growing up in Wittenberg, at the same time both to a comedy to be played and to the songs to be sung; finally, to the food and drink to be devoured in honor of the poetic kingdom, but in such a way that you, if it can happen, send ahead or bring along some venison. Everything will be arranged in our former monastery, as befits such guests. Other things orally. Farewell. Wittenberg, Thursday after Septuagint [16 Feb] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 824.

(Rothenburg an der Tauber.)

February 18, 1525.

Carlstadt to Luther.

(Regest.)

Carlstadt responds to a letter from Luther dated Dec. 23, 1524 (which does not exist), which he received only on Feb. 18. ¹⁾ He urgently asks for a safe conduct letter promised to him by Luther and assures in the most effusive terms his willingness to be guided by the truth. He says: "I will be softer with the bright speech of Christ and the clear judgments of the Lord than the snow with the hottest fire, and run faster than the lightest particle to the amber warmed by rubbing." ²⁾

No. 825.

Wittenberg.

February 20, 1525.

To Paul Lemberg, abbot in Sagan.

A joint marriage memorial issued with the other Wittenberg theologians and the jurist Benedict Pauli.

The original is in Wolfenbüttel, Cod. 31. 4 Aug. Printed in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 627; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. 1, 723 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 129.

To the venerable father, Mr. Paul Lemberg, abbot in Sagan.

Hail! Venerable Father! We, Martin Luther, Jodocus Jonas, Johann Bugenhagen Pommer, Benedict Pauli, Philipp Melanchthon, 3) declare to you and your church that we have heard the case of the woman Hedwig and Erasmus Hertzog and have read the public acts. Accordingly we judge thus

1) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 22 d f. - Carlstadt received this letter at Rothenburg a. d. T., where, however, by a town council edict of Jan. 27, it had been forbidden to "house, harbor, drag under, etch, water or fart" him, but protected by the old mayor Ehrenfried Kumpf, he remained there until his public appearance, without ever leaving the city in the meantime, as Kumpf confessed in the council on March 27.

2) Thus, also according to Spalatin's translation: "und will ehr zulaufen, denn ein tayle zu einem erwemten ecsteyn, Wenn er geriben wird", these words are to be understood. By "a tayle" he seems to have rendered *particula* for us (for so it will be read instead of *stipula*, which the *Erl. Briefw.* has placed in the text, but doubts by a question mark; or instead of *stigula* at Kolde; the Conjecture of the *Erl. Briefw.*: *tegula* [brick] may have come from misunderstanding of the word "ecsteyn" for cornerstone); "ecsteyn", however, is to be resolved by "Agtstein", which is amber. See St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1788; *ibid.* vol. XXII, 1333.

3) Melanchthon was the writer of the letter. He also signed it with Luther, but did not co-sign it.

about the case of conscience: If the woman confirms with a good conscience that the husband was not wealthy or could not have performed the marital duty, then he was not her husband, and she is free. However, it shall not hinder the weakness and conscience of the wife that Erasmus Hertzog denies that he is not wealthy, if he does not prove or has not proven the opposite. And because the woman Hedwig has been living with the magister Balthasar Jugel for a long time, and he assures that he had her as his wife, it is reasonable that he keeps her. For since he has taken the one who has fled from the impecunious man, he has clearly bound his conscience. You will do right if you confirm the marriage with the lawful customs. We also bear witness to this judgment of ours with our seals. Farewell. Given at Wittenberg, February 20, 1525 by Martin Luther.

J. Jonas.

Johann Bugenhagen Pommer.
Benedict Pauli.

No. 8 26.

Wittenberg.

22. 1) February 1525.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Recommendation of a young person and some news.

Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 293; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 628 (datirt: 20. Febr.) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 130. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 958.

Grace and peace in Christ! The bearer of this letter has requested, my dear Lang, that I give him a letter of recommendation to you, since he wanted to go to Erfurt and look for some place to live. Since you are not only rich in body, but also in advice, I recommend him to you, if you can give him some advice.

Here there is nothing new, only that it is said that a certain Carmelite Bernhard was burned at Mecheln for the sake of the word of God 2).

1) This date is derived from the day of the birth of Melancthon's little son, namely Feb. 21.

2) This report seems, as Luther has already noted in the postscript to No. 822, to be based on an error, because the text by Spalatin (*ap. Menck.*, tom. II,

as also our Henry in Ditmar. God gave Philip a little Philip yesterday, and I wish that God would give you one too. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Sexagesimä [22 Feb.] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 827.

Wittenberg.

February 25, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of a Danzig preacher and his request that Bugenhagen be allowed to accept a call there.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 183 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 200. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 279; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 641 (with the date: April I) and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 131. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 966 f.

To Magister Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! A preacher of the people of Danzig comes here to the prince, Mr. Johannes,⁴⁾ to ask the prince's consent that they may call our Pomeranian there; I therefore ask that you assist him as you can. For although I would like this man [Bugenhagen] to remain here, I still think that in such a great matter and for the sake of the word, one must give way, who knows what God wants to work through him there, so that we do not fail to recognize and hinder such a glorious call from God. DII will hear miraculous things from him, which Christ worked in Danzig. If I were so called, I would not dare to oppose it, but would leave immediately.

The rumor has come here that the King of France has won the victory against the Emperor. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, Saturday before Quinquagesimä 5) [Feb. 25] 1525.

Martin Luther.

p. 640) about this martyr's death correspond almost completely with the history of Heinrich von Zütphen.

3) In Aurifaber and De Wette, the number 4 is missing after *feria*.

4) Johannes Bacholt.

5) In the original: *sabbato L.*, which Aurifaber wrongly resolved by *saddato post Laetare*. De Wette has followed him.

No. 828.

Wittenberg.

March 4, 1525.

To the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Luther presents Carlstadt's request for safe conduct (No. 824) and approves it.

The original (several times damaged) is in the Weimar Archives. It is printed in Seidemann, *Lutherbriefe*, p. 24; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 37; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 628 (with the wrong date: "Ende Februars"); in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 284 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 84. In the original, the date is: "am Sonnabend nach L. 1525".

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord,
Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector and
Archmarshall of the Roman Empire, Landgrave of
Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most
gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! M. Georgius Spalatinus will indicate to E. C. F. G. D. Carlstadt's writing what he desires from me. Now it is true, I promised him, where he would let himself be kindly instructed, or talk to me, as he has offered me, I would see whether I could acquire an escort for him, or want to come to him in a place outside of C. F. G.'s country, if I do not acquire it, so that it would be felt that I should not lack what would be considered good and useful for the honor of the holy Gospel and the salvation of all of us. C. F. G. my humble request, if it is possible, E. C. F. G. will graciously give the same D. Carlstadt a written escort to talk with me for a while, so that he will not complain that 1) he is not lacking, but I am, otherwise they are looking for cause [too] 2) exactly. If it helps, it helps; for I have little hope in him, as proud as his writing is. Hiemit GOtt in his grace commanded. At Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Quinquagesimä [March 4] 1525.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

1) This word is omitted in the original.

2) Added by us.

No. 829.

Wittenberg.

March 4, 1525.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2066, no. 692.

No. 830.

Wittenberg.

March 5, 1525.

To Theobald Billican in Nördlingen.

Luther answers the question of whether the power of the sacrament depends on the worthiness of the minister administering it.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 179. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 272 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 630 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 134. German hei Walch, vol. XXI, 959.

To Mr. Theobald Billican, evangelist in Nördlingen, his exceedingly dear [friend] in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I believe, my dear Theobald, that your rather long letter, which you have addressed to me, has at the same time been done enough by my booklet on the Sacrament against Carlstadt. 3) But what you wrote to Philip the other day, about the giving of the blessing of the bread in Holy Communion, I understood as if an ungodly person could not consecrate or bless the bread. I have a different opinion, namely that the Word of God is God's Word, not by our holiness, but by its own power, and does what it does, not by our merit, but by its nature. For you know that the gospel is called by the apostle Rom. 1,16. a power of God, which is mighty to save those who believe. And yet not all obey the gospel, as it says there Cap. 10,16. Then it is preached by those who are angry and hateful, Phil. 1, 15, and does not cease to be the word of God and the power of God even because of the unworthiness of these people or because of their unbelief. For although it is weak and foolish in the ungodly, it is wise and powerful in the godly. Therefore, neither the faith of the godly makes it different or better, nor the unbelief of the godless makes it better.

3) "Against the heavenly prophets" 2c.

worse. Is not 1) God Himself a bear and a lion for the wicked [Hos. 13:8], but salvation and life for the godly? Since the sacrament is instituted by the power of the word and is also imparted by the power of the word, no consideration is given to the minister who performs it when the sacrament is considered, although consideration is to be given to it when its own blessedness is considered. For Christ also instituted and blessed it, not by the power of His holiness, but by the power of the Word. Therefore, just as the Word of God, wherever it may be, is a mighty power of God, 2) even though the ungodly do not enjoy this power: so the Sacrament, where it is blessed, is a perfect Sacrament, even though the ungodly do not enjoy this blessing. For we are the ones who plant and water, administering the Word of Life and the Sacrament of Blessedness, but we are not the ones who give the flourishing. But we administer the same Word and Sacrament that Christ administered, who also, as he did nothing to the Jews by the Word, so to Judas Iscariot he gave the Sacrament in vain. Nevertheless, he taught them the true Word and gave him the true Sacrament. Otherwise, if one had to look at the faith of those who administer and those who receive, everything would be uncertain whether the Word and the Sacrament were anywhere, since the faith of all is uncertain. Now the whole essence and power (*integritas*) of the Sacrament is not based on your laws or our merits, but on the promise, so that the knowledge of the sacred office is firm and certain among the people of God. This is what I would like to say. You take it for the best, and pray Christ for me, whose grace be with you, Amen. Wittenberg, on Sunday Invocavit [March 5] 1525.

Martin Luther.

1) This sentence must be taken as an interrogative sentence, otherwise just the opposite sense would come out; therefore, instead of non in the editions (at Aurifaber no) we read: nonno.

2) Here is in the editions (as we think, wrong) so interpungit: *sicut verbum Dei, ubi fuerit virtus Dei, est potens etc.* - Instead of *ndi iir* the editions is read with the handwriting more correctly *uiliudi*.

No. 831.

Wittenberg.

March 11, 1525.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X V, 2644, annex, no. 129.

No. 832.

Wittenberg.

March 12, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Request safe conduct for a church robber, likewise for Carlstadt.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 259. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 41; by *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 633 and in *Erlanger Briefwechsel*, vol. V, p. 137. German by *Walch*, vol. XXI, 961 f.

To Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Saxony, his extremely dear brother.

"Grace and peace in Christ!" I beg you, my dear Spalatin, to hear this woman in her cause and to stand by her. But she asks for a safe conduct from the prince for her husband, because he has robbed a certain church in Schonfelt, that he be allowed either to return to Schmiedburg, where he lived, or, after the matters have been settled, to live with his wife. You will learn the rest from her. I only had to do this. By the way, I wrote to you 3) and sent Carlstadt's letter so that I could obtain the same escort for him from the prince; I am surprised that it has not been given, or why they are silent against me at the court. Fare well in the Lord. Philip almost died of insomnia. He is still suffering greatly from this disease; if you know a cure, let us know. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1525, on Sunday Reminiscere [March 12].

It is said that the Hessian wrote to Duke George that he, together with the Palatine, had decided that he wanted to give room to the Gospel in his country, since he had been overcome by the truth. More about this at another time.

Martin Luther.

3) No. 829.

No. 833.

Wittenberg.

March 12, 1525.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

A warm invitation to come to Wittenberg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* B, 24n, fol. 165. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 277; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 633 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 138. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 963.

Grace and peace in Christ! The last letter, perhaps with the one to be delivered to you at the same time, I believe you have received, for I ordered the messenger to enclose this one, which was written this morning, with the one written yesterday; you will see if they are delivered at the same time. What I am writing now is this: We are filled with a fierce desire for your presence, and this is not only my wish and mine, but also that of our Captain Hans Metzsch, who desires this most ardently. This has indeed been the reason for me to ask you more boldly, that you, because we are quite distressed and challenged, let yourself come to visit us as soon as possible for the sake of comfort and old friendship. He promises for sure: when you will have shown the day, he will send a very decent carriage to you and transport you back safely at his expense. Now prove yourself to us as the simple, straight and faithful Amsdorf, who will tell us the day, so that we may see each other and comfort ourselves through conversation. Farewell in Christ, dearest Amsdorf. On the Sunday of Reminiscere [March 12] 1525, Martin Luther.

No. 834.

March 20, 1525.

Spalatin to Luther.

Answer to Luther's letters No. 829 and No. 832, in which Luther asked for safe conduct for Carlstadt, why the Prince could not grant this request.

Handwritten in the Weimar Archives, Reg. p. 74 ff. 2; Printed by Burkhardt, p. 81 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 139.

God's grace and peace in Christ before. Venerable Doctor! My most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., has, in accordance with my next letter, granted your humble and diligent request for the escort of Doctor Carlstat to his electoral counsellors, who are now at Torgau in daytime performance, together with my humble request and notification.

allow them to arrive. Thereupon they inform His Lordships of their reservations, and His C. F. G. has ordered me to inform you that His C. F. G. has some reservations about this. G. has ordered me to inform you that his C. F. G. is a little concerned about this, because his C. F. G. has many doubts as to whether it would be good that the Carlstat should come to Wittenberg at this time. Moreover, that his C. F. G. had always let themselves be heard against papal and imperial embassies, also in other ways, that they never got involved in a matter, as they also did not let themselves be involved again in representing the same. Should S. C. G. now enter into this with the representation of Carlstat, then this would have to be done by public letter and seal of his C. G., which would particularly indicate and present Carlstat at many ends and to many people, which would then be known to the one who has his C. F. G. beforehand. F. G. had previously said about himself, might also perhaps be considered by some, who do not know the cause of the misdirection, as if his C. F. G. had also been in his opinion at the time of the misdirection. F. G.'s opinion is also pending. Thus, S. C. F. G. does not note from your letter that you yourselves can particularly comfort the matter. Therefore, it is highly esteemed of my lord and master that you should request that he be granted a hearing. I request that you spare his C. F. G. and S. C. F. G. brothers, my gracious Lord Duke Johansen of Saxony, in this matter, and do not doubt that you will know how to report and refuse this to the Carlstat, which I, in the best interest of you, have no longer known how to do. I would have liked to report this to you much sooner, but the councilors' concerns have only just arisen, from which this answer has so far been withheld, and I hereby entrust you to God's grace and protection. Date Monday after Oculi [March 20] Anno 1525.

No. 835.

Wittenberg.

March 23, 1525.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2628, annex, no. 120.

No. 836.

Wittenberg.

March 26, 1525.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2256.

No. 837.

Wittenberg.

March 27, 1525.

To Wolfgang Reißbusch, preceptor in Lichtenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 674.

No. 838.

Wittenberg.

March 27, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther gives his opinion on certain celestial phenomena, rejoices at the meeting of Philip of Hesse with the Dukes of Saxony, and reports on some enthusiasts from Antwerp.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 202. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 278p; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 640 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 146. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 965 f.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the Court of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I send you back the suns, the miraculous signs of God, my dear Spalatin, but it is not my business to understand such things, because I am not such a prophet. Indeed, the bloody sun in the west seems to signify the king of France, and the other quite bright one in the middle the emperor; so Philip also thinks, but at the same time they bring the last day with them. I am glad that the prince of Hesse is talking with our princes, 1) and I hope that it will produce fruit for the gospel. I have here a new kind of prophets from Antwerp,²⁾ who claim that the Holy Spirit is nothing other than spiritual gifts and natural reason. How Satan rages against the Word everywhere! And I do not count this among the least signs that even Satan himself seems to notice that day and therefore spews out his last wrath. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Monday after Lätare [March 27] 1525, Martin Luther.

1) On March 20, a meeting of Philip of Hesse with the dukes of Saxony, John and John Frederick, took place in Kreuzburg on the Werra. They agreed on the measures to be taken against the alliance of the Catholic princes at Dessau. Philip said there that he would rather give up life and limb, land and people, than depart from God's word.

2) After the preachers of the gospel were expelled in Antwerp, a slater, Eloy Pruystinck, appeared as a prophet and founded a sect, the Loy isten. Luther rejected him with his ravings and warned the Antwerp people in a public letter.

No. 839.

Wittenberg.

April 1, 1525.

To the Guild of Goldsmiths at Nuremberg.

Request to accept the resigned monk Andreas Heidenreich as an apprentice in the guild.

The original is in the Jnnungslade der Goldund Silberarbeiter in Nuremberg. Printed in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 168 and in De WetteSeidemann, vol. VI, p. 56. Earlier already printed in *Wills Museum Noricum*, 1759, p.414 and in the 19th annual report of the hist. Verein für Mittelfranken, Ansbach 1850, p. XI.

To the honorable and artistic master goldsmiths of Nuremberg, my special favorable gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear lords and friends! I ask you very kindly. Let your wisdom bear with me my foolish letter, for those who know without doubt Christian teaching that, just as Christ became a fool and a mockery to the world for our sake, so also we among ourselves owe service to one another, acting foolishly and foolishly; for Christian love does not respect worldly shame and disgrace.

Here is this pious, well-skilled journeyman, Andreas Heydenreich, who, after noting how priesthood and monasticism, to which he adheres, is a dangerously un-Christian being, as it is now, intends to turn away from it and make an honest living with his own hands. But since he is inclined to your craft and especially to your art, which is famous far above other cities, eager, in good hope, to grasp it well with God's help, he has asked me through several high personalities for an intercession to your wisdom, hoping to enjoy my intercession with your wisdom. Now I have not been able to deny my service to such people, nor to his need, although I, an unknown person, almost unwillingly approach E. W. with it. But because they praise and extol the journeyman to me as being pious and skillful, I kindly ask E. W. to be helpful to him in his desire for your craft, if the same could be done without your complaint, for I also do not intend to burden E. W. with anything unreasonable.

I hope that our Lord Christ will recognize this with rich graces, without my merit and futile fortune, which I willingly offer all to the Lord unsaved; may the Lord be entrusted to his mercy. Amen. At Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Lätare [April 1] 1525.

Martinus Luther, *Ecclesiastes* zu Vittemberg.

No. 840.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early April 1525.)

To the Christians of Antwerp.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1526.

No. 841.

Wittenberg.

April 3, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends a letter for forwarding. From raptures in Thuringia.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. u.*, fol. 259. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 42; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 642 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 152. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 967.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, the servant of God at the court of Saxony, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace! Send this letter to the preceptor at Lichtenberg, my dear Spalatin. He has given me some very good and beautiful Cologne knives, so that I am also distressed that the smallest of them is missing in the scabbard 1); I would so much like that all of them were there, but I suspect that it fell out somewhere along the way. I send what is written to me from Thuringia. Until now the world was full of spirits that are outside the flesh,²⁾ now it is full of spirits in the flesh. Thus Satan rages against him who is stronger than he, Christ. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, Monday after Judica [April 3] 1525.

Martin Luther.

1) in can also mean: in the case; so it will probably have been a cutlery.

2) These are "rumblers".

No. 842.

(Wittenberg.)

April 10, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends back an increased letter that he wants printed, admonishes Spalatin for getting married, reports on Carlstadt's goings-on in Rothenburg, and expresses suspicion against Strauss.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. V*, No. 186 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 202. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 280; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 643 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 153. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 968.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Saxony, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace! I am returning the letter multiplied,³⁾ my dear Spalatin; I had wished that it be given to Lucas' [Cranach's] printing office, which has nothing to do, so that I might enjoy a little peace in the meantime. And why don't you go to marriage? since I urge others to it by so many reasons of proof that I am almost moved myself, although the enemies do not stop condemning this way of life, and our smarties laugh at it daily.

I am glad that Christ is so supportive of the nucleus 4). Carlstadt is raging in Rothenburg an der Tauber, 5) and although he himself is a fugitive, he is pursuing us everywhere. He had decided to make his nest at Schweinfurt, but the Count of Henneberg has prevented this by a letter sent to the council. I very much wish that the D. Strauss,

3) the one to Wolfg. Reißensbnsch, No. 837.

4) Pastor at Allstädt.

5) In a note on this passage, the *Erl. Briefw.* has two wrong statements. It says there: "After suppression of the peasant uprising, Deutschlin sthis is the same who is elsewhere called Drechsler, Drechsel, Teutsches and Johann Preding (the preacher)⁴⁾ was beheaded at Nothenburg on June 1, 1525, while Carlstadt escaped on June 23." I). Johann Preding was captured on June 23 and beheaded on July 1 (see St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 152 f.). Carlstadt, on the other hand, must have made his escape earlier, for he wrote to Luther from Frankfurt am Main as early as June 12. The letter is found in Burkhardt, p. 85 and is also in *Erl. Briefw.*, Vol. V, p. 193, where p. 194, note 3, it is reported that Carlstadt had left Nothenburg at the end of May. On June 6, he was at the farmers' convention in Schweinfurt (Köstlin, Vol. I, p. 753).

who also seeks his rule 1), this will be resisted by the prince. Man does not lack anger, but opportunity and time. For a long time now, although secretly, we are not very agreeable to him, since he prefers us by far to that rebellious peasant from Carlstadt 2) whom you admired at Nuremberg, but he has been invented as a rogue, and, as they say, a monk with the assumed gesture of a peasant. Farewell and pray for me. Monday after Palmarum [April 10] 1525, Martin Luther.

No. 843.

(Strasbourg.)

(April 10-11, 1525.) 3)

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

Gerbet sends Luther the copy of Zwingli's letter to Matthäus Alber (Aulber) about the Lord's Supper (St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1513), and reports about the inclination of Strasbourg towards Carlstadt.

Handwritten in Strasbourg in *Thes.* Printed by Krafft, Festgabe für Crecelius, p. 7; by Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 63 (datirt: "April") and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 155.

I am sending you, dear Luther, what Zwingli has written in the past few days about the Lord's Supper; although it has been written somewhat badly (*radius*) by my scribe, you will nevertheless recognize it to some extent,

1) Jonas says in a writing against Wicel that Strauß ruled not only in the church, but also as Amtmann, Rath 2c.

2) The so-called Wöhrder Bauer. He called himself in the preface to his Sermon von der Abgötterei, 1524, Diepold Peringer, a peasant, born of Ulm, who can neither write nor read; Spalatin, *ap. Mencken*, II, 632, calls him *Dieboldum Schusterr ex Aichenbrunnen, rusticum Augustin. dioc.*; but this was an assumed name, he was rather an expelled Swabian clergyman. In 1524 he appeared in the area around Nuremberg, especially in Wöhrd and Thon, but also in the city itself as a powerful preacher, who aroused even Spalatin's amazement. But when the Archduke Ferdinand complained to the city council on March 4, 1524 (Förstemann, *Neues Urkundenbuch*, p. 155a) that a peasant was being allowed to preach, the council expelled him from the city. He went first to Kitzingen and then to Rothenburg. Involved in the peasants' revolt, he is said to have been drowned.

3) Baum has placed this date in the margin without giving reasons for it (Erl. Briefw.). - It seems to us that this letter must be dated further back, because Zwingli's letter had already appeared in print in March with Christoph Froschauer in Zurich (see St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1529, note 3), and Zwingli already sent his copy to the Strasbourgers on Dec. 12, 1524.

what he wants and what he deals with. This is not done by me for the sake of inciting you against this man or any other, but so that you may be warned beforehand, 4) if they should ever want to break out. For from this I gather some suspicions as to what is being done secretly among us. They receive the writings against Carlstadt with bitterness; not that they say publicly that he has done right, but that in Carlstadt their opinion is condemned. I, limited as I am, see that the people of our time are not so subject to any error as to ambition and vain doctrine. As for you, I wish more ardently to see you than any other man. God grant that after so many adversities I may one day rejoice with you and with my Philip. Farewell and write again with Secerius.

No. 844.

Wittenberg.

April 11, 1525.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2638, annex, no. 126.

No. 845.

Wittenberg.

April 15, 1525.

To Spalatin in Lochau. 5)

Luther recommends a wife who lives with her husband in Dispute lay.

The original is in the Anhaltische Gesamtarchiv. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 43; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 644; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 290 and entirely in German by Walch, vol. XXI, 969.

To the worthy Magister Georgen Spalatin, electoral preacher of Saxony, my favorable master and good friend.

Grace and peace. Worthy, dear sir and good friend! I ask you very kindly to be helpful to this poor woman, the ferry master, in her dealings with my most gracious lord. And because she desires testimony from me, I give it with this writing, namely thus: I have had both of them, her husband and herself, present before me next to the priest and interrogated; but because there has been no reconciliation

4) We have adopted with Kolde *sis* instead of *his* in Erl. Briefw.

5) From Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 259b, we see that the Elector was in Lochau on April 14.

6) Bugenhagen.

I have to allow her, as she asked, to stay away from him and never take a husband. But he, the man, wants to be beautiful and pure, desires to take another, right and leave. I have refused him, and rejected him from me, as do not want to be the judge of him and his cause; if others allow him, I am satisfied. ¹⁾ Summa, it is he of whom I recognize, although it cannot be proven by witnesses, that he deals with it, to reject this and to take another. But to bring this about, he pretends that he wants her to live with him, but when she lives with him, he treats her in such a way that she is forced to flee. Thus he arranges things on both sides in such a way that, according to outward appearances, he seems to desire her as a wife, while at any moment he wishes that she were either dead or in the Caucasus. Do I understand what I want? rather, what he wants? From his words, which slipped out of his mind unawares, although they were dark, I gathered this. He is to say nothing else, a monk, a mischievous and scheming man. I am not at all well inclined against him. He has instigators, or at least one instigator, namely A. v. N., the king of this city. You know the man; I do not have to understand what he is after with this matter. The Lord wants to exterminate these cunning and deceitful enemies of the gospel; rather, he lets them be open enemies. But even they are no match for Christ, who sees all things hidden, amen. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, the Saturday before Easter [April 15] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 846.

(Wittenberg.)

April 16, 1525.

To Spalatin in Lochau.

Luther writes that he is about to go to Eisleben with Philip and Agricola to establish a school there, and complains that the school at Wittenberg is neglected. He jokingly encourages Spalatin to marry.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 252. Printed by *Buddeus*, x. 46; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 645 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 157. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 971.

To Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Saxony, his brother who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! I have ordered our Lucas to send 100 copies to the preceptor. 2) For at this hour I am going with Philip and M. Eisleben to Eisleben, where we are summoned by Count Albrecht to establish a Christian school, since you are so lukewarm and neglect ours. I am beginning to wish and approach Philippus at Nuremberg 3) to start a similar one. The Magdeburgers have appointed Caspar Creutziger 4) and M. Arnold the Danzigers. Thus we are scattered, and our school falls apart. I do not know what I will be. But I know that you are without any guilt in this matter. Only Satan is behind it.

By the way, as you write about my marriage, I do not want you to be surprised that I do not marry, since I am such a notorious lover. It is more to be wondered at that I, who write so often of marriage and am so busy with women, have not long since become a woman, not to mention that I have not married any. But, if I desire my example, behold, I have a very powerful one. For I have had three wives 5) at the same time, and have loved so strongly that I have lost two, which other suitors would like to accept. The third, which I just

2) Lucas Cranach had printed the letter to Wolfgang Reißbusch (No. 837) (see No. 842).

3) Already in October 1524 Melanchthon had received a call to Nuremberg.

4) He followed, 21 years old, the call as Rector to the city school at St. Johannis in Magdeburg, founded from the merger of the other schools in 1524, in May 1525, remained there until April 13, 1528, when he returned to Wittenberg as a preacher at the castle church and university teacher and worked there until his death, Nov. 16, 1548.

5) These "three women" are the three virgins Ave von Schonfeld, Ave Alemann from Magdeburg and Catharina von Bora, who were freed from the convent in Nimptschen. For Ave von Schonfeld Luther had some inclination, Ave Alemann he calls against Amsdorf his [former] bride. Compare *St. Louis* edition, vol. XXII, 1138; *ibid.* vol. XIX, 1788. See also the note there.

1) The following is in the original Latin; we have retranslated it.

if perhaps soon to be snatched away, I barely hold on the left arm. But you lazy lover do not even dare to become the husband of one. But see to it that it does not happen that I, whose mind is quite far from marriage, should once forestall you quite willing suitors, as God is wont to work that which one least expects. I say this so that I may drive you to do what you intend without joking. Farewell, my dear Spalatin. On Easter Day [April 16] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 847.

Wittenberg.

(April) 1525.

To Georg von Polenz, Bishop of Samland.

See St. Louis edition, vol. ill, 1370.

No. 848.

Weimar.

May 3, 1525.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

Letter of comfort and encouragement to continue in the proclamation of the Gospel.

The original is in Wolfenbüttel. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 1048, fol. 2. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 288b; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 65; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 651 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 162. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 972.

To the highly esteemed brother in the Lord, Frederick Mecum,¹⁾ evangelist and servant of Christ, his extremely dear [friend].

Grace and peace in Christ, who said: "In the world you will be afraid.

1) Mecum was his real name, which was later changed to Myconius. He was born on Dec. 26, 1491, at Lichtenfels in Upper Franconia, came to Annaberg in 1504 to the Rector Andreas Weidner, called Staffelstein. Here he heard Tetzl preach in 1508, and as a poor man wanted to have the indulgence for free, for God's sake, which he denied him (see Myconius' Narrative, St. Louis Edition, vol. XV, 364, no. 98). On July 14, 1510, he entered the Franciscan monastery at Annaberg, was transferred from there to Leipzig and Weimar, and was ordained a priest in Weimar in 1516. In the same year he became a priest in Weimar, and joined the Lutheran movement from the beginning, for which he suffered much from his fellow monks, who finally brought him to Leipzig and Annaberg, so that he would be under the control of Duke George. From here he fled to Zwickau in 1524, and Duke Johann assigned him as a preacher to Gotha in the same year, where he remained until his death on April 7, 1546.

but in me peace, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. I am writing this to you as a stranger, my dear Frederick, in order to share with you all the comfort I have in Christ. 2) Since the world is overcome in Christ, what is done apart from Christ and without him must necessarily be such that it appears to be victorious, but in fact is defeated and made triumphant in and with Christ, so that one possesses nothing but victory when the world passes away with its appearance. We who know Christ cannot doubt that this will happen. I pray that he will encourage you with his spirit and enliven you with his power, along with all of your own. But continue, my dear Frederick, in the Lord. Greet and admonish my Basil 3) in the Lord. Weimar, Wednesday after Misericordias Domini [May 3] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 84S.

Seeburg.

May 4, 1525.

To Johann Rühel, Mansfeld City Council.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VI, 160, no. 783.

No. 850.

Wittenberg.

5 (?) May 1525. 4)

To the City Council of Danzig.

Luther sends (in response to a request addressed to him on February 6) Michael Hänlein as preacher, exhorts to peace, and warns against wanting to arrange everything according to the Law of Moses, which is why he also encloses a note in which he explains himself about the purchase of interest 2c.

Alis the autograph in the Danzig Archives printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 38; in Walch, vol. XXI, 87. From the *Acta Borussica*, tom. II, p. 298 (which has somewhat different text), in De Wette, vol. II, p. 656 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 294. We reproduce the text according to De Wette, but using several of Walch's good variants, most of which are also found in a Berlin copy.

2) Luther gave him this consolation, so that he would be confident in resisting the uprising that was stirring in Gotha.

3) Basilius Monner, at that time Rector of the school in the Augustinian monastery, later electoral counselor.

4) In any case, this date is wrong, because Luther, as we see from his letter to Spalatin of May 7, did not return to Wittenberg until the evening of May 6 after 7 o'clock.

Grace and peace through Christ our Savior. Honorable and wise, dear lords and friends! At your written request, I have done my best to appoint a skilled preacher for you. Now it did not happen that Mr. Johann Pommer, whom you yourselves named and desired, could have been given to you, as I would have liked to have seen; for our congregation did not want him, so that we also kept people here, through whom we could educate others and serve other cities. Michaellem Hänlein, 1) an almost pious, sedentary and learned man in all things, whose like I know of no other here; so that I hope you will be provided for and cared for, and that he will please you greatly every day. To the same I command your wisdom and love, let him be commanded to you, if rather he goes from us to you in foreign lands, and see that he is Christian and well provided for according to your promise; as Christ and Paul teach many times that those who teach us the word are worthy to be held in twofold honor. I also ask you, my dear lords and friends, to do and suffer whatever you want to do and suffer, so that you may have peace among yourselves, and see to it that no swarming spirits come among you, as unfortunately such people cause much misery here in Upper Germany, as E. W. may well have heard. If something is to be changed or broken, be it pictures or whatever it may be, that such should not be done by the common man, but by proper authority of the council, lest, as elsewhere, there should be a tendency to despise the authorities, whom God wants to be feared and honored. In particular, however, that E. W. see to it that you are not taught to govern according to the law of Moses, much less according to the Gospel, as I have said in the following.

1) He is identical with Michael Maurer, who was called Hänichen (*Gallius*, Hänlein) after his birthplace. He arrived in Gdansk on June 1 and preached at St. Mary's Church until the Reformation was violently suppressed after the entry of King Sigismund of Poland on April 17, 1526. On May 3, 1526, he was imprisoned along with the other preachers, but was released by Duke Albrecht of Prussia, who took him to Prussia on May 26, where he became pastor first in Rastenburg, then in 1531 in Löbenicht-Königsberg, where he died in 1537.

I have written it down on a piece of paper, and I have ordered it to your preacher, Mr. Michael, who will teach you well; obey him. Hereby commanded to God, who strengthens and multiplies you to His praise and honor, Amen. Date Wittenberg, on the Friday before Jubilate [May 5] 1525.

Copia note enclosed.

The law of Moses is dead and entirely abe, even given to the Jews alone; we Gentiles are to obey the laws of the land where we live, as St. Peter says in the first epistle on the 5th: "of all human order". But the gospel is a spiritual law, according to which one cannot rule, but must make it for himself, whether he will do it or not. And one cannot and should not force anyone to do it, just as one would force one to believe; for here it is not the sword, but the Spirit of God that must teach and rule. Therefore, the spiritual rule of the Gospel should be separated from the outward worldly rule, and should not be mixed with each other. The preacher is to conduct the evangelical rule with his mouth alone, and let each one have his own will here; whoever accepts it, let him take it all, whoever does not want it, let him leave it. As if to give an example, the purchase of interest or the interest penny is quite unevangelical, since Christ teaches, "Lend without taking again!" Here one should not go to it, and all division should be strictly abolished according to the gospel, nor does anyone have the right or power to do so, for it came from human order, which St. Peter does not want torn apart, but one should preach it, and give it home to those to whom the interest is due, whether they want to accept such a gospel from themselves, and let the interest go, or not. No further can they be urged. For the gospel requires willing hearts, driven by the Spirit of God. But this is what is to be done with the interest, that human order, laws and customs are brought to justice in such interest, if they go too far, and according to equity, which is called xxxxxxxx or *aequitas*, judges. For all laws and customs should be subject to natural equity as their rule and master. If one now wants to abolish the interest, one must not go to it and abolish it all at once. For it

It could be that one had spent a thousand guilders three years ago, and had hardly accumulated two hundred guilders of interest; this would be too short, and would be an unreasonable robbery, and the interest man would be entitled to too much, without all justice. Item, one should also not break off interest on the principal sum. For why should I give a thousand guilders of my own and have 50 of them given to me every year, if I were a child, I would keep them just as much and take 50 guilders of them myself every year. These are all unreasonable things, and are an imposed gospel. For the gospel teaches to freely let go of all goods, but whoever forces or compels me to do so takes away what is mine. Now if one wants to justify interest, there are two ways. The first is to justify them according to human laws, namely to give 5 guilders per hundred to be used for a year, and to put the same 5 guilders into the estate, that is, onto a certain pledge standing in the estate, such as fields, meadows, ponds, houses, so that if it does not bear for a year, or bears little, the interest is also reduced according to it, as the natural laws teach, and this would have to be recognized by the Honorable Council or reasonable people. The other is to consider the difference of persons and time, and to act according to their will: if the person is of good fortune, and has occupied it for a long time, that one should theid with them, that they should nevertheless let part of the interest received go to the main property; but if the person is old and unable, that one should not thus push his mouth off the manger and make him a beggar, but let them keep the interest as long as they live and suffer, 1) as love and natural equity teaches. In short, no law can dictate how to act in this way, but everything depends on the person, which must be borne according to love and fairness, through the knowledge of good people, and not be allowed to perish, otherwise there would be a lot of injustice where mail should be strict with them. Your preachers will instruct you further. Date Wittenberg, on the Friday before Jubilate [May 5] Anno 1525.

1) "bedarben" will probably be as much as: need. Dietz has: "darben?".

(Lochau.)

(May 6 and 7, 1525.)

Questions posed to Luther and Melanchthon about the burial of the Elector, together with their answer.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 177, no. 796.

No. 852.

(Torgau.)

(ca. May 7, 1525.)

Expert opinion of Gabriel Zwilling on the funeral of the Elector.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 178, no. 797.

No. 853.

(Wittenberg.)

May 7, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Letter accompanying Luther's and Melanchthon's expert opinion No. 851.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 253. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 47; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 659 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, Vol. V, p. 170. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 973 f.

For the attention of Georg Spalatin, the servant of God at the court of Saxony.

Grace and peace! Here you have our opinion about the ceremonies at the funeral of the prince, my dear Spalatin. Oh, bitter death, not only for those who die, but also for those who leave the dead behind them alive! But of that another time and orally. For I find myself overwhelmed at home, although I had already returned yesterday sufficiently laden, after seven o'clock in the evening. Farewell and pray for me. Sunday Jubilate [May 7] 1525.

Martin.

No. 854.

Wittenberg.

May 8, 1525.

To the Regensburg City Council.

Luther responds to their request for a Lutheran preacher, Barfußordens, that such a one is not available now, they must have patience.

From *Gemeiners Kirchen-Reformat.-Geschichte* in Regensburg, p. 43; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 660 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 298.

To the honorable and prudent Lord Chamberlain and Councilor of the City of Regensburg, my favorable master and good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Honorable, prudent, dear gentlemen! To your letter and verbal solicitation of the respectable Doctor Hiltner, your skilled man, I give this answer, that I made every effort, according to your desire, to procure a learned, sedentary preacher of the Gospel, Barefoot Order, but had none available for such haste, for there was indeed one, but he was arrested elsewhere. For this reason, please be patient for a little while; for I hope that it will soon be otherwise, that Eur W. may be well advised, as the above-mentioned Doctor Hiltner will further report to E. W.. And I would like to know the form of one with you, so that such a city would be safe and know how to lay the right foundation; for I am willing and inclined to serve E.W.. Hereby commanded by the grace of God. At Wittenberg, on Monday after Jubilate [May 8] 1525. Martinus Luther.

No. 855.

Erfurt.

May 10, 1525.

The Council of Erfurt to Luther and Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 113, no. 778.

No. 856.

(Wittenberg.)

May 15, 1525.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2050.

No. 857.

Wittenberg.

15, May 1525.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2045. 1)

1) There, reprinted from Walch's old edition, is the superscription: "Trostbrief über den Tod eines Vaters", but Prince Frederick the Wise died unmarried, and John Frederick was the son of Duke John.

No. 858.

Wittenberg.

May 15, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends the two previous letters of consolation along with the draft of his letter to the King of England, but withholds his draft for the improvement of the university.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 253. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 47; by *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 664 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 173. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 974.

To the Lord George Spalatin, the faithful servant of Christ, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! It has seemed good to me, my dear Spalatin, to postpone the establishment of the Academy until the princes have come here (for I hear that they will come here soon), if you do not judge otherwise. In the meantime, I am sending letters of comfort to them, and at the same time a copy of the letter to be written to the King of England, so that you may watch and indicate where anything needs to be added or changed. Send it back to me and also give Johann von Minkwitz his. The council of Erfurt calls Philippus and me to arrange things (I don't know which). Farewell and pray for me. Monday after Cantate [May 15] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 859.

Wittenberg.

May 20, 1525.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Luther asks him to take charge of the sinking university.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. O, p. 124, ZZ. 14. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 39; in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 91; in *De Wette*, vol. II, p. 664 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 302.

Sublime, high-born F[uerst]! I have written to E. F. G. Father and Lord, my G. H., to order 2) this high school.

2) This letter, which was formerly in the Weimar Archives (Reg. O, p. 141, EEE 3), is missing. The registrar's note about it says: "The form, made by Luther and Melanchthon at Elector Frederick's request and still existing *sub Manuscriptis Lutheri*, how to provide the school with legenten and solde, from it

new, and to procure a man to do so. Now it is true that E. F. G. has a lot of other things to do in these lausts. has a lot of other things to do in these louses, but because the delay here is also dangerous, since it has now hung long enough and is in a state of disarray, and in addition people are moving away daily and are demanded, who cannot easily be brought together again, so that our neighbors are already rejoicing, as if the Elector Wittenberg were also there, and now even that: It would be a pity that such a school, since the Gospel is spread all over the world, should disappear like this, and yet people are needed everywhere, and no one helps to create them. Wherever E. F. G. wants to help, I humbly ask that E. F. G. help diligently, and not obey whether some great courtiers would speak contemptuously of scribes, because E. F. G. sees how the world cannot be ruled by force alone, but must have learned people who help the people with God's word by teaching and preaching; and of course, if there were no teachers and preachers, worldly power would not stand for long, let it be said that God's kingdom would have to come from us. I hope that E. F. G. will prove himself Christian and gracious here. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. In Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Cantate [May 20] 1525. E. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

No. 860.

(Wittenberg.)

May 20, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends the draft for the improvement of the university, recalls a request for support and reports the receipt of a donated deer.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 253. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 48; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 665 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 174. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 975.

to take also this prophecy that it will still come to the point that art, doctrine together with the Gospel will have to emigrate from German lands through hunger and hardship. This letter was answered on June 1. The instruction that Elector John gave to Spalatin is found in *Reg. O*, p. 124, ZZ. 15.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, servant of Christ at the court of Saxony, his brother.

Grace and peace! I am sending the establishment of the university, included in the letters to our princes; you will see to it that it is sent. At the same time I am also sending yours. I would have sent a copy [of my draft], but I had no time to copy it. I have followed all the points you suggested, along with your reminders. If my nun from Koßleth 1) has any hope of receiving a robe, show it, for the very poor one is waiting for it. I have received a deer from Lochau, which was given to Aurogallus; for I assume that, although nothing was said to whom it should be delivered. But it has been delivered to him. Farewell and pray for me. On the Saturday after Cantate [May 20] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 861.

Lier.

May 20, 1525.

Christian II of Denmark to Lntner.

He informs Luther of the news he has received that almost the entire peasantry and the bourgeoisie in Denmark ardently desire his reinstatement. He asks Luther to intercede for his cause.

Handwritten in *Cod. Gothan.* 26 a, fol. 29 and in Hamburg, Ms. 58, quarto, 20. Printed in *Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie*, 1871, 460 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 175. A part of the letter in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth.*, lib. I, p. 268 a, add. III. He considers Cornelius Scepper, vice chancellor of the king (later imperial councilor in Belgium), to be the writer of the letter.

Christiern, King of Denmark, Sweden 2c., wishes Doctor Martin Luther much grace and peace in Christo.

The peace of Jesus Christ be with you, holy brother Martin! I cannot refrain from telling you, dear brother, if I have received any cheerful news, since I know for certain that my welfare is as dear to you as it is to me, partly because I have experienced this not infrequently in the holy conversations we have had with each other, partly because I do not doubt that with fervent and persistent prayer to God, which for me is the sprout of all things

1) Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 673 assumes: "Kospoth", a small village in the Weimarsche Amt Burgau.

I hope that you will come to the aid of my weakness, even though it is the most important and desirable thing.

On 19. May the exceedingly joyful news came here about my subjects, my brothers, that they expect above all things nothing so much and implore with anxious sighing from God than that they may be freed from such tyrannical captivity, in which they are oppressed in a miserable way according to the ungodly desires of the clergy, for whom it is not enough to rage against the body and against temporal goods, if they do not also strive to destroy the exceedingly wholesome word of God at the same time as all the heavenly gifts that have been acquired for us by Christ. But listen, I beg you, to the glorious miracles of the exceedingly gracious GOD! He has so enkindled almost the entire peasantry and the bourgeoisie of the entire empire for my return that they now, with the utmost desire, would like to see, desire and 'wish for' him whom they had previously despised as king, persecuted and rejected. So even with God is all comfort and victory, however much the others, the more powerful, 1) oppose. 2) Trusting in this mercy, I have no doubt that by God's grace I will be able to tell you more certain things before all. In the meantime, dearest brother, by your fervent prayer, which is definitely more useful than all help from men, you will entrust my cause to the exceedingly good will of God, according to which everything may be done; we may die or we may live, we may rule or we may serve, so it will be pleasing by His grace. Farewell. At Lier,³⁾ on the 20th day of May, Anno 1525. Christiern.

No. 862.

May 21, 1525.

D. Joh. Rühel, Mansseldischer und Magdeburgischer Rath, to Luther.

(Two fragments.)

In the first fragment, Rühel reports that Muenzer has not only revoked his previous teachings, but has become a Papist altogether; in the second, he asks Luther to write to the Elector of Mainz about his marriage.

1) Here Seckendorf adds in brackets: "namely the bishops and the noblemen, as is known elsewhere".

2) The rebellion that broke out in Christian's favor was suppressed after two heavy defeats.

3) Lier is a town in the Belgian province of Antwerp. where the governor! Margaretha had ordered the king and his wife to live there.

From the original, which was then in the possession of D. Caspar Sagittarius in Jena, Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth.* II, p. 13a and p. 20a, has provided these two fragments, the former in Latin translation. After that in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 176. Seckendorf added the date in both places.

I.

Muenzer, in his prison, and in him Satan, in order to flatter the godless tyrants, not only recanted his errors, 4) and used the Sacrament under one form, but also confessed the Roman faith, and became entirely a Papist. Although this has a good appearance, it is not without poison, as you can see from the fact that he admitted that he had erred in all things, that is, that he also recanted the true teachings of the Gospel.

II.

I would like you to write a letter of comfort to my most gracious lord of Magdeburg in these perilous times and an exhortation to change his status (you understand me well), 5) but that I would like to have a copy of it; I want to go to Magdeburg today to act in the matter. God Almighty grant me mercy! Ask God from Heaven to grant grace to such serious work and undertakings. I hope you understand me well, I do not want to be written. Please, please, please for God's sake, grant me grace and strength as a worker.

No. 863.

Wittenberg.

May 23, 1525.

To D. Johann Rühel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 130, no. 783 (2).

No. 864.

(Wittenberg.)

26, May 1525.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Luther wishes him luck in resigning his office as Grand Master; he promises to send a preacher to Prussia and asks him to help two virgins to obtain their inheritance.

4) See the confession of Thomas Muenzer, St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 122, no. 781. There is nothing to be seen of a revocation of the true teachings of the Gospel. The questioning took place in two ways, first "in kindness," then "embarrassingly"; the latter concerns only personal matters. The remark of the Erl. Briefwechsel to the words: "in kindness", namely: "in reality: under torture", is therefore not quite correct.

5) Luther did this on June 2, as Seckendorf thinks, with the knowledge and will of Elector Albrecht.

The original is in the Königsberg Archives. From the collection of letters which Faber published under the title: "D. Martin Luthers Briefe an Albrecht, Herzog von Preußen. From the originals in the secret archive at Königsberg 2c. Königsberg 1811. 8.", printed in De Wette, vol. II, p. 667 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 5/6, p. 304.

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, of Stettin, Pomerania 2c., my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I am very pleased that God Almighty has graciously and miraculously helped such a state of affairs, and I wish that the same merciful God will carry out the kindness he has begun to E. F. G. to a blessed end, and also to the benefit and good of the whole country, amen.

I have helped to order the preacher 1) that E. F. G. wants; he should come soon after this.

Also, my lord, I humbly ask you to grant me a vain intercession to E. F. G. in mercy. The bishop of Riga 2) owes his mothers several hundred guilders from a will of their brother, He Niclas Plankefeld, in which he defaults on payment. Now the two virgins are all here with Master Kersten Goldschmid,³⁾ who has their sister) pious, fine children, who now daily need that they are advised, and poor maidens. But since the same bishop still has some money outside with E. F. G., they would like, if it were up to E. F. G., to keep the same money inside, as much as he owes the children, as all M[eister] Kersten Goldschmid sends a list to M. Joh. Brismann, and they would like to obtain it from and through E. F. G. from him. What E. F. G. now wants to advise or do in this regard, I place humbly in E. F. G.'s power. F. G., who will undoubtedly know how to act in a Christian manner. Herewith GÖtte ordered. On Friday post].seensioms Domini [May 26] 1525. Martinus Luther.

1) The preacher was Poliander, whose real name was Graumann. In the fall of 1525 he took over the pastorate at the Old Town Church in Königsberg. He died on April 29, 1541.

2) The archbishop of Riga since June 1524 was Johann Blankenfeld from Berlin.

3) This is Christian Döring, the goldsmith (*Aurifaber*).

No. 865.

May 27 (?) 1525. 4)

D . Johann Rühel to Luther.

(Fragment.)

Rühel gives his verdict on Münzer's letter, which he wrote to the von Mühlhausen. (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 125, No. 782.)

From Seckendorf's *Hist. Luth. lib.* II, p. 13 printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 180. We have translated this piece into German.

Although the opponents claim that Münzer's letter to the people of Mühlhausen is a retraction, it seems to me to be more of an insistence, for he alone accuses the peasants of having caused their own ruin by following their benefit too closely. Whatever they may say, I consider him to be a desperate man.

No. 866.

(Wittenberg.)

May 30, 1625.

To D. Johann Rühel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 131, no. 783 (3).

No. 867.

Wittenberg.

May 30, 1525.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, 133, No. 784.

No. 868.

Wittenberg.

May 30, 1525.

To the City Council of Frankfurt a. M.

In response to his request for a preacher, Luther sends him Johann Agricola for one month.

From Ritter's Protestant Monument to the City of Frankfurt in Walch, vol. XXI, 976; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 672 and in Erl. Ausg., vol. 53, p. 307.

To the honorable and prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of the city of Frankfurt, my favorable gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! Here comes Magister Joh. Eisleben, as I have written to E. W. before. But he comes alone, because

4) This date, which Seckendorf gives, does not agree with the fact that he says the letter was written after Münzer's death, because Münzer was not beheaded until May 30.

in these lausts many people are in need, that our sub-priest, by causes occurred, might not have been sent along. But he has accepted such a journey. To be with you for about a moon. You will know how to stay here. For we may also be here and otherwise. God grant that he may do you much good, amen, and let him be your command. May God's grace be with you all, Amen. At Wittenberg, on Tuesday after *Exaudi* [May 30] 1525.

No. 869.

Eisenach.

June 1, 1525.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Answer to Luther's request for improvement of the University of Wittenberg.

Handwritten in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, p. 124, 22. 14. Printed by Burkhardt, 'p. 83 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 184. - This letter is the reply to Luther's letter of May 20, mentioned in No. 859, which has been lost.

Our greeting before. Worthy and esteemed, dear devotee! We have heard the length of your letter, and since it concerns the entertainment of the most necessary persons in Wittenberg and the university there, we do not want to reassure you that our mind and opinion is not to let the laudable work perish, but are rather inclined to help it, so that it may increase and be comforting to all of Christendom and the German nation. As it has been the will of the Highborn Prince Friderich, Duke of Saxony, Elector, of laudable memory, of our dear brother. But now that we are not able to order things constantly according to your reports, due to the burdensome trades and runs, we graciously request that you enable the persons everywhere whom you report to us and are to read, so that they will do diligently and not celebrate in that which is due to each until our arrival. For if God Almighty helps us, of which we have no doubt that he will do it, that we will stop the senseless uprisings here outside in these lands, and submit ourselves to the electoral office in Saxony, we want to make the arrangements with your and other scholars' advice and concern, so that we will not be found wanting for the preservation of the University of God to the praise and benefit of common Christianity, that you may well put them off on our account. All this

we did not want to behave you graciously opinion. Date Eisenach, Thursday after *Exaudi* [June 1, Anno 25.

Note. ,

We also do not want to refrain from asking the good God with all lovers of His divine word for us, that His grace may be imparted to us, to act and do that which is His divine will and favor in these anxious and dwindling times, as we provide for you in all ways. *Date uts.*

No. 870.

Eisenach.

June 1, 1525.

Duke John Frederick of Saxony to Luther.

Response to Luther's request (No. 859) for improvement of the university.

From the copy in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, p. 121, 22.14, in Burkhardt, p. 84 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 185.

Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have read all the contents of your letter with a humble request that we would like to support and help our lord and father, so that the high school and university in Wittenberg, after it was not provided with a man who would be in service to it, might again be appointed, and the persons who move away daily be preserved, and have noted such notification from you to your grace; We have also talked with our Lord Father about it, and have noted so much of his love that his loved ones are inclined to support you on the same occasion, and if his loved ones were to go down to the church, to inform their minds, and to help promote, so that the university may once again, as much as possible, be preserved. Therefore, it is our most gracious request that you use all possible diligence to preserve the university, for whatever our Lord and Father may know how to do to accommodate it, his love will undoubtedly not be lacking. That we do not want to save you in our gracious opinion, so that we are inclined to you. Date Eisenach, Thursday after *Exaudi* [June 1] Anno 25.

No. 871.

Wittenberg.

June 2, 1525.

To the Elector Albrecht of Mainz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 678.

No. 872.

Wittenberg.

June 3, 1525.

To Christoph Jörger at Tolleth.

Luther sends Michael Stiefel to him as a preacher.

From Raupach's Evangel. Oesterreich, erste Fortsetzung (Hamburg 1736. 4.), p. 37 in De Wette, vol. II, p. 676 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 312.

To the strict and firm, Christopher Jörger 1) to Tolleth and Kreusbach, my favorable, special dear gentleman and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Strict and firm, dear Junkherr! I am sending you Mr. Michel Stiefeln as a preacher, as you have asked me, and I ask you again to let him be your command. He is a pious, learned, sedate and diligent man, so that I hope he will be of good use to you. I have also written to your dear mother, as you requested, through this Mr. Michael. May God give you all His blessing, that you may see and spread His glory, amen, and greet me in Christ your dear mother and all yours. Hiemit GOtt befehlt. At Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Exaudi [June 3] 1525.

Martinus Luther.

No. 873.

(Wittenberg.)

June 3, 1525.

To D. Johann Rühel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 682.

No. 874.

Wittenberg.

June 5, 1525.

To D. Johann Rühel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 684.

1) Christoph Jörger was the eldest son of the knight and governor in Oesterreich ob der Ens, Wolfgang Jörger (died 1524), born in 1502, later a councilor of Maximilian II. He was, together with his mother Dorothea, née von Mining, a zealous promoter of the Gospel in Oesterreich. He died on January 19, 1578 as ErbLand-Hofmeister in Oesterreich ob der Ens. - Tolleth is a castle in the Hausruck district in Upper Austria.

No. 875.

Wittenberg.

June 10, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends a letter (which no longer exists) to the Elector, exhorting him not to postpone the marriage of the Elector-Prince.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* u, fol. 333. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 293d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 679 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 189. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 978.

To his brother, M. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Saxony, who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! I am sending a letter to the Elector, my dear Spalatin, because I thought that was enough, since the younger prince surrenders completely to the will of the older one. 2) The clergyman for Prussia has not yet appeared; today you are looking for him, and when you find him, he will be asked, and it will be written to you. The dangers of a thing that is drawn out, I think, can be gathered sufficiently from proverbs, from experience and from examples. The sayings are: Procrastination has harmed those who were ready, and: There is danger ahead. "Night deadline, year deadline." He who is not skilful today will be even less so tomorrow. If one has guessed, it is necessary to put it into practice soon. Certainly such sayings are gleaned from experience, and scriptural passages dealing with sacred things agree with them, as Paul exhorts "that we should not receive the grace of God in vain," and the bride in the Song of Songs laments that the bridegroom had departed when she hesitated to open. And in German one says: "Wenn GOtt grüßet, soll man danken, item: Wenn man das Ferkel beut, soll mau den Sack herhalten." A pagan example: since Hannibal could, he did not want to bring Rome to ruin; afterwards he could not, since he wanted to. In the Holy Scriptures: Since Esau could have the birthright, he despised it; afterwards he wept

2) On August 6, Spalatin was in Wittenberg, as he writes to Warbeck, to negotiate with Luther by order of the Elector (probably because of the marriage of the Elector Prince to Sibylla of Jülich). - "The clergyman for Prussia" is Poliander.

in vain. And Christ says Joh. 7, 34: "You will search for me and will not find me"; [Joh. 12, 36. 35:] "Believe in the light, because you have it, so that the darkness will not overtake you." Summa: All Scripture, all creation, all experience testifies that the temporal benefits of God are indeed temporal, therefore they do not last, but are in a constant course and violent movement,¹⁾ therefore one must seize each one,²⁾ whatever it may be, when and where one can, so that it does not escape. But what they pretend, that they will be safe of their minds, is foolish. For no man's heart is in his power; the devil is exceedingly powerful, who more frequently separates even those who are already united, and how many examples of broken marriages there are for this cause alone, that they have been postponed! How much more danger is to be feared here, since the marriage has not yet been publicly consummated. They must be admonished that they should not fight against all this alone. They will not bring it to pass that this is void and false, by their one and new example; therefore may they stand in fear, if they heartily desire that the thing be done. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the day before Trinity Sunday [June 10] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 876.

Königsberg.

June 11, 1525.

Paul Speratus to Luther.

(Fragment.)

Speratus reports that Martin Cellarius has arrived in Königsberg, but is being kept locked up so that he does not spread poison. He is to be examined.

Printed in Kapps kleiner Nachlese, vol. II, p. 677, with the superscription: *Paulus Speratus, Dominica Trinitatis, ad D. M. Lutherum*; in *Acta Borussica*, I, 810 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 191.

... that Martin Cellarius 3) has arrived here, whose spirit is to be tested. For he seems to share Münzer's and Carlstadt's spirit. We

1) *impetu*. Walch translates it by: "low tide".

2) In the editions, we think, there is a wrong punctuation by putting a comma before *quidquid*.

3) This small fragment is of particular importance to us because it confirms what we stated in our edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, pp. 24b f.

have summoned Cellarius to our court, 4) so that he might not roam around the city spreading poison. In the meantime, he is being treated most kindly, 5) until his spirit is tested. If he should be bad, we wish that he will come to terms again, but if he is good, he will be honored as is right.

No. 877.

Wittenberg.

June 12, 1525.

To Nic. Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 135, no. 784 (2).

No. 878.

Frankfurt a. M. June

12, 1525.

Carlstadt to Lntner.

He asks Luther to forgive him for everything he sinned against him out of the old Adam and to intercede for him with the Elector. He apologizes for not having participated in the riot. If he had not already responded to Luther's writing (against the heavenly prophets), he would no longer do so. He piteously pleads that Luther take care of him, his wife and his child; he has nowhere to take refuge.

A copy of the letter, probably originally in Latin, is in the Weimar Archives, N, p. 367, No. 183. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 85 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 193.

God's Grace and Peace. Venerable Doctor and dear Godfather! This is my request that you forgive me for all that I, moved by the old Adam, have sinned against you. Then look at my poor and miserable wife and child, have mercy on them and forgive us.

The authorities have shown that the *homo miser*, whom Luther kept hidden, was not Cellarius, but *Carlstadt*. The most dangerous time for the real or supposed participants in the peasants' revolt was around June; on May 30, Muenzer was beheaded, on July 1, 34 rebels in Rothenburg. Cellarius, as we can see from this document, was already in Königsberg at this time, away from danger. There he was kept "in Christian honest custody," that is, closed off from contact with the outside world, and only regained his freedom on February 9, 1526. Therefore, Melanchthon's letter to Brismann (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 756) cannot be dated to August 1525, but, because it reports Cellarius' arrival in Wittenberg, to March 1526 at the earliest. Thus, an alibi for Cellarius seems to be completely proven.

4) Instead of *conscivimus* (from *conscisco*), *conxivimus* (from *concio*) will be read.

5) He was allowed to read and write.

write that we again come to ours. For I know neither counsel nor help to seek in these dwindling and outrageous courses. There is turmoil from there to the French countryside, which I am hostile and hateful to, and have never trusted nor want to trust. I have written and answered your letter; 1) if I had not done so, I would not have done so now, because I now understand the decisions of this world. If you find anything in my booklets that is too close or offensive to you, I can suffer you to punish it and pay me. I have resolved not to write, preach or teach anything in the future, and I intend to persist in this resolution as much as I can. Do as a Christian brother and friend of God and commit my wife, child and myself against our most gracious Elector, and bring us in again. I will earn this in humility and diligence, and show myself in such a way against Christians and the like that you will not receive any disfavor because of your intercession. Committed to the living God. Date at Frankfurt am Main. Monday after Trinitatis [June 12] Anno 25. Please answer in writing.

Let neither trouble nor wrath turn you away from supporting us poor and afflicted. For what I will not or cannot earn, God our Lord will reward abundantly, even though I will always do my utmost to satisfy your will. Prove your Christian love and do not neglect us wretched people. We have no peace, neither from travelers nor from peasants, and fear and hardship have surrounded us. My wife will tell you how I was escorted by the council of the peasants in Franconia and how their escort helped me. 2) *Date uts.* God preserve us all.

Your benevolent servant
Endres Karlstat.

No. 878a.

Wittenberg. June 15, 1525.

To Joh. Rühel, Joh. Thür and Caspar Müller.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 726.

1) That is, to the writing "Wider die himmlischen Propheten. For more details about the two writings that Carlstadt published against it, see St. Louis, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 226.

2) From this passage it can be inferred that Carlstadt's wife was the bearer of the letter to Luther.

No. 879.

Königsberg. June 15, 1525.

Johann Brismann to Luther.
(Fragment.)

Brismann reports his marriage, as well as that of the bishop of Samland. Duke Albrecht of Prussia had written to Luther about Martin Cellarius, who had come there, and was awaiting his judgment about him.

Printed in Kapps kleiner Nachlese, Vol. II, p. 676 (with the superscription: *Joh. Brism. ad Doct. M. Lutherum. E Regiomonte, die XV. Junii 1525*); in *Acta Bornssica*, vol. I, p.818; in *Gebser, epp. Brismanni*, 1837, p. 1 and in Erl. We have translated this document into German.

God, who, according to His wonderful providence, has called and led me to Prussia, has given me, certainly without my knowing it, a maiden as a wife. 3) I know that this was done by God's decree.

There is also betrothed to the bishop of Samland a noble virgin, the daughter of Conrad von Truchsess, on the eighth day of June, that is, about the fourth day before our wedding. You pray that God will shortly tread Satan under our feet [Rom. 16, 20].

The Lord of Samland sends you his heartfelt greetings. Greetings also from my rib, which knows you only by doctrine and name.

Martin Cellarius came to us, who left Wittenberg three years ago with Stork and Marcus, those prophets, and went away. 4) Man, rather the little man 5) can find no end (*est ineloquibilis*) in the boasting of his spirit. But God, who makes us see the light in his light [Ps. 36, 10], shows by his word that this is the spirit of falsehood and error. The most noble prince writes to you about this matter and also expects your opinion and judgment from you.

No. 880.

Wittenberg. June 16, 1525.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 726.

3) Brismann married on June 12 Elisabetha Sackheim from Königsberg, who is said to have been abbess of the monastery in Löbenicht in Königsberg before.

4) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 11a.

5) *hominucio*. He must have been very small in stature, because Melanchthon (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 756) calls him the same.

No. 881.

Wittenberg.

June 17, 1525.

To the Christians of Liefland.

See St. Louis ed. vol. X, 258.

No. 882.

Wittenberg.

June 17, 1525.

To Michael Stiefel in Tolleth.¹⁾

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 672.

No. 883.

Wittenberg.

June 17, 1525.

To Leonhard Koppe in Torgau.

Luther sends a petition from the escaped nuns, and invites him to his wedding.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 217; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 903; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 548; in Walch, vol. XXI, 92; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 9 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 321.

Grace and peace in Christ! I will let you read this letter of complaint and this wretched writing, worthy father Prior, 2) if you do not know someone who could help with it; for I am well afraid that it is too high and too much for your person. But if you do not know, take the letter back to me, so that I can seek help and advice elsewhere; for I am sorry for the wretched children.

You also know what has happened to me, that I am braided in the braids of my metzen. God has pleasure to wonder, to fool and to ape me and the world. Greet me your Audi, and send you, when I give the prandium, that you help my bride to give good testimony, how I am a man. Hereby commanded by God. At Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Trinity [June 17] Anno 1525.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 884.

Wittenberg.

June 20, 1525.

To Wenc. Link in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 728.

1) Stiefel was formerly a preacher in Esslingen, but now in Tolleth in the Jörgerschen Haus.

2) "Prior" Luther calls him, because he was several times helpful to help the nuns out of the convent.

No. 885.

Wittenberg.

June 21, 1525.

To the Marshal Johann von Dolzig.

Luther invites him to the wedding feast and asks for game.

Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 40, from the collection of Sagittarius; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 11 (comparing it with the original in the possession of Kaufmann Binder in Stuttgart); in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 53, p. 322 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 93.

To the strict and firm Johann Dolzig, Marshal of Sachsel, my favorable master and good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Strict, honorable, dear lord and friend! There is no doubt that my outrageous cry has come before you, as if I had become a husband. Although this is almost strange to me, and I hardly believe it myself, the witnesses are so strong that I have to believe them for their service and honor, and I plan to seal and make sure of it next Tuesday with my father and mother, along with other good friends, in a collation. For this reason, I ask you kindly, if it is not burdensome, to advise me faithfully with a wild pretzel and to be there yourself, and to help to set the seal with joy, and what belongs to it. Hereby God bless, amen. On the Wednesday after Viti or *Corporis Christi* [June 21] 1525. Martinus Luther.

No. 886.

(Wittenberg.)

June 21, 1525.

To Leonhard Koppe in Torgau.

Luther invites him again to his wedding feast and asks him to bring a barrel of the best Torgau beer.

Transcript in Trier at the city library, Ms. 1880. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 202.

To the careful and wise Lenhart Koppen, citizen of Torgau and prior in the Aue, 3) my dear lord and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Worthy Prior and Father! God has caught me suddenly and unawares with the [venerable

3) In our template: Auwe(?), which is probably to be resolved by "Aue". "Torgau" is written there: "Torgaw".

1) bonds of holy matrimony, that I must confirm the same with a collation on Tuesday. So that my father and mother and all good friends may be the happier, my Lord Caterin and I kindly ask you to have a barrel of the best Torgian beer, which you may have, brought here for my fare and in the most beneficial way. I will give you wages and everything honestly. I wanted to send a load, but I did not know whether I would be able to do so, because it must be ripe and cool, so that it tastes good, and I set the penalty on it, where it is not good, that you should drink it alone. Furthermore, I ask that you do not stay outside together with your Audi and appear cheerful. You should bring along Magister Gabriel and his wife, as long as it is possible for him to do so without food. For I know well that his good is not much more than mine, therefore I did not want to write to him in particular, even though he had forgotten mine. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen. On Wednesday after *Corporis Christi* or *Viti* [June 21] Anno 1525. Martinus Lutherus.

No. 887.

Wittenberg.

June 21, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Invitation to the wedding feast.

The original is in *Cod. Gothan.* 122, fol. 27. Manuscript in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 334. Printed *Spalat. ap. Mencken*, vol. II, p. 646; in *Spalat. ap. Schelhorn, amoenitat.* vol. IV, p. 426; in Aurifaber, vol. II, bl. 296; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 12 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 203. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 977.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord. My and my Catharina's wedding feast will be next Tuesday, that is, after the feast of St. John the Baptist, to which I invite you, my dear Spalatin, so that I may know that you sincerely wish me happiness on my marriage, and ask that you may not be absent. I have also written to the marshal about Wildpret and at the same time have invited him to a

1) In the original, as the Erl. Briefw. indicates, from the word located here only: "e.... igen" is to be read.

You will make an effort that something can be obtained. I am sending back the letter from the King of Denmark. But I don't know anything about the books of the King of England. I will also pray as much as I can, and in his time I will write, 2) now I could not. You will remind me when there will be leisure and opportunity for a messenger. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Viti [June 21] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 888.

(Wittenberg.)

June 21, 1525.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2639, annex, no. 127.

No. 889.

(Wittenberg.)

June 25, 1525.

To Spalatin in Torgau.

Luther gives him the time of the wedding feast, misunderstood by Leonhard Koppe, very precisely and asks for timely sending of the game pretzel.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 253. Printed in *Buddeus*, P. 49; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 14 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 219. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 980.

For the attention of Magister Spalatin, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Lest you be mistaken, my dear Spalatin, Tuesday itself will be the day of my wedding feast, so that at the breakfast 3) of that day will be the highest and most important banquet. Therefore, the venison must not come too late, but be there in time tomorrow towards evening, if it is possible. For I want to arrange this pomp in one day for the ordinary guests. I am writing this because L. Koppe did not understand me from my letter, so that you may not also misunderstand me. Farewell. Early on Sunday after St. John's Day [June 25], 1525.

Martin Luther.

2) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 7b f.

3) The *prandium* was usually taken at 9 o'clock in the morning, the *coena* in the afternoon at 5 o'clock.

No. 890.

(Wittenberg.)

(June or July 1525.)

To Caspar Müller, Chancellor at Mansfeld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 77, no. 770.

No. 891.

Wittenberg.

July 19, 1525.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

Luther gives this letter to Ambrosius Moiban, who had received the theological doctorate in Wittenberg on June 26, and warns against the communion revelers.

Handwritten in the library at Heidelberg. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 296; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 18 (with the wrong date: "26. Julius") and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 220. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 981.

Grace and peace in the Lord! D. Moiban lives and returns to you, my dear Heß, after he has been made a regular of the [noble] families 1) by us, out of obedience to the brothers and to the gospel. But I remind you to beware of the prophets who are now wandering about everywhere and, prompted by Carlstadt and Zwingli, think and speak very evil of the Lord's Supper. But I have not yet despaired of Carlstadt. 2) God do what is good. But you will hear everything from Moiban that is going on here. The peasants are subdued almost everywhere. Greet all of ours and pray for us. Finally, be well in Christ's grace, amen, my dear brother. At Wittenberg, on Wednesday after Margaret [July 19] 1525.

Martin Luther.

1) *gentilis cum gentibus* is a joking expression chosen by Luther, which could also be translated: to the Gentiles with the Gentiles.

2) The answer to the question: What entitles Luther to any good hopes for Carlstadt? will be impossible for those who deny that Luther just at this time kept Carlstadt hidden in his house. (See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 24, Note 4.) On June 12, Carlstadt would have written to Luther from Frankfurt a. M. (No. 877). His wife delivered the letter, and had to return from Wittenberg to Frankfurt before Carlstadt could find out about the asylum Luther offered him there. Given the long distance between the two places, it cannot be assumed that Carlstadt could have arrived in Wittenberg earlier than the beginning of July. Since Luther himself says (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 1824, No. 129) that Carlstadt stayed longer than eight weeks in his house, Carlstadt's stay there must have lasted until the beginning of September.

No. 892.

Wittenberg.

July 20, 1525.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

About the employment of Spalatin and Brisger in Altenburg.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. IX, p. 1588; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 549; in Walch, vol. XXI, 126; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 14 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 323.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, John, Duke of Saxony, Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! M. Georgius Spalatinus has reported to me that 3) in his recent farewell to E. C. F. G., he has obtained the right to continue to concern himself with the profession and burden of the parish office in Altenburg, and has asked me to write to E. C. F. G. for this purpose. Thus I humbly inform E. C. F. G. that I still hold to my previous opinion; for the person is well learned, well eloquent, in addition sedate and chaste, and, what moves me most of all, has a good, righteous heart, who means the word of God and the souls with faithfulness. And whether he will be weak in body, experience shall teach us; otherwise there is no faith here. Moreover, the council of Altenburg wrote to me to have our prior, as indicated by Doctor Wenceslaus, next to Magister Spalatin: I did not spare my diligence. But because the above-mentioned council is seeking this from E. C. F. G., it will be necessary that E. C. F. G. request the same prior, Magister Eberhard, in writing for the parish office, if he pleases E. C. F. G.. For the person is skilful and capable enough; but because he makes himself difficult for it, and has undertaken otherwise, a stronger profession is needed here than is the council's and mine. Put all this in E. C. F. G.'s concern and pleasure. But there is one thing I must humbly request of E. C. F. G., that E. C. F. G. would have a gracious understanding that the parish goods or interest of those who have used them up to now, would be

3) orally, because Spalatin was in Wittenberg on July 20.

to the present and new pastors. For it is unpleasant that they should work, and others should take the wages, as they have done until now, and would probably do forever, if they were allowed to. So it is also to be considered that [it] might henceforth become too difficult for the council and the city with a new provision. He who does not want to preach the gospel should not feed on the preaching of the gospel; it is permitted him lukewarmly enough.

And for myself, as a caretaker for the Gospel, I ask that the monks of Altenburg seek to confirm their previous unchristian nature, in God's disservice and vexatious abuse, with E. C. F. G., so that E. C. F. G. will graciously turn it away from them, and turn them away to the Word of God and to the image of other Christian communities. For it would be blasphemous, where the fallen idolatry should be set up again, as there is no doubt in my mind, that they will almost make an effort with ECFG. And although I knew that E. C. F. G., by the grace of God, knows all this well himself and is inclined to do it, I did not like to let E. C. F. G. remember it in my humble opinion. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, on the Thursday after Margaret [July 20, 1525.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

No. 893.

Wittenberg.

July 21, 1525.

To Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz.

Luther intercedes for Asmus Günthel of Eisleben, who was allegedly involved in the peasant uprising.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 224; in the Jena edition (1556), vol. III, p. 166; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 155; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 549; in Walch, vol. XXI, 128; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 16; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 324.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg 2c, Elector, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ JEsu. Most reverend in GOD Father, most noble, most highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! I am

report how a citizen's son from Eisleben, named Asmus Günthel, was caught by E. C. F. G., as if he should have helped storming the outworks 1) 2c. Now, however, his father is doing so miserably, and indicates how his son did not storm, but only ate and drank inside at that time, with a piteous request that I would make an intercession to E. C. F. G. to save his life, which I then could not refuse: is therefore my humble request that E. C. F. G. would consider that this riot is not a crime. would see that this rebellion is not quelled by human hand or counsel, but by God's grace, who has had mercy on all of us, and first on the authorities, and in turn also act graciously and mercifully with the poor people, as is well befitting spiritual authorities, and more due than secular ones, so that God's grace may be recognized and thanked, and it may be proven before the world that one has not sought and desired lust.

For otherwise, unfortunately, there are all too many who treat people so cruelly and act so ungratefully toward God, as if they want to wantonly arouse the anger and displeasure of God and the people in turn, and invite upon themselves a new and worse turmoil. For God soon decreed otherwise, that those who do not show mercy perish without mercy.

So it is not good to be master with unwillingness, reluctance and enmity of the subjects; it also has no permanence. It is good that earnestness and wrath are proven, since the people were found rebellious and stubborn and obdurate in their work. But now that they have been pushed, they are different people, and worthy of mercy in addition to punishment. Too much tears the sack on both sides; but measure is good for all things, and mercy prevails against judgment, says St. James [Jac. 2, 13].

I hope that E. C. F. G. will know how to keep to this in a Christian way. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, on Friday Praxedis [July 21] Anno 1525.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

1) According to Krumhaar, "Mansfeld", p. 163, probably the monastery outworks at Helbra or Helfta. In the old editions: "Furwerck", which De Wette, and according to him the Erlangen edition, has dissolved by "Fuhrwerk".

No. 894.

Wittenberg.

July 22, 1525.

To Wenceslaus Link in Altenburg.

From the appointment of Prior Eberhard Brisger to Altenburg and the departure of Link to Nuremberg.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 296b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 17 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 222. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 981 f.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have written to you before. The prior had written and invited you to his wedding, 1) but the messenger had left. He certainly proves to be difficult against this profession, although he is skilful and useful, because he intended to become a layman. But I have written to the prince that he appoint him and see to it that the income of the parish is restored to the ministers of the Word, and also that a measure is set for the godless canons and that they are not strengthened in their opinions and customs. I have good hope in everything concerning this matter. The prince has complained against me that you are leaving his country, and it would not please me either if I did not hope that you will produce fruit there, and if I thought that your Altenburgs are farmers. For I am not moved by your reason for being angry. Be well in the Lord. "I am bound to Kethen 3) and imprisoned, and lie on the Bore", that is, dead to the world. But my chain (*catena*) greets you and your chain. Wittenberg, on the Saturday before Magdalene [July 22] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 895.

(Wittenberg.)

July 31, 1525.

To Wenceslaus Link in Altenburg.

Luther recommends a poor person to him for care and reports that he and Brisger have given the monastery to the prince.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 297; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 19 and in Erl. Briefw., Bd. V, p. 223. German in Walch, Bd. XXI, 982 f.

1) Brisger married a Wittenberg woman on July 25.

2) namely in Nuremberg.

3) Luther plays here with the words "kethen" and "bore", taking the former for "chains", the other for "bier".

Grace and peace in the Lord! I recommend this John Queytzen, a troubled and poor man, to you, my dear Wenceslaus, because you could provide him with a small service, although I send him to you with little hope, since you are more used to sending such people to me, and we also have many other poor brothers; but [I do it] because he asked me in such a way, trusting in you, that the Lord might provide something for him there. If this is nothing, then the way and the same journey is free for him if he wants to return. The prior sends his regards to you, who is now no longer prior, but Magister Eberhard. We have given up the income of the monastery and placed it in the hands of the prince. Be well and pray for me. On Monday after Jacobi [July 31] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 896.

Wittenberg.

July 31, 1525.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther reports to him that a son has been born to Amsdorf's brother and gives news of the Peasants' War.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 297; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 19 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 223. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 983.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I report the news to you, my dear Amsdorf, that a son has been born to your brother Bartolus, whom he has called me to baptize; I would like nothing better, but I absolutely cannot go away nor be absent.

It was the constant rumor here that the Swabian League 4) had been defeated at Memmingen, but yesterday from the court ge

4) Walch translates *conjuracionem Suevicam* by: "die Schwäbische Rotte", but there can hardly be any doubt that it must be given by "der schwäbische Bund". - All editions, except the Erl. Briefw., misread: *Meiningen* instead of: *Memmingen*. The Allgaeu peasants had encamped in front of Memmingen, into which the Swabian Union captain Diepold von Stein had thrown 2000 men on foot and 200 horsemen, who made a lucky sortie, but without being able to drive off the peasants. These only withdrew voluntarily on the approach of the federal army under Truchsess on June 27, heading for Babenhausen and Obergünzburg, not in flight, however, but in an orderly fashion, and were only dispersed by treachery near Kempten toward the end of July.

They wrote that the peasants had fled here and there, and that this rumor was null and void; but they assure that 500 horsemen and some footmen, who had been sent to the Cardinal for help, have been laid low at Salzburg, 1) and 100 castles have been taken in Ferdinand's duchy, but in such a way that they want to deliver them back to their lord unharmed, while up to now (as they say) the scribes have been holding them. Hungary is also in great movement. I wrote this so that you could not claim that I had not written anything. But you pray for me. I will be mindful of your Heinrich as soon as I have a job for him. Greet those who are to be greeted in the Lord, and farewell. Wittenberg, Monday after Jacobi [July 31] 1525.

No. 897.

(Wittenberg.) August

1. August 1525.

To Wenceslaus Link in Altenburg.

Luther complained about the malicious attitudes of certain courtiers against the Gospel, for whose sake no one had to flee. About the departure of Link to Nuremberg and the appointment of Brisger to Altenburg.

Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 2976 (with the wrong heading: *Ad amicos quosdam*); by De Wette, vol. III, p. 20 (with the correction of the address made by him) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 224. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 984.

Grace and peace! I believe and learn that the tyrants at court, after Frederick's death, are more submissive than before, and that they would rage more against the gospel than the Georgians,²⁾ if only they could. But what is in it? Therefore neither Joachim nor anyone else must flee until they are driven out by force. Christ still reigns in the midst of his enemies [Ps. 110, 2.], so that they grit their teeth and perish, and yet that is lost which they would gladly have [Ps. 112, 10.]. Enough has been said about your departure 3) to Nuremberg, and the question is ended.

1) On this event, see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 144, No. 790.

2) That is, the chapter of St. George's Abbey at Altenburg, not, as Aurifaber states, the followers of Duke George.

3) *De abitu tuo* is De Wette's Conjecture instead: *Deo tuo* at Aurifaber.

If the Altenburgs want our prior, then it is necessary that they ask for him, because in the last letter of the prince to me there is no mention of it, although I had very strongly insisted on it. Thus this court is exceedingly negligent in the matters of Christ, under the best and most Christian prince. Fare well and pray for me. On the eighth day after Jacobi [Aug. 1] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 898.

Wittenberg.

(After August 15) 1525. 4)

To Johann Brismann in Königsberg.

Luther responds to Brismann's letter of June 15. He reports that he had written two letters to Duke Albrecht. He reports that Carlstadt had been secretly received by him, but would not depart from his mind. He writes about the evil consequences of the peasants' revolt, about his marriage, about the efforts of Duke Georg and others against the Gospel, and much more.

Printed in *Andr. Vogler's Briefsammlung, Regiomont.* 1622, no. 4; in *Acta Borussica, tom. I*, p. 800; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 113; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 21 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 225 f.

To the extremely dear brother in Christ, Johann Brismann, evangelist in Prussia, at Königsberg.

Grace and peace in Christ! May your marriage make Christ happy, my dear Bris

4) The date: *post ascensionis [Mariae]* is supposed to be in the original, which, as De Wette states, was in the Wallenrodt library in Königsberg, but is no longer available. Since the indication of a weekday is missing, so the date cannot be determined exactly, but De Wette's datirung: "16. August", will come close to the truth. Several times doubts have been raised against the correctness of this date, so by Seidemann in *De Wette*, vol. VI, p. 481, note 1, and for it: *visitationis [Mariae]*, that is "after July 2" conjicirt, which we were also inclined to assume earlier (see St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p. 25 a). Now we have decided on the above date (which the Erl. Briefw. has also set), guided mainly by this consideration: On June 12, Carlstadt wrote from Frankfurt a. M. the exceedingly miserable letter No. 877 to Luther, which his wife delivered. The distance of Frankfurt from Wittenberg is in a straight line a little over 46 German geographical miles, which at that time could hardly be covered in less than eight days. This way had to be made three times, before Carlstadt could enter the asylum offered to him by Luther; so the presumable time of Carlstadt's arrival in Wittenberg is about the sixth of July. In this letter, however, already a longer presence of Carlstadt with Luther is presupposed.

when. I have written before about Martin Cellarius and now in more detail to Prince Albrecht, 1) at the same time about the establishment of the ceremonies, so I will be very brief to you, because I am overloaded with so many writings. If Carlstadt's or Zwingli's poison from the Sacrament should come to you, see that you are vigilant. The wretched man 2) has been secretly preserved with me. Now the whole world is too narrow for him; he is pursued everywhere in such a way that he has been forced to seek protection from his enemy. I have treated the man as kindly as I could and stood by him, but he does not leave his senses, even since he has been convicted, as this kind of spirits is wont to do. So beware of him and his teachings. I have found that everything in him is void, especially in this matter.

Muenzer and the peasants have brought down the gospel so much in our country, and raised up the minds of the papists so much, that it seems that it must be raised up all over again. For this reason, I too have now testified to the Gospel not with words alone, but also with deeds, by taking a nun as my wife, in order to show my contempt for the triumphant and Jo! Jo! screaming enemies, so that it would not appear as if I had desisted. Although I am old and clumsy, if I can, I will also do other things that hurt those and confess the word.

Duke George, the Elector of Mark and the two Brunswickers have held a small concilium,³⁾ and have conspired to restore everything. Our prince

1) These two letters are not available.

2) *homo miser* is, as De Wette has already correctly indicated, Carlstadt, not Cellarius, whose alibi is proven from No. 876. Cellarius did not come to Wittenberg (as Seidemann, "Münzer", p. 97, states) in July 1525, but at the earliest in March 1526. The letter of Melancthon to Brismann (*Corp. Ref.*, vol. 1,755) mentioned (*ibid.* p. 98) is not written in August 1525, but in March 1526 at the earliest. See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, pp. 24 f. Cellarius is not from Stargard, as the *Corp. Ref.* states, which we followed there, but from Stuttgart.

3) namely at Dessau on July 19 (not, as Seidemann says in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 481, note 1, on June 26). This also serves to confirm the date we have set.

Johann has been approached by Duke Georg with great efforts, but he is still bravely standing firm, so that that person almost becomes nonsensical and wants to burst with anger. I believe that the Landgrave of Hesse is also still bravely standing firm, although he is being worked on by the Duke of Brunswick, the legate of the Council. The imperial cities are now holding consultations that they want to stay with the Gospel, even though the angry princes are threatening to the utmost. All in all, it looks as if a major war is about to break out, and that it will throw the godless princes to the ground if God does not protect them.

Duke George thinks that, since Frederick is dead, he is able to do everything, but Christ laughs at him even more, and will laugh at him even more if you pray with us. The cause of the peasants has come to rest everywhere, 4) after about a hundred thousand have been slain, so many orphans made, but the rest so deprived in life that the appearance of Germany has never been more miserable. Thus the victors rage, so that they may complete their misdeeds.

Greetings to the new wife and the most reverend Father, the Bishop of Samland. Since I could not write at length, I wanted to do it briefly. May you also be well in the Lord and pray for me. Wittenberg, after the Ascension 5) [of the Virgin Mary] 1525. Martin Luther

No. 899.

Wittenberg.

August 18, 1525.

To the council and preacher at Domitsch.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 748.

No. 899a .

September 1525.

Admonition to the printers.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, XI, VI.

No. 900 .

Wittenberg.

September 1, 1525.

To King Henry VIII of England.

See St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 378.

4) This was not the case at the beginning of July.

5) Otherwise, *ascensionis* is not used of the Assumption of Mary, as here, but *assurptionis*.

No. 901 .

Wittenberg.

September 6, 1525.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

About Brisger's appointment to Altenburg and the rumor that the Elector was not favorable to the university.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten *Cod. Dessav.* A, No. 187 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 203. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 298 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 26 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 235.

To the worthy man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Bishop of Altenburg, his brother who is exceedingly dear in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have already written and said before, my dear Spalatin, that M. Eberhard must be summoned by a letter from the prince; when this will have happened, he will be there as soon as possible. But the Altenburgers must see to it that this happens, as I have long since indicated to them.

I am writing to the prince on behalf of Joachim. The fact that the great ones are dying this year is perhaps due to the fact that so many signs are also affecting them. I am pleased that you are gradually getting used to your Altenburg. ¹⁾ The rumor has come to us that the Prince's mind is alienating itself from our academy, and that he even receives our memories with displeasure, as if they were unreasonable. We likewise hold the students together only with displeasure; we will soon break out of all gates into all the world, if we realize that this is true, but perhaps this is the work of Satan, the enemy of good. May Christ show us mercy. Amen. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Aegidii [Sept. 6] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 902 .

Wittenberg,

September 6, 1525.

To Leonhard Beier.

Judgment on a marriage case.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Gud.* 214, fol. 19b. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 65; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 27 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 235 f.

1) Spalatin had taken office in Altenburg on August 5 and preached for the first time on the 6th.

Grace and peace to Christ! You have judged correctly, my dear Leonhard, in the overwritten marriage matter. If now the force of the sword were to press upon it, then the adulterer, who was so impudent and shameless in the first rut, would have to be severely punished or expelled from the country. If the girl will not let herself be persuaded by good words to forgive him and give her consent, she must not and cannot be forced by law. Nor is there any hope for your happy marriage if the fiancé subjects himself to such things before marriage. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Aegidii [Sept. 6] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 903 .

Wittenberg.

September 6, 1525.

To the Elector John of Saxony, together with Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melancthon.

Expert opinion of the Wittenberg theologians on the Ansbach council of the Protestant-minded theologians there. - As a result of the Nuremberg Treaty, Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg summoned his estates to Ansbach on September 25, 1524, where he presented 23 articles for their consideration. He also appointed a committee of six zealous Catholic and six Protestant-minded theologians to give their opinion. The advice of these twelve later appeared in print; that of the Protestant-minded, delivered at Ansbach on September 30, 1524, under the title: "Theology of the Protestant". September 1524, under the title: "Eyn Ratschlag, den etliche Christenliche Pfarrherrn, Prediger, vund andere, Göttlicher schrifft verstendige, Ein Ein Fürsten, welcher yetzigen stritigen leer halb, auff den abschied, in nthalteys Reichßtag zu Nürnberg, Christlicher wahrhait vnderricht begert, die auch solcher Ratschlag zur notturfftlich sein, Vund durch güttliche schrifft verthedigen wöllenn. Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Senatus. 1525." At the end: "Printed at Nürenberg by Jobst Gutknecht." 150 quarto. Johann Schopper is believed to be the author. On August 21, Casimir sent this publication to the Elector, who gave it to his Wittenberg theologians for evaluation.

Printed in Hocker, Supplement zum Heilsbronnischen Antiquitäten-Schatz; in von der Lith, Erläuterung der Ref.-Historie, p. 109; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. IV, 954; in Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 57 and in Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. VIII ff.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! We have received your Lord's writing together with the booklet sent to us.

and read through with diligence, and give your Lordship our answer and judgment, namely that everything that is discussed and stated in the booklet, pleases us almost well. It is also our coin and of the right blow, so that we have now circumvented and taught for five years, thanking God with joy that elsewhere there are such people who take the right truth so seriously and faithfully to heart, we are also certain that wherever the counsel comes, it shall stand with all honor, not only against the papists, but also against the infernal gates. We also want to stand by those who have proven such articles, as we have done and are obliged to do with our doctrine; for it is the right truth on which both your Lord and the Prince, who sent it to your Lord, comfortingly rely, as far as God gives us grace and strength.

Except for the one article in which they resist the images, we do not hold with them at all; although we do not grant much to the idols, we do not consider them to be condemned, as if it were done against God, if someone has or has had images painted, since Christ also let the Emperor's coin go and also used it himself, since images were and still are standing. But because this booklet is a counsel and to be presented for a final judgment, we know not to blame the pious people's discretion and suggestion, first because they so Christianly offer to be instructed and taught, and for the sake of a small error such a dear good booklet is not to be despised. This we have answered to your lordship's writing and command with submissive diligence, and we ask that it be sent or judged in your lordship's favor and grace, as God will grant. Date Wednesday after Egydi [Sept. 6] Anno 2c. 25.

Your churf. G.

understated

Martinus Luther. Justus
Jonas. Joannes Bugenhagius
Pomeranus.

Philip Melanchthon.

No. 9 04.

Erfurt.

September 9, 1525.

The Council of Erfurt to Luther.

(Regest.)

On May 10, 1525, the council of Erfurt had invited Luther and Melancthon in writing (see St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 113 f., no. 775) to come there to discuss certain articles handed over to them by the subjects. Neither of them came. Now the council sends these articles to Luther with the request to give his opinion about them. Luther complied with this request in his reply to this letter on September 19, 1525.

Handwritten in the Royal State Archives at Magdeburg, Abth. Erfurt, *Libri communium* 1523 - 1526, fol. 263. Printed in the Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet histor.-antiquar. Forschungen des thüringisch-sächsischen Vereins, vol. 15, 1 (Halle 1880), p. 189, No. XIII and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 237.

No. 905 .

i(Wittenbert, in Luther's house.) 1) (Before September 12, 1525.)

Carlstadt to Luther.

Carlstadt urgently asks Luther to remedy the misery of his banishment as soon as possible, since this is in his power, and to let him live in Kemberg, where he can most easily earn his living.

Handwritten in *Cod. Spalat.* at Bern. Printed in Krafft, Briefe und Documente, p. 57 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 238 f.

A. B. Carolstadius to D. M. Luther.

I have not wished to disturb you, venerable sir, from your sweet sleep, for the sake of your

1) The proof that Carlstadt wrote this letter in Luther's house we believe to have provided in the 20th volume of our edition, Introduction, p. 24 f.. That Cellarius could not be the *homo miser* mentioned in No. 898, results from the letter of Paul Speratus to Luther of June 11 (No. 876); therefore, only Carlstadt remains, who can be meant by this designation. Although the Erl. Briefw. still firmly insists (Vol. V, p. 228, Note 4) on Luther's letter to Brismann (No. 898) that *homo miser* does not refer to Carlstadt, but to Cellarius, he nevertheless feels prompted here to ask: "or did Carlstadt write this letter in Luther's house?" Furthermore, he brings the following quotation from the writing of Alberus "Wider die verfluchte lere" 2c., Bl. liij: "But because D. Martinus neglects to obtain genade for Carlstad from the Elector, he writes to Carlstad that he should come and be with him secretly until he obtains genade from the Elector that he may be in the country. Carlstad came and was for some time secretly in D. Martini's house, which no one knew, without D. Martini's faithful famulus Wolff (Sieberger), who secretly brought him food."

Therefore, I pray that you will not be unwilling. I recognize your good deeds and will do my best to repay you. Moreover, as I asked you, venerable Lord, on yesterday, so I again implore you, and beg you, that for the sake of God alone, who has made you rich in innumerable and excellent gifts and has given you honor in the sight of [other] men, you will remedy this [my] banishment. Yes, even if my misfortune does not move you much, I am confident that you will be moved by the poverty of my poor wife and your son and mine, 1) whose possessions are swept away by such a storm. I know that a large part of our liberation is in your will, venerable Lord, not to say in your ability. And it is not necessary that you lose your effort, even if you give it to an ingrate, unless Christ's speech deceives me, which cannot deceive. But behold, I shall never lack the will to give thanks, but if I have the ability, I shall not allow that very thing to be lacking in me. I may have been a not too docile (*commodus*) brother in the past, but henceforth I will be a docile and reverent slave. And I consider that I have been driven to this task by the banishment, since the Lord has willed it so, who can only want the best. Therefore, put away suspicion, since true love does not tend to be suspicious either, turning its eyes to God's will, and look at my misery; help, and help without delay. I would rather live in Kemberg than in Schmiedeberg, because of many advantages for the poor. In Kemberg, the livelihood is easier, there are fat and sandy (*arenosi*) 2) fields, then wood and a market, hops and many such advantages. I add, which is by no means a contemptible consideration, that I will be closer to you, venerable father, and that the boasting of the adversaries is less to be feared. But I do not prescribe anything. Greetings to your wife. God grant that I may see you again safely. Be well in the Lord and be mindful of our affliction.

Your Honor's Slave

Andr. Carolostadius.

1) From this it seems that Luther was his godfather. In the letter No. 878 he calls Luther: "Gevatter".

2) Perhaps: *fructuosi*, fertile.

No. 9 06.

September 12, 1525.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercede for Carlstadt that he may come to Wittenberg for interrogation and settle in Kernberg.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, p. 367, No. 183. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 40; in Walch', vol. XXI, 129; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 28 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 327.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony and Elector and Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave in Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime Prince, most gracious Lord! I come once again with a trouble and unwillingness, but nevertheless E. C. F. G. is in the office, created by God. D. Carlstadt has come to the interrogation to apologize for the riot, and has also sent me an objection 3) to his error, which I will also let go out. Although I now do not know how to advise that he should be around Orlamünde, I still think it fair that he should come to the interrogation. If it were up to E. C. F. G., I think he would be interrogated in Wittenberg, and if he were found innocent, and his contradiction was sufficient, that E. C. F. G. would let him stay in Kemberg, or in a village nearby, because he has firmly resolved never to preach or write for the rest of his life, but to remain silent forever, 4) and to feed on his work. But if he were to be rebelliously overcome from other lands, it would be so much more dangerous for him that he could be attacked here. I am writing this because the poor man's lament makes me very sad, and E. C. F. G. also knows that mercy is to be shown to the wretched, and especially to the innocent.

M. Philipps and I also have the concern that his silence would be bought with such favor and grace, so that he would not have to

3) This is the writing that Carlstadt wrote in Luther's house, which is included in our edition, Vol. XX, 312. Luther's preface to it can be found in *ibid*, vol.

4) Carlstadt had already written almost the same words to Luther on June 12. See No. 878.

He has caused more misery somewhere, either out of revenge or out of final despair. This would be a mighty help against all who have caught his error, to dampen it, that he did not live far from us, as our opinion and grace. But I put this in E. C. F. G.'s gracious concern. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Tuesday after *Gorgonii* [Sept. 12] 1525.

E. C. F. G.
subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 90 7.

(Wittenberg.)

September 15, 1525.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks him to send one of his councilors to take charge of the university.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O.*, p. 124. Printed in *Leipziger Supplement*, p. 40; *ber Walch*, vol. XXI, 131; *bei De Wette*, vol. III, p. 29 and in the *Erlangen edition*, vol. 53, p. 328.

For the attention of my most gracious Lord Duke Hans, Elector z. S.'2c.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Most Reverend Prince, G. H.! Although I, together with the others, comfortably rely on E. C. F. G.'s gracious promise of our university, we can see that E. C. F. G. is prevented from attending due to necessary matters, and especially due to the Diet: in my humble opinion, I cannot refrain from reminding E. C. F. G. that you would like to have the *Dolzken* or someone else 1) come here. and ask that you have the *Dolzken* or someone else 1) come here, or let E. C. F. G. know your opinion in writing; for otherwise it is to be feared, because many lessons are now lying down and some lessons have remained unrewarded so far, and also some are already thinking that we may not receive the journeymen at last. For the school is poor and does not want to suffer a long delay. I did not want to leave this undisclosed to E. C. F. G. recently. See

1) The Elector sent Johann von Dolzig and Hans von Gräfen Dorf to Wittenberg for the regulation of university relations with an instruction dated September 17, which is found in *Cyprian's Nützliche Urkunden*, Vol. II, p. 362. Spalatin was also in Wittenberg because of this matter.

me also, the university will write E. C. F. G. himself. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after *Crucis* [Sept. 15] 1525.

E. C. F. G.
subservient
Martinus Luther.

No. 90 8.

(Torgau.)

September 17, 1525.

Instruction of the Elector for Spalatin to Luther.

Carlstadt receives pardon from the Elector and permission to settle in the Saxon lands, but with the exception of the Thuringian lands and Wittenberg. The place of residence to be chosen should not be further away from Wittenberg than about three miles. Kemberg is expressly excluded, because a country road leads through it.

Handwritten in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N.* 367, No. 183, 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 88 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 241.

First, our dear devout Magister Spalatinus shall give our gracious greeting to our also dear devout Ern Martino Luter.

And thereafter notify him of the following opinion: that we have read the writings which he wrote a few days ago on behalf of Doctor Carolstat, and which he especially addressed to us, together with the excuse of the suspicion,²⁾ concerning the peasant rebellion, and that the said Doctor Carolstat has recognized his error, and is inclined to recant and revoke the same to the glory and praise of God Almighty and for the salvation of his soul, that we gladly heard this, and also received a special joy and pleasure from it out of Christian kinship and duty. And since we as a Christian prince, as we would like to be felt and noted, recognize ourselves guilty, and are also inclined to forgive those who have acted or broken against our person, and to communicate mercy to them, as we are aware of that of God, our Creator, and ask for it daily, we want to forgive the aforementioned Doctor Carolstat all that, so and whether he has acted against our person,³⁾ for the sake of God and His mercy. But what our prince

2) Carlstadt's writing: "Entschuldigung des falschen Namen der Aufruhr, so ihm ist mit Unrecht aufgelegt worden". See *St. Louis Edition*, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 23 b f. - We assume that Carlstadt himself brought this writing, which he still wrote in Frankfurt, to Wittenberg.

3) especially in the writing: "Ursachen der halben Andres Carlstatt aus den landen zu Sachsen vertryben."

The Eternal God has called us to this office, from which we owe and are obligated to punish those who have acted contrary to the outward peace, and who have done so in fact, and who do not refuse to prosecute others who request such our office in equity and justice, and in this we want to show ourselves, if God wills it, no other way than as we know how to answer for it before God and the world, and to put him off 1) to the apology for it that has been sent over, We have also put him off herewith, that he will not do anything wrong for us and ours, whom we have the power to do and leave for our sake, and that no punishment will be inflicted on him with our knowledge or will, except according to the order and the power of the law, and that his answer and others will hear his need for it, and that he will be overcome, as is just and right. Nor shall we be displeased, insofar as his retraction and objection are sufficient, that he remain in our principality and abstain therein, but in such a way that he does not enter our Thuringian (duringian) lands outside our foreknowledge, nor does he touch them. But around Wittenberg on a half, whole, two to the third mile of it he may sit down or settle down in spots or villages according to his opportunity, only Kemberg excluded. And that we are not inclined to tolerate Doctor Carolstad in Kemberg is due to the fact that a road to Leipzig, the Mark, Pomerania and other ends passes through there, which is built and wandered by some and partly strange people 3); since we want to know him for moving reasons as little as in Wittenberg with beings. And so he shall keep it, until further our permission or business. And so that his letter, petition and request may be answered, it is our gracious request, where Doctor Carolstat is to be found so recently, that such may be held before him without special delay, that Doctor Martinus, in addition to Magister Spalatin, notify him of the above opinion of ours and give him an answer, If, however, he is not to be found in such a way as touched, that Doctor Martinus alone will do this, then we will graciously provide for him that he will not be lacking in this, and this will be done for our gracious favor.

1) In the editions: "them".

2) In the editions: "at the same time and right". We have added the following additions in parentheses. See Colossians 4:1.

3) That is, made into their orbit.

No. 909 .

(Wittenberg.)

September 19, 1525.

To the City Council of Erfurt.

Luther gives his expert opinion on the articles sent to him by the council.

Printed in Fortgesetzten Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen, 1723, p. 1025; in K. F. Lossius, "Helms Eoban Hesse und seine Zeitgenossen". Gotha 1797. 8. p. 305; in Förstemann's Neuem Urkundenbuch, p. 286, No. 53 and p. 280, No. 48 (according to an inaccurate copy from the 17th century); in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 59 and in the Erlangen edition twice, namely vol. 56, p. XII, No. 836 (incorrect as to Lang and the other Erfurt preachers) and vol. 65, p. 238. - In the prints, the letter is dated soon "Tuesday", soon "Thursday" after Lamberti, which is Sept. 19 and 21. To designate the latter date, which coincides with St. Matthew's Day, Luther would probably have applied the latter; therefore, we take the former.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, careful, dear gentlemen! I have received your writing together with the articles, and I am now glad that God has not permitted my future to you, for the articles are in part so clumsy that I could have done little good, or perhaps made the matter worse. It seems as if they were made by those who are too comfortable and have thought that there is no one in heaven and earth who is not afraid of them. And where I would be mighty in Erfurts, I would not let any of the articles be good, although some would be good in them, but, as punishment for such outrageous presumption and outrageousness, all such articles would have to suffer and bear reproach. Nothing is sought in it, but that each one may have his benefit, and live according to his will, the lowest to the highest, and turn everything around, that the council may fear the community and be a servant, and that the community may be lord and master and fear no one, which is against God and reason. Then I should have a fine city, so that tomorrow the houses would lie on top of each other. For this reason, I know nothing to answer E. W.'s articles, except to admonish the community to be quiet and to entrust everything to an honorable council for improvement; and to ask God to give grace and reason to carry this out well, so that the princes are not caused by such clumsy actions and have to harm the city of Erfurt.

and drive out the Kützel. Is that evangelical, that is, wanting to go through with one's head, without all humility and prayer before God's eyes, just as if Erfurt should not be God's, or God were not also Lord over Erfurt? I do not see any article on how one should first fear God, seek Him, ask Him, call upon Him, and command Him in the matter. And that I stir some: Is it not rebellious that the parishes 1) want to elect and de-select parish priests themselves, regardless of the council, as if the council as the authorities had no interest in what they did in the city? Item, that they do not want to give any more interest, but to settle the sum. Rather, if I wanted to live off the sum annually, I would keep it with me. What may I do with it to another? as if I were a child, and let another deal with it. Who wants to command his summa to you for his own sake in such a way that you give it to him yearly and piecemeal? This is so gross that it is too much. The same applies to not giving the princes protection money. They hold peace and security in such low esteem, which cannot be paid for with any money. Finally, I am sending the same article to E. W. again with an indication of my hand about some, because a lot of quite worldly business is involved, in which it is not my place to judge nor to advise. Nor can I. I am ready to serve you. Hiemit Gott befehlt, Amen. Tuesday after Lamberti [Sept. 19] Anno 1525.

Martin Luther. 2)

The following

List of articles, so all quarters of the city of Erfurt sammt the crafts therein belonging to further improvement have discussed.

In the first article, concerning pastors, it is considered good that they be divided into various parishes according to the circumstances in the city, and that a congregation of the same parish appoint and remove its pastor, and that through the same appointed pastor the pure Word of God be clearly presented, without any addition of all kinds of human commandments, statutes, and doctrines concerning the conscience.

Martinus Luther.

However, the council shall have the supremacy to know what kind of persons have offices in the city.

On the other hand, from the unmistakable interest, By which we hear the re-purchase or usurious interest, if the main sum has fallen again home, also often to the abundance, which interest one no longer intends to give. However, if the principal sum is not paid, the remainder, which is not paid, shall be made merry and paid for a reasonable period of time. We also ask that the coinage and bills of exchange be looked into.

Martinus Luther.

In fact, nothing better, one gives interest to the summa, because it is preserved in Erfurt.

Thirdly, from the gate interest, since the free of is given.

They shall be abolished, so that he, 4) who has had the gate rent, shall take the same free pennies with the right to receive the same. This shall be further dealt with, namely in free interest.

Martinus Luther.

I do not know what it is. If it is harmful according to the council's knowledge, then one humbly asks that it be stopped, if not, that one patiently suffers it, and thanks God that one lives and nourishes oneself in peace.

Fourthly, from the withdrawn goods of a. The first of these is wood, water, and the like.

The first is to be used by a community, but the second is to be used by a community, but the first is to be used by a community, but the second is to be used by a community, but the first is to be used by a community, but the first is to be used by a community.

Martinus Luther.

This shall not be, but the authorities shall sell it for the benefit of the common city.

To the fifth of wills or foundation of altars, Where these exist, they shall henceforth no longer follow, namely the clergy, but the heirs and devisees from whom they flowed. But where the heirs and devisees are not found, such endowments shall then be placed in a common box.

4) Seidemann: "your".

1) "Parishes" put by us instead of: "Parish priests".

2) In Seidemann, the name is spelled "Lauther" throughout.

3) Seidemann: "most convenient".

Martinus Luther.

The persons who have them now 1) shall be left to enjoy them until they die, otherwise the person and the interest shall be under the authority of the council. Otherwise, let them be commanded by God, if the heirs are quite poor and meager.

To the sixth from the council.

That one has a perpetual council, which annually gives account to the guardians of the quarters and crafts of the community, which are not to be of the council, if it is recognized useful.

Martinus Luther.

Where one does not trust a council, why does one set one and not rather leave none?

To the seventh.

That the current council give an account of all expenditures and revenues.

Martinus Luther.

And that the council is not the council, but the mob rules everything.

To the eighth.

Item, that all kinds of merchant business are free to any citizen who is able to do so.

Martinus Luther.

So that no poor person may remain before the rich, nor feed.

To the ninth.

Item, that every citizen is free to brew, who has house and yard and is manable.

Martinus Luther.

So that the rich alone may remain brewers in the end.

To the tithe.

Item to give a full quarter for his money. Martin

Luther.

Isn't that how it used to be?

To the eleventh.

Item, that every one be allowed freely to work his craft, unhindered by the guild, who does there civic duty, and who has kept himself honest and respectable for his person.

Martinus Luther.

I leave that to the judgment of the council.

To the twelfth.

Item, that any matter, which comes before an honorable council, which decision is included in the city book, shall be paid without any delay within fourteen days on request in the own person of the citizens. If, however, the citizen is not able to present his case, an honorable council shall assign one of the council members to present his case, so that further expenses of the citizens are avoided.

Martinus Luther.

It is also worldly and does not concern my teaching.

To the thirteenth.

Item, to look into the scribes, to make an order, so that no one is taken over, as has happened so far.

Martinus Luther.

Him too.

To the fourteenth.

Item, action with the House of Saxony to have a gracious remission of the protection money half.

Martinus Luther.

Yes, so that no one protects the city of Erfurt, or that the princes still add money and still protect. I would like to know whether Erfurt also invests money better, because so that it buys protection and peace.

To the fifteenth.

Item, after the citizens and compatriots are highly complained with the escort, that in this also a gracious understanding is attained.

Martinus Luther.

Yes, God grant that it is a pity for princes and councils that we have only our will.

To the Sixteenth and Seventeenth.

Item, that henceforth obviously all boys and girls of all classes are no longer tolerated, nor the common house of the common women.

Item, all those who are indebted to the council and the community, *retardata* or otherwise, shall be faithfully admonished, he be who he will.

Martinus Luther.

I guess those two are going.

To the eighteenth.

Item, with all diligence we ask and desire, together with the countryside, that no one be obliged to

1) Seidemann: "lift".

The court shall not imprison any citizen or countryman, but shall let any man come to his answer, unless he is to be punished in the flesh.

Martinus Luther.

Where the council recognizes this as good.

To the nineteenth.

That also all citizens, so entangled in Erfurt, shall be counted loose on honest answer.

Martinus Luther.

At the pleasure of the council.

For the twentieth.

Whether also some citizens in or after the indignation refer and could indicate their innocence, are to be left to their answer.

Martinus Luther.

It's cheap.

To the twenty-first.

Also, henceforth, the council shall not establish an essay 1) without the knowledge and will of the entire community and countrymen.

Martinus Luther.

It would be necessary to pay the people.

To the twenty-second.

Item that ask outside the gates to give their grown wine in the suburbs.

Martinus Luther.

Then the council realized what was best.

To the twenty-third.

Item, our request is to strive conduively so that a laudable university, as held before, may be established.

Martinus Luther.

This is the very best.

To the twenty-fourth.

Item, that no one is endangered because of this action. 2)

Martinus Luther.

That is also good, because many may mean well, the others are to be thanked and admonished to desist from their pretentiousness.

For the twenty-fifth.

Item, because all the charges and complaints are over, that an honorable council would want to have attention, that meat and bread would become quite a purchase.

Martinus Luther.

Otherwise, a council should do this out of duty and office.

To the twenty-sixth.

Item, the foreign bakers and butchers may have the week two days feil.

Martinus Luther.

The council is watching.

To the twenty-seventh.

Item, all goods, which were taken from the common city and which were given to an honorable council, projectile, interest, wages and what is, also want to come back to the common city, as namely Melchendorf, Gispersleben, the half of Kiliani, as before.

Martinus Luther.

God and the council will help.

To the twenty-eighth.

Item, that everyone may use the pasture, who is a citizen, to his neighbor without harm.

Martinus Luther.

Let that remain with the council's findings.

Martinus Luther ultimately displayed.

Item, One article is forgotten, that an honorable council does nothing, has no power, nothing is trusted to him, but sits there like an idol and Zifra,³⁾ and lets the community chew on him like a child, and thus governs with bound hands and feet, and the wagon leads the horses, and the horses bridle and drive the wagoner, then it will go well, according to the laudable example of these articles.

No. 910.

Wittenberg.

September 26, 1525.

To the Mayor and City Council of Nuremberg.

Luther asks that the Nuremberg printers be barred from reprinting his books.

Printed in K. Christian Hirsch's *Millenarius I V. Norimb.* 1749, in the preface; in Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p.70 and in the Erl. Edition, Vol.56, p.x, No. 835.

3) "Zifra" zero.

1) "Essay" edition, tax.

2) "on account of this act", that is, on account of putting these articles.

To the honorable and prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of the laudable city of Nuremberg, my favorable dear sirs.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, wise, dear gentlemen! I add to E. W.'s complaint that some sixths of the postilion still in print have been secretly stolen from our printers here, more than half of the book, and brought to your noble city, and hastily reprinted, sold, before ours is finished, and thus, with the completed book, led ours into noticeable damage, and it is right for me that the Hergetlein should also be on it. They are not satisfied with this and will continue to wait for it, if they get the other and the rest, and have also ordered to reprint in a hurry, as they did before, and even ruin us in the ground. Other cities on the Rhine do not do so, and even if they did, we would not be harmed, because their printing does not come in and is driven, like yours, for the sake of proximity. Now we have watched long enough, until [it] has at last become unmistakable, also so far one of the causes has been, that I have not been allowed to attack the prophets, lest I give cause to their ruin, and thus by avarice and envy divine Scripture is prevented and must remain, and that by fault of your laudable city citizens, which is ever an unfriendly neighborhood, so near one beer sticks out to the other to spite and harm. So it is pathetic enough that I have such work, which makes me heartily sour, and yet I like to do it for the benefit of common Christianity, nothing to speak of without glory, and still have to add to it, even though a book ever confesses to three or four kinds of work, and should not earn so much with the people that the printers are not put down and spoiled for me. They have done well, may not dare to work on it, have obtained it through thieves, it is no different than if it were stolen from one on the street or in the house; we poor have to suffer it, are banished. Now I would be well satisfied that I am urged by such a cause to keep quiet, but for the sake of others I speak, and that the holy scripture is prevented by such perfidy of the devil. Moreover, that my books are commonly corrected

and corrupted in other printings. Therefore, it is my very friendly request that E. W. would do a Christian service here and have an eye on your printers so that they do not graze such important books after ours to their detriment; that they wait no longer, that they wait seven or eight weeks, so that ours also have bread next to them and are not so shamefully robbed of theirs by them. Where this does not help, I must admonish such robbers and thieves by public notice, and yet I would gladly not have to name your praiseworthy city. But whether they say: they must feed themselves. Yes, without harming others, and not in such a way as to steal and rob from them, as they would have others do. I also know well that the Coburgers 1) have lost many books, as other printers have more: but what can we do about it? should they take such revenge on us, who have never sought their damage with our books? but God has so sent that these have fallen off and are torn, as is otherwise more common in other merchants. May E.W. grant me such a necessary letter and do what is in accordance with Christian love and faithfulness, as has been done before, except for these envious printers, and do not allow such new deceit and unchristian behavior. I deserve it, as I should. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Tuesday after St. Matthew's Day [Sept. 26] 1525, Martin Luther.

No. 91 1.

(Wittenberg.)

September 27, 1525.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1986.

No. 912 .

Wittenberg.

September 28, 1525.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1986.

No. 913 .

(Wittenberg.)

September 29, 1525.

To Michael Stiefel in Tolleth.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 800.

1) "Die Koburger", a book printer and bookseller company in Nuremberg. Compare No. 927.

No. 9 14.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of September 1525.)

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther says that he cannot do anything else because of his writing against Erasmus. He would not answer Zwingli and Oecolampad. Carlstadt would, as he hoped, get up again, get along, and come back into favor with the prince.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten at Zerbst in the Franciscanum, Ms. 26, fol. 13. Printed by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. III; by Schütze, Bd. III, p. 247; by De Wette, Bd. III, p. 32 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 249. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1565.

His Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of the Church at Zwickau, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I hope that my letter has come to you, my dear Nicolaus. Now I say briefly: during the time that I am at Erasmus, 1) I am not able to do anything else; when this is finished, I will attend to the things of which you write. Zwingli and Oecolampad attack us, but I will leave this to others, or rather, they will be despised. Satan is nonsensical everywhere, but Christ is wise and strong. Carlstadt will rise again through our good deeds (as I hope) and, having come to his senses, will again obtain favor with the prince through Christ's help. 2) What will they say then? Farewell in Christ, my dearest Nicolaus. Now I will become an abbot of the nuns. Christ wills it so. In haste.

Martin Luther.

No. 915 .

(Wittenberg.)

October 8, 1525.

To Leonhard Beier in Guben.

About a nun who escaped from the convent.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Gud.* 214, fol. 19b. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 66; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 33 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 250.

1) That is, busy with the writing against Erasmus: "Daß der freie Wille nichts sei," St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1668 ff.

2) We would have been inclined to date this letter a little further back, because here Carlstadt's pardon is postponed into the future, which took place on September 17, if we had not been held back by the liberation of the nuns mentioned in the previous letter, to which the end of this letter alludes.

Grace and peace in Christ! Among other virgins recently freed from the convent, I have a Gertrudis von Mylen, whose mother or grandmother is said to live in your Guben, to whom she writes through this messenger. It is now your duty to admonish her to take her daughter or granddaughter, if she does not prefer that I take her away, which would perhaps displease her. Be well and pray for me. Sunday after Franciscus [Oct. 8] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 916 .

Strasbourg.

(October 8, 1525.)

The Strasbourg Preachers to Luther.

(Regest.)

Letter of credentials for Gregorius Casel to negotiate with Luther regarding the Lord's Supper controversy.

Handwritten in *Thes. Tree*, in Strasbourg, vol. II, 169. Printed by Pappus, "Wahrhafte und Wohlgegründete Widerlegung" 2c. Strasbourg 1611, quarto. P. 424; in Rührig, *Geschichte der Reformation im Elsaß*, vol. I, p. 457; in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 68 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, S. 251.

No. 9 17.

(Wittenberg.)

October 11, 1525.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Recommendation of Basilius Axt to the doctor in Zwickau.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten at Zerbst in the Franciscanum, Ms. 26, fol. 17. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 301; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 33 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 252. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 988.

To the man of God, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, the exceedingly faithful servant of Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! There is something, my dear Lord Nicolaus, for which I need your help; I ask you not to feel burdened to serve me. A rumor has come to me under the table that a doctor is wanted for your town. It is perhaps true that many others aspire to this position, but with us is the licentiate Basilius, - I do not know whether you know the man or not, - who has that nun of Schönfeld, and together with

He has been sucking his fingers for a long time and is without office. What shall I praise his faithfulness, his skill and his experience in this matter? He is also highly praised by the most excellent [physicians] of our university 1). I would now like him to attain this office, not only for the sake of his advantage, but also so that Zwickau would be best advised and provided with a man who is worthy of him. If you now wanted to or could contribute something so that he would be brought there, then you would indeed be doing Christ a service and your city a good deed; or if it should be necessary for me to do this in another way, then let me know. Prince Frederick had promised him that he would provide for him if a position ever opened up in his lands; he held man in such high esteem. Do what I hope and expect, this service worthy of your name and your person.

The great ones of the prince 2) are here; it is a matter of arranging the ceremonies with us. After that, the parishes will finally be dealt with. In the meantime wait, God will give blessing. The grace be with you, Amen. On Wednesday after Dionysius [Oct. 11] 1525.
Martin Luther.

No. 918.

(Wittenberg.)

October 21, 1525.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

About the sending of two teachers to the school at Eisleben in Tulich's place; about the progress of the Reformation and about Catharina's pregnancy.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzeberger*. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 67; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 34 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 254.

To the exceedingly dear brother in the Lord, Johann Agricola, the rightful educator of the youth in Eisleben and servant of Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! Since I write so often, and write so much, and to so many

1) *nostris* stands here for the *magistri nostri*, the doctors, of the medical faculty.

2) Johann von Dolzig, Johann von Minkwitz and Hans von Gräfendorf were in Wittenberg to help arrange the ceremonies in the collegiate church.

that I think I am nothing other than a scribe, it has pleased me that I also write to you, dearest Johann. Although I have nothing to write, I will write this, that there is nothing I want to write. "I cannot come from writing." We are now sending both our Syrus and our Darms 3) in Tulich's place, namely a pair of twins for one, so that we the more easily fulfill our promise. I have written about this to the count, you will support the matter verbally. For such a thing was necessary, which is common to all. Syrus will communicate other things.

We have a rumor that the Margrave of Baden and Casimir grant a free place to the Evangelio. The nobility of Franconia demands the same from the bishop of Würzburg. 4) Thus Christ reigns in power, that what the gospel was supposed to eradicate and seemed to have eradicated, strikes out for the gospel.

Greet your flesh with its sprouts and fruits, its grapes and exceedingly sweet figs. And pray for us. My chain (*Catena*) puts itself in such a way or fulfills in truth the word Gen. 3, 16.: "You will have many pains when you become pregnant", and she greets you with all her heart, and it distresses her now that she cannot in any way persuade the servant Catharina, I do not know which, to go to you. Grace be with you, amen. On the Saturday after Lucä [Oct. 21] 1525.
M. Luther.

No. 919.

Wittenberg.

October 27, 1525.

To Gottschalk Crusius in Celle.

Luther refutes Zwingli's assertion of the certainty of faith.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 298; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 35 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 255 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 985.

3) A pair of twins in a comedy by Terence. It is no longer possible to determine who is meant by this. - About Hermann Tulich, see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 4, Note 2.

4) Conrad III von Thüngen.

To His Lord Gottschalk, Evangelist at Celle in the Lüneburg Lands.

Grace and peace in Christ! I write little, my dear Gottschalk, since I am very busy. I have received only this one letter from you after Duke Otto¹⁾ was here. But I sympathize with you, who are so plagued by new spirits; but be strong, the Lord will help you with his strength. Zwingli's reason for the certainty of faith may not move you, for he speaks of faith only according to what he has heard and invented himself, without any experience. It is possible, indeed it happens daily, that we are firm in some articles of faith and weak in others. Moses, the man of such great faith, was left at the water of the Hader as a weak one [Deut. 20:13], then all the children of Israel became weak in the faith of sustenance and food, while they had overcome Pharaoh with so many miracles in faith. Then not everything that is accepted by the papists is suspicious, otherwise the baptism and the whole Bible would also be suspicious. It is more suspicious that Carlstadt was the first to put forward that opinion, the reasons for which Zwingli and Oecolampad completely reject, and yet try to defend the opinion with other reasons, and the foolish people only put forward Carlstadt's most important reasons, which they rejected. This is a ridiculous spirit to me, which first puts forward some article with trivial reasons, and then with the promise of other reasons almost extols the same, and thus argues completely against itself. Those people argue about the honor of this doctrine. I do not see anything else there, but in the sequel you will perhaps see something else. In the meantime, insist on the right opinion. May the Lord help you with his grace, Amen. Wittenberg, Friday after Severi [Oct. 27] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 920 .

October 28, 1525.

Wittenberg.

To Joh. Lang and the other preachers at Erfurt . 2)

Ueber die Einführung einer deutschen Ordnung des Gottesdienstes.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 301; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 36 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 257. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 989.

To Mr. Johann Lang and the other servants of Christ at Erfurt.

Grace and peace in Christ! Dearest brothers, we like your efforts to arrange the ceremonies properly, and the form you have set is not unpleasant to us, even if only Erfurt should agree to it. And I do not think that anything is in it, if the other churches do not want to accept it. Who can force people against their will? Of course, we had already drafted a form and sent it to our prince, and now it will be completed by his order and tried in a public rehearsal in the name of Christ on Sunday morning. 3) It will be a German mass for the laity, but the daily service will be in Latin, combined with German lectures, as you will see shortly, when the printed copies 4) have come out; then you can, if it pleases you, conform with us, or use yours. In the meantime, do what you do and be well in the Lord. Wittenberg, on the Saturday of Simonis and Jude [Oct. 28] 1525.

Your Martin Luther.

2) According to Schmidt, "Menius", Vol. I, p. 55, the preachers of Erfurt at that time were: Joh. Lang, nine preacher at the cathedral, Joh. Rödelstein (*Rutellus*) at the Predigerkirche, Egidius Mechler at the Barfüßerkirche, Nicolaus Fabri at the Augustinerkirche, Kilian Wichmann, Pfarrer zun Reglern [Regelerherren], Peter Geltner at the Kaufmannskirche, Melchior Wedemann at St. Andreä and Justus Menius at St. Thomä.

3) This happened on the 20th Sunday "ach Trinitatis, the 29th of October. See the conclusion of the sermon on the 21st Sunday after Trinity, St. Louis edition, Vol. XI, 1786 f.

4) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 226.

1) Duke Otto of Brunswick-Lüneburg was at that time with the Elector to obtain his advice on the introduction of the Reformation in his lands.

No. 921 .

(Wittenberg.)

October 30, 1525.

To the town council of Planen. On the use of the goods
of an abandoned monastery.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 969; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 549; in Walch, vol. XXI, 134; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 37 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 329.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear sirs! I have no other answer to your letter, because of the monastery with you," as I have previously written by public pressure in such cases: namely, where the monastery is abandoned, the city or lordship must take the houses and turn them to good use, but the property and interest, where poor and meager heirs are the founders, that one lets the same go, or becomes them in part now. For this reason, it is at my discretion that you make a friendly agreement with the nobility, whether they want to cede all or part of their parents' endowments and thus contribute to God's work. Such a thing is right and pleases God as a fruit of love; but the jewels remain where the dwelling remains. Hereby commanded to God, Amen. Monday after Simonis and Jude [Oct. 30] 1525.

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 921 a.

(Wittenberg.)

October 30, 1525.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1538.

No. 922 .

Wittenberg.

October 31, 1525.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther apologizes for having pressed so hard for improvements at the university and asks the Elector to now also provide for the endowment of the parishes and the visitation of the secular regiment.

To the "most illustrious, highborn" Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I humbly request that E. C. F. G. graciously grant me that I often have to bring trouble and unpleasantness to the court with writings, considering that I certainly have nothing to gain from it, because trouble and unpleasantness are also enough, and would gladly spare E. C. F. G., but because I am of such standing and respect, I cannot be overburdened.

First of all, G. H., I apologize for having suggested so hard to ordain the university, because I heard how E. C. F. G. was almost disconcerted by my so diligent activity, as if I should not have believed E. C. F. G.'s promises much; now it is not that I should not believe E. C. F. G., because if that were the case, I would have left my suggestion pending out of doubt; but because I had no doubt about E. C. F. G.'s promises. C. F. G.'s promises, that is why I made sure that [it] would not be delayed by superfluous business, as has happened many times to our most gracious lords 2c. before; for lords' trousers have a lot to do, and it is necessary to stop there, as they say; so I was also urged by others, because the people got lost and the school split up, that haste was necessary.

But as for all that, even if I had offended against E. C. F. G. with mistrust, such a sin should not grieve me too much, considering the good work that has resulted, 1) which is probably worth more of such a sin, and would like to sin even more so against E. C. F. G., where I could create such good, the comforting confidence that E. C. F. G. will not only forgive such a sin, but also forgive me myself. C. F. G., where I could create such good, the comforting confidence, E. C. F. G. will not only graciously forgive me such, but will also be pleased with it himself, because it is certain and cannot be otherwise.

1) Joh. von Dolzig reports on October 25 to a friend about the negotiations on the basis of the Instruction of Sept. 17 (No. 908): "It has come about according to the advice and goodwill of the unanimous will, as the four patrons have considered it Christian, necessary and certain, namely the Babst Martinus, the Probst (Jonas), Pomeranus, the parish priest, and Philippus, so it has been decided and finally passed in the case."

because E. C. F. G. must feel in her heart that such work is good and pleases God; and although she seeks neither merit nor reward in it, much less glory or honor before the world, yet her conscience must rejoice and be strengthened in the faith that God has accomplished such good through E. C. F. G. and has used her as an instrument, and has indicated that she intends to use him further for His divine will, which we sincerely wish for. C. F. G. has accomplished such good, and has used him as an instrument, and has indicated that he intends to use him further for his divine gracious will, which we sincerely ask and wish, amen.

Accordingly, G. H., because the university is now in its order, and the order of the church service is also now being established, and should continue, there are still two things that demand E. C. F. G., as secular authority, understanding and order. The first, that the parishes everywhere are so miserable, since no one gives, no one pays. Sacrifices and pensions have fallen, interest is not there, or too little, so the common man respects neither preachers nor pastors, that, where there is not a brave order and good preservation of the parishes and preachers' chairs made by E. C. F. G., in a short time there will be neither parsonage, nor schools, nor students, and thus God's word and service will fall to the ground. Therefore, E. C. F. G. wants to continue to be used by God, and to be His faithful instrument, for more comfort, also for E. C. F. G.'s own conscience, because she is asked and required to do so by us and by the need itself, as certainly by God. E. C. F. G. will certainly find the means to do so. There are monasteries, convents, fiefdoms and donations, and there are enough of these things, where only C.F.G.'s order can be given. F. G.'s order to look at them, to calculate and to arrange them. God will also give His blessing and prosperity to this, so that, if God wills, the order concerning the souls, as the high school and divine service, will not be prevented for lack and abandonment of the poor belly, we also ask for His divine grace, amen.

The other piece, that E. C. F. G., as I once talked to E. C. F. G. in Wittenberg, would also have the secular regiment visited, and how councillors in cities and all other officials governed and presided over the common good; for there is great complaint everywhere about evil regiment, both in cities and in the countryside, in which E. C. F. G. would have the same effect. C. F. G., as a head and a countryman

The court would perhaps have fewer notes, things and complaints if such a visitation and good order could be carried out in a proper manner. E. C. F. G. would graciously accept all this from me as a submissive suggestion, because E. C. F. G. sees and notices that I mean well. God graciously grant this in E. C. F. G.'s heart with complete light and power to do what pleases Him, Amen. At Wittenberg, Tuesday after Simonis and Jude [Oct. 31] 1525.

E. C. F. G.
subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 923.

(Wittenberg.)

October 31, 1525.

To the City Council of Torgau.

Luther indicates that the physician, Licentiate Basilius, will soon come to Torgau.

From a copy in Lingke's "Luthers Geschäfte und Andenken in Torgau," p. 87; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 40 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 332.

To the honorable and wise, mayors and council of Torgau, my favorable, wise and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, firm, dear sirs! I have spoken to the licentiate Basilio from E. E.'s writing, and have indicated your opinion. So, God willing, he will find his way to you first, when the weather returns, and God grant you both His grace for a good outcome, amen. Hereby commanded by God. Tuesday after Simonis [Oct. 31] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 92 4.

Torgau.

October 31, 1525.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

He asked Luther to find him a pastor who would be suitable for Niemeck.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, H 167, No. 117, 28c. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 90 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 260.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We inform you that he Andres Stolp, pastor of Niemeck, has previously reported to us the damage he suffered from the fire that burned down his parish there, with the request that we would dispose of it with those of Niemeck, because he could not now maintain himself with them due to the fire damage he received. We also ask that, in order that he may enjoy his loss to some extent and receive it to a greater extent, he be given something to reimburse him and that he be paid an annual pension from the income of the affected parish. Thereupon we wrote to those of Niemeck, if it would not be burdensome for them or something would be on him, that they would let the said priest appoint another priest to the parish or would lend and give him a fief or something else for his damage, with a request, where he would indicate that the damage was done to him by someone of Niemeck, that he should be helped in equity. Hereupon the council of Niemeck came to us with the enclosed letter, as you will hear from it. Now we have sent such a letter of the council to the mentioned pastor's copy, and the complaints that Niemeck has made to us about him before, have been shown next to it. Since it can be considered manly that it is almost burdensome for the people that they should be provided with a tenant and not with their own pastor, our gracious request is that you think of a suitable one, who may preside over the poor people with the word of God, as befits a pastor, and inform us of the same, and we will have him ordained and assigned to the von Niemeck as a pastor. We did not want to restrain you from this, and do us a gracious favor. Date Torgau, Tuesday after Simonis and Judä [Oct. 31] Anno 25.

No. 9 25.

Wittenberg.

November 5, 1525.

To the preachers of Strasbourg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1533.

No. 926 .

(Wittenberg.)

November 5, 1525.

To Gregor Casel.

Instruction on what he should say to the Strasbourg people.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1534.

No S27.

Wittenberg.

November 7, 1525,

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

Complaining about the unfair procedure of the printers in Nuremberg. Request for a letter to be sent to the printer and bookseller Koburger, in which Luther makes suggestions about the distribution of his books.

The original is at the Coburg fortress. Facsimile in O. Hase, "die Koburger", 2nd ed. 1885, plate IV. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 41; in Walch, vol. XXI, 135; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 47 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 334.

To the honorable and prudent Lasaro Spengler,
Syndico of the city of Nuremberg, my favorable
master and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear sir and friend! Here in Wittenberg we have problems with printing, as you know, and I have previously written to the council in Nuremberg that the printers and accountants have made a fuss about our printers, and are showing them all mischievousness and wickedness. Now this prevents me from doing all the prophets, postils, Latin bibles and other great works, nor from continuing, although I would gladly have such work for my own sake, and would know how to use that malice for my rest 1). So there are now some printers on the Rhine who are willing to enter into an alliance with my printers, so that such evil may be controlled. But because the Koburger has recently spoken to me, and I then offered what I could, I should not lack anything: according to the promise, as I remember, I have undertaken and stopped my printers, and suggested whether they wanted or would like to suffer the Koburger in such an alliance and trade, should perhaps be more useful and beneficial for both parts. Accordingly, my request and friendly request is, if it would not be too difficult for you, to let such my letter reach the Koburger, and to advise therein what would be the best thing to do; for Briefs Zeiger therefore dispatched by us, to discuss and hear such with the Koburger. I respect,

1) In the original: "Rüge", which is to be resolved by Ruge, that is "Rube". Compare the parallel passage in No. 910.

It should not be harmful to the Koburger, because we lived, if he would transfer the preprint and store to us in Wittenberg, together with my printers, of which they themselves will further consult and discuss. Do not let this annoy you, for it should ever annoy me and all pious hearts that the Holy Scriptures should be hindered in this way, and that one should suffer such things from evil people. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, on Tuesday after All Saints' Day [Nov. 7] 1525.

Martinus Luther.

No. 9 28.

Torgau.

November 7, 1525.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Answer to Luther's letter" of October 31, in which he asks: after the better establishment of the university has taken place, the Elector may also tackle the endowment of the parishes and a visitation of the secular regiment.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives Oo, p. 142, EEE. 4. printed by Burkhardt, p. 92 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 268.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! You wrote to us last week, apologizing, among other things, for having made so many suggestions to us about the university order. We have read your letter with further contents and are graciously and well satisfied with your apology, because we know what you did in the same matter, that it was well meant by you and done in the best way.

And when you further indicate that the parishes everywhere are so miserable, so that no one gives anything, paid, to that that sacrifice and soul pennies have fallen, that it is due to us, as the secular authority, to establish and make order, so that the pastors and preachers receive properly. Now it may well be that the sacrifices and the like of the common access of the parishes and preachers have fallen, and that the people with the interest, rents and the like, which they gave before age, will leave something to be done. Should we now provide for the same parishes and preachers from the income of our office and chamber property, it will be difficult for us, as you can see. However, we believe that it is nevertheless proper for the citizens of the cities, as well as those in the countryside, to do something from their own property or from the ecclesiastical fiefs that they have to lend, so that

the pastors and preachers, who preach the Word of God to them and administer the holy sacraments, could maintain themselves all the more nobly. And it is our gracious request that you inform us of your concern, as you think, that where the pastors and preachers are not provided for their needs and entertainment, an order should be made and established for them, [so] we want to show ourselves further in this by the bestowal of divine grace, and also have the appointment that the interest and other things, which are dedicated and suitable for this, should be given to the same pastors and preachers undiminished.

Concerning the third article, as to visit the secular regiment, how the councils in cities and the officials govern, of which you spoke to us once before in Wittenberg, we do not want to reproach you in your gracious opinion that we recently filled some of our offices anew with officials, We are of the opinion that our subjects and relatives in the cities and in the countryside should find help, advice and comfort in their matters with the same, so that their afflictions and objections can be remedied in an equitable manner. Some time ago we would have been inclined to decree in all our offices and cities, and to hear how their order and government was; but it remained primarily because of the uprising that had occurred a while ago, and also because of other matters that we were responsible for; but we want to do it with God's help at another time according to our opportunity, and also do that which serves God's praise and for the free spreading of His holy word and common benefit, and also for good order. We do not want to restrain you in your gracious opinion, because we are inclined to you with grace. Date Torgau, Tuesday after Leonhardi [Nov. 7] Anno 25.

No. 9 29.

Wittenberg.

November 11, 1525.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

About the occupation of the parish of Niemeck.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. LI*, p. 167. 117. 28c. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 42; in Walch, vol. XXI, 136; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 48 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 336.

To my most gracious lord, Duke Johannis zu Sachsen, Churfürsten, zu S. C. F. G. Handen.

Grace and Peace in C. Durchl., hochgeb. Prince, most gracious Sir! E. C. F. G. have given me

written to order a skilled man to Niemeck. Now I humbly inform E. C. F. G. that I want to keep to E. C. F. G.'s writing, but I find that the parish is not yet vacant, and the previous parish priest has not yet given up anything, because he finds himself burdened with great damage, and also with scorn and ridicule. But in order that I may do my diligence enough, I call E. C. F. G. one by name, M. George Wesel,¹⁾ almost learned and skilful, who shall probably be there for a long time, with God's grace. What E. C. F. G. now manages to do, to remove both with the previous pastor, and to raise them with this one, I leave to God. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Saturday S. Martin's Day [Nov. 11] 1525.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

No. 930 .

(Wittenberg.)

November 11, 1525.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther apologizes for not being able to attend Spalatin's wedding and answers the question of whether a prince has the right to prevent idolatry.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* u, fol. 205. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 304b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 49 (with the wrong date: "November 12") and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 271. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 990.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, the bridegroom and new husband and servant of Christ, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace! How gladly I would like to be at your wedding 2), my dear Spalatin, and I would also not suffer that I should be so much prevented,³⁾ that the free will of Erasmus should not also be forced to be subservient to me. But behold! the recent liberation of the nuns prepares for me

1) This is the later so infamous Georg Wicel (Witzel) von Bach, who fell away to the papacy again.

2) Spalatin's wedding was scheduled for November 12, but was postponed until the 19th. His wife Catharina was the daughter of an Altenburger, Johann Heidenreich, or Streubel.

3) The reading of the original is: *impediri*, Aurifaber and De Wette read: *impedire*. We think that in the former reading a comma should be placed after *impediri*.

new unrest; the nobles, who are ignoble at heart, are raging. And it is to be wondered at how one must not believe even those who have hitherto been regarded as the evangelicals. Amsdorf himself was recently in danger with those of whom we ourselves believed with him⁴⁾ that they would be our castles and our refuge if it should be necessary. Amsdorf's statement was this: "They are knaves not only before God, but also before the world." You would be surprised if I were allowed to entrust their names to the letter. This is the reason that I am held back by the tears of my Käthe (*Katenaë*), that I do not go to you, since she believes that you want nothing less, as all also write, than my danger. For she disputes so: Amsdorf's reputation is indeed very important to me. Then you know how much our present prince cares for the gospel; he is all the less to be feared by his own, because they hope that words can easily be put before him, whatever they may have taken for themselves.

To the question whether it is a prince's right to abolish abominations, when the adversaries assert that no one must be forced to faith and the gospel; then, that there is no example for this; finally, that the princes have the right to rule only in outward things: you can answer why they do not themselves do so first, as they now finally conclude? for they do not only force outward abominations, but also inward unbelief and godlessness of heart. Therefore they may suffer, at least in part, the measure with which they measure. That they are coercive, however, is sufficiently evident from the fact that they invoke a foreign prince, by which alone they fully deserved to be expelled. Then our princes do not compel to faith and the gospel, but curb outward abominations. Since they themselves confess that the princes have a right in external things, they condemn themselves. For the princes must prevent public outrages, as perjuries, public blasphemies of the name of God, such as these are, by doing nothing.

4) We do not consider it permissible to refer *ipso* to the Churfürst, as the Erl. Briefw. does. Amsdorf is meant by this.

Those who are prevented may believe or not believe, even if they blaspheme secretly or not. For we say of public revilings and blasphemies, with which they revile our God. Here (I say) we must, if we can, prevent them; if we cannot, we are forced to let it go. Here no one is yet forced to faith and gospel, no one is forced to an ungodly opinion of the heart, as they would do if they could; 1) now that they cannot do it, they agree with them and justify them, therefore they are worthy of equal punishment, Rom. 1. I believe that this is a sufficiently great example, that Christ made scourges and by force drove the sellers and the buyers out of the temple. Therefore, continue, and do not be moved by the talk of those people, and be at ease with your Lord and your bride. Since Magister Eberhard 2) is coming, I will honor your little wedding as much as I can. On St. Martin's Day [Nov. 11] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 931 .

Torgau. November 12,
1525.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

About the occupation of the parish of Niemeck.

The concept is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. Ll*, p. 167, No. 117, 23 c. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 93 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 273.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We have heard your letter, in which you indicate to us, at our previous gracious request, a magister named Georg Wesel, who should be learned, sent and suitable for a pastor in Niemeck, to our gracious favor, and if the same Magister Jörg will apply to us, he shall be given a certificate by us in writing as a prospective pastor. But that the parish of Niemeck, as you find, should not be vacant, we do not want to reassure you that it seems to us that the old parish priest should go into service, and nevertheless want to be absent from the parish in question, which is difficult to endure, and also that the old parish priest should be absent.

1) *possunt*, in the original will probably only be a misspelling instead of *possent* in Aurifaber and De Wette.

2) Brisger.

The income of the parish does not extend so high that this or another parish priest should be absent. And since it is considered that the recent fire 3) in Niemeck has been to the detriment of the parish priest there, we have ordered some of our people to diligently investigate 4) how the same fire happened, and if we find out, we will, if God wills it, appoint that the damage inflicted and suffered by the parish priest be reimbursed and paid for by the townspeople. We do not want to restrain you in your gracious opinion, because we are inclined to be merciful to you. Date Torgau, Sunday after Martinmas [Nov. 12] Anno 1525.

No. 932.

Torgau.

November 25, 1525.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther, Jonas, Hans von Dolzig and Hans von Gräfendorf.

The Elector requests the addressees to conduct a detailed investigation of a case brought before him.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, p. 546.

M. 2. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 94 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 274. - The decision is missing from the Acts.

Dear devotees, councilors and faithful! A woman named Brigitta Melhausin 5) has come to us with a complaint about how she had trusted one of our servants at Wittenberg, called Lang Jörgen, in marriage, and how she had also been with him in marriage for a good time, and because of this he had repudiated her and given him another woman to marry and trust. If such a deal, where the wife did not give him cause for it through adultery or inequity, would not cause us unreasonable complaint and displeasure, then our council and dear faithful, Christiano Beyer, Doctor, and Anthonien Nimeck, both mayors of Wittenberg, have sent the women's complaint to me and ordered them to humble the woman and the said Langen Jörgen before them, to hear them against each other, and otherwise to inquire about these matters, and if they then find that the woman has not caused the man by the adultery, they shall be entitled to

3) Burkhardt has read "mvyyst brand", which the Erl. Briefw. has rendered by "Mistbrand". We have adopted Kawerau's conjecture "iugst" (== recent).

4) Instead of "also" it might have read "itself".

5) Soon called so, soon Melhasin (Burkhardt).

6) In Burkhardt: "with" instead of: "nit".

that he may by divine right take another to show himself further, as touched our order brought with it. That we now gave such an order to these two mayors is due to the fact that we considered it as if Lang Jörg, out of his own will and without prior knowledge, might have undertaken to take the other wife. For if the woman had indicated in her complaint, 1) that the other marriage in question had taken place with the foreknowledge of the venerable, our dear devout Ern Johansen Bugenhagen, pastor at Wittenberg, and on the latter's inquiry, we would have known how to show ourselves just with such an order. Although we have now ordered our commissioners to inquire about the matter, which they have done, as we can see from the papers they have received, 1) when they were sent back here, we would not have made any mistake, where they found in the interrogation held or otherwise that the said priest had inquired to some extent before the other marriage, as it was about the first wife's trial, that they would have proceeded with imprisonment outside our further order 2). Because they indicate in their report, among other things, that the priest was present during their interrogation, and that the same 3)) gave us information about the captured farmhand, what he had done with the other woman before she was entrusted to him, and what form he had taken, which we are sending to you herewith, and find that the evidence taken by the two mayors, and before that by the priest, is not consistent, and that there is not only a deficiency in this, but also that some witnesses who were present at the trial, and who were not present at the first trial, are not in agreement, that some of the witnesses, whom the priest interrogated before the hearing, wavered in their testimonies before both mayors and changed their first speech, but some, whom the priest interrogated at the same time, in addition to the pre-determined ones, who were not even decided by the mayors in the opinion that they are to be believed, but other and new witnesses were interrogated against them, so that we do not know how things stand on all sides: We therefore request that you first of all diligently review the reports that have been submitted to us by both parties, and note which of the people who were interrogated by the priest and both mayors said something repugnant in their testimonies, and then examine the

Witnesses all together, who interrogated them on both sides, and who especially changed their testimony in the interrogation of the mayors, shall present themselves to you hurriedly and without warning, and demand that they come to you one after the other, read to them their speech and testimony, as they should have done first before the priest, according to his list sent over, and then before the two mayors, according to their list, and remind them of the repugnancy which they had shown in their testimony, and hear which report they give by chance, and say that they had testified before. and hear what report they will give by chance, and say that they had testified before. After that, those, and each one in particular, whom the priest interrogated and who remained unquestioned by both mayors, shall also be interrogated, upon the priest's instruction, as to what they should have said before; and then, finally, those whom the mayors interrogated and who were not questioned by the priest. And what they will say of all parts, you want to record, but bind each witness, if he goes from you, to say nothing of what you hold against him. If you then find from all this, and also from other reports which you will know how to take, where the necessity of the trade requires it, that the presumption is in favor of the landowner and against the first wife, then both of you, Hans von Doltzick and Hans von Grevendorf, shall then decree, that the land servant, upon guarantee or vow to reinstate himself when required, come out of prison, but in the event of a countermove let him remain there, and report to all four of us in writing how you found things, and also report your concerns as to what should be done in this matter as far as the marriage is concerned. And since the two mayors indicate what impropriety should result from the fact that in Wittenberg the divorce is being handled somewhat improperly, and the persons are being secretly brought together in the houses without prior order, we request that you, Doctor Martinus and Doctor Jonas, Provost, want to call the pastor and Philippum Melanchthon, Doctor Jeronimus, 4) Johann Apel and Licentratum Benedictum Pauli to you, to discuss and unite how you think that this should be done in a fair way and in a Christian order, and to let us know about your concern, if you may come together in other matters. In all this, our gracious and pleasing opinion. Date Torgau, on Saturday Cacharinä [Nov. 25] Anno dmi. 1525.

1) Inserted by us.

2) Burkhardt: "worthy".

3) "the same" (namely Bugenhagen) put by us instead of: "the same".

4) Prospecting.

No. 933 .

Wittenberg.

November 30, 1525.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther makes suggestions on how the parishes should be equipped and visited. - However, the visitation was not carried out until 1527.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p.229d; in the Jena edition (1556), vol. III, p.183b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p.301; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 353; in Walch, vol. XXI, 139; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 51 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 336.

God's grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! E. C. F. G. have answered my suggestion to provide the parishes everywhere. Now this is not my opinion that all parishes should be appointed from E. C. F. G. Chamber". But because E. C. F. G. graciously requests my concern as to how it should be done, I give my humble opinion that E. C. F. G. should inspect all parishes in the entire principality, and where it is found that the people want to have Protestant preachers, and the parishes' property would not be sufficient to maintain them, that then by order of E. C. F. G. the same congregation, be it from the town hall or otherwise, must provide so much annually. For if they want to have a parish priest, it is the office of the C.C.F.G. to keep them so that they also reward the worker, as the Gospel states (Matth. 10,10. Luc. 10, 7.).

Such a survey could be done in such a way that C.F.G. divides the principality into four or five parts and sends two nobles or officials to each part to investigate such estates and parishes and to find out what is necessary for the parish priest, and to request such an order from C.F.G. regarding the annual tax. If, however, such costs or efforts would be too much for C.C.F.G., citizens from the cities could be needed for this purpose, or the countryside could demand that a number of prominent cities do so and act with them. But whichever pleases E. C. F. G. best, let it be so.

In addition, attention should be paid to the old priests or otherwise unfit ones, so that, where they are otherwise devout, or not contrary to the Gospel, they either read the Evangelia with the Postillia itself (where

They would be obligated to preach (or have them read), so that the people would be properly ministered to in the Gospel, if they were to nourish it; for it would not be good to expel those who have been sitting until now, where they are not hostile to the Gospel, without restitution. I wish to inform E. C. F. G. of this at E. C. F. G.'s request. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Thursday St. Andrea [Nov. 30] An. 1525.

E. C. F. G.
subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 93 4.

(Wittenberg.)

(December 2, 1525.)

Caspar von Schwenkfeld to Luther.

(Regest.)

On Dec. 2, Schwenkfeld had a discussion with Luther and Bugenhagen about the Lord's Supper and on the same day, with this letter as an accompanying letter, he sent a letter from Krantwald about the Lord's Supper, which he asks to be considered. In this letter he says: "It is impossible that the Pabst's kingdom should perish as long as this article of flesh and blood stands in the sacrament of bread and wine." - Luther did not reply to both Schwenkfeld and Krantwald until April 14, 1526.

This letter is found in Schwenkfeld's Epistolar. (1570), vol. II, p. 27 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 277.

No. 935 .

Wittenberg.

December 6, 1525.

To Spalatin.

Luther wishes Spalatin luck on his marriage and returns to the reasons that prevented him from being at the wedding. Brisger delivered this letter.

The original is in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Dessav.* 86, 10, p. 8 (partly illegible due to wetness). Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 234. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 305 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 52 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 278. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 992.

To the learned and godly man, Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ and new man in the Lord, his extremely dear [friend].

Grace and peace in the Lord and delight in your exceedingly lovely wife,

also full of the Lord! As unpleasant as your marriage is to your brothers, the servants of Baal, 1) it is pleasant to me, indeed God has shown me nothing more pleasant in you (apart from the gospel) than that I should be worthy to see and hear you as a husband. But this too shall be considered as no small gift and fruit of the Gospel. But with what kind of heart I remained absent, and for what reasons I did not come to this exceedingly pleasant wedding of yours, M. Eberhard will tell. Thus everything turns around under the prince, who is a confessor of the Gospel and even chivalrous (*equestris*). We are less safe on the journey than under the prince who looked through his fingers and did nothing, and now mall is forced to fear those as servants of highwaymen and traitors who should be expected to be castles of refuge. But this in relation to those. I return to you wishing you great joy and many children, through Christ's blessing. Surely, my heart leaps in my body at your wedding, that, I want you to believe, not unlike my own. But I, poor man, would have sent you the golden Portugaleser 2) which you had given to mine, if I had not feared that you might take offense at it. Therefore, I am sending one that I still have left over from the wedding, and I do not know whether it was yours or not. But you will recognize by this small gift my exceedingly great affection for you. But what are words necessary? I am convinced that I am too well known to you to need my confession. Greet your wife in the most loving way, but you should do this when you hold Catharina in the marriage bed under the most loving embraces and kisses and think: "Behold, this person, the very good dear creature of my God, has been given to me by my Christ; to him be praise and honor. I, too, since I can guess the day on which you will have received this letter, will in the night, with the same work, send the letter to you.

3) I love thee in remembrance of thee, and will repay thee like with like. ⁴⁾ My rib in Christ greets both you and your rib. Grace be with you, Amen. Wittenberg, on the day of Nicolai [Dec. 6] 1525. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 936 .

Wittenberg.

December 9, 1525.

To Spalatin.

The chapter of the Altenburg Abbey had warned Spalatin in writing to desist from his supposed marriage and threatened him with the loss of his canonry for breaking the celibacy. For this reason, Spalatin turned to the Rector and the University of Wittenberg, and they instructed Luther to write to Spalatin, asking him what he should reply to those of their nobility.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 206. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 306 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 54 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 279. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 994.

To the highly venerable brother in Christ, Georg Spalatin, the faithful servant of God, Bishop of the Church at Altenburg.

Grace and peace! It has been charged to me, who am very busy, my dear Spalatin, that I answer you about the things you wrote to the Rector and the University. First, you may not give way to these proud Baal servants, but again despise them bravely, and answer them with lofty speech about this way: You, too, have taken marriage for this reason, so that you may bear witness before God and men, but above all testify to them that you will not consent to their wicked, impure, godless and devil-worshipping state, or rather to their Sodom, which is consecrated to fire and brimstone from heaven and will shortly be devoured. Therefore, you still admonish them to desist from their abominations and to desist from blaspheming God's word and work, but much more to desist from a punishment against you, who are not convicted nor condemned by the word of God, otherwise you would be compelled to take the hand of God.

3) In the original there is an insoluble word before *ea nocte*: "*max...*"; we have completed it to *maxime* and related it to *amabo*.

4) This entire sentence is missing from Aurifaber and De Wette.

1) That is, the canons of Altenburg. Spalatin was also a canon there, and the first to marry.

2) A Portugaleser is a gold coin worth about seven dollars.

of the prince, and to attack them in turn in such a way that they would rather wish they had never taken this upon themselves. With these writings you can also call upon the prince, 1) and remind him of his office that he should not allow you to be punished as an innocent man, but from the power that belongs to a prince, write to those senseless people that they should either convict you of an offense with the holy scriptures or leave you unpunished, so that he is not forced to defend the innocent man in such a way that their tyranny must make them repent. There will be no doubt that they will be deterred by this letter unless.

that God may harden them, that they may perish quickly. For those their arrows do not come from the quiver of others; therefore you may not fear, but suffer the shame, so that your judgment may also be borne in humility. Fare well and greet your chain (*catenam*), and let M. Eberhard be commanded to you. Wittenberg, Saturday after Nicolai [Dec. 9] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 93 7.

(Wittenberg.)

December 21, 1525.

To Duke George of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 504.

No. 93 8.

Wittenberg.

22, December 1525.

To Marquard Schuldorp in Magdeburg.

Luther consoles him in the anguish he has to suffer over taking a sibling in marriage.

The original is at the University Library of Rostock. Printed in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. I (1877), p. 321 and in the *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 283.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Marquard Schuldorp, 2) the servant of Christ, his extremely dear friend in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Mr. Marquard! That you have taken in marriage

1) Spalatin had already done this by complaining on Nov. 29 against Hans von Dolzig about the behavior of the chapter and on the same day he sent the letters of the chapter to Veit Warbeck.

2) Schuldorp from Kiel was inscribed in Wittenberg on July 13, 1521 and joined Amsdorf in particular,

Your 3) sister's or brother's daughter, I have said and written before, I still say and write that it is not wrong in the sight of God, there is neither a saying nor an example against it 4) in Scripture, but rather for and with it, that you are well assured of your conscience. Also, it may be found that the pope himself has allowed and dispensed for money and favor, and has set up another law against his right, which is not new in himself. And even if the pope did not do it, or if it were ever new with us, it is enough that it is not new with God. And what Pabst admits for the sake of money or favor, we may well need for the sake of God. That now much

What do you ask of them, do you not want to suffer anything? or should people, for your sake, be and do differently than they could? If those who would have advised you to do so would do so, you should not fidget about it, and consider God's right more than they do, if it cannot be otherwise, and you cannot in good conscience leave her, if the marriage has taken place and she is your love, until she is taken from you by force. And because the trouble presses so hard, and they make themselves out as if it were unjust, you ought to resist it all the more, as you know that St. Paul teaches and does where they want to deny him his freedom, and continues just then when they press upon him, and looks neither at trouble nor at laws. For we must always act defiantly and boldly if they want to weaken or deny us our freedom. If it is right, then keep over it, and the more, the more one wants to resist it or not suffer it. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen, and greet me your dear Hanna. I have a lot to do. At Wittenberg, on Fridays after St. Thomas [22 Dec.] 1525. Martin Luther.

with whom he also stayed in Magdeburg, and was married by him to his sister's daughter on Sept. 13, 1525, about which the canons raised a clamor. In 1527 he was appointed by Duke Frederick, later King Frederick I of Denmark, to the cathedral at Schleswig, where he celebrated German Mass and Vespers on July 16, 1528. He died of English sweat on Aug. 13, 1529.

3) In the original: "eurs".

4) In the *Erl. Briefw.*: "da weder", for which we have put "dawider".

5) Maybe: Woman?

No. 93 pp.

Dresden.

December 28, 1525.

Duke George of Saxony to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 508.

No. 9 40.

Wittenberg.

December 31, 1525.

To Michael Stiefel in Tolleth.

Luther sends his writing *de servo arbitrio*, comments on the sacrament controversy and thanks for a gift to be expected from Stiefel's mistress, Mrs. Jörger. —

Handwritten in Copenhagen in the old royal library, Ms. 1393, p. 116. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 309 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 59 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 294. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 996.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I send you the Erasmus I refuted, 1) as I was able to do in the brevity and haste, my dear Michael. And I like your opinion how powerful the prince of the world is, both 2) in preventing the fruit of the word, although he is obliged to allow it to be heard, and in sowing the sects of the wicked, that is, his tares. But this error of the sacrament has three sects, which are of the same mind. With other reasons Zwingli goes against Carlstadt, with others the Silesian Valentin 3) against both and all, of which you will hear in his time. This struggle of the sects is a sign that what they teach is of Satan, because the Spirit of God is not a spirit of disunity, 4) for God is not a God of disunity, but of peace [1 Cor. 14, 33].

Your mistress 5) together with her sons you want to

greet you affectionately, and give thanks for the gift sent, although it has not yet arrived, and perhaps will not arrive; but there is nothing wrong with it, the good will is enough. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the Sunday after the Nativity [Dec. 31], on which I received your letter. Anno 1526 [that is 1525].

Martin Luther.

No. 941.

(1525.) 6)

To the community in Penza.

Consolation over the persecution she suffered.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. IX, p. 1590; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 578; in Walch, vol. X, 2208; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 799 and in the Erlanger, vol. 56, p. 162 ff.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1920.

No. 942. (Before 1526.) To a woman.

Luther comforts her because of her weak faith.

Printed: "Houet Artickel vnde de vornemelykesten stücke vnses Christen domes mit spröcken, vth der hhylygen scriff beweret durch Benedictu Gretzinger. Tho the other time gecorriert Wittemberch 1526." At the end: "Gedrucket tho Wittemberch dorch Hans Weyß D. M. xx v. i." (cf. Panzer, Annalen II, No. 3079) and in Erl. Briefw., Bd.V, p. 296 according to a copy by pastor D. Krafft in Elberfeld. In the High German printings of the book, already from 1523 on, this letter does not appear. In the Erl. Briefw, it is in Low German; we have translated it into High German.

A Sendbrief Doctoris Martin Luther, quite useful to the weak believers.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear wife, I hear you say that your heart suffers great temptation in faith, which I am sorry for, and I ask God to graciously strengthen you, as I have no doubt that He will do so in time. Only give yourselves, as you know, into his will, whether he will still leave you like this for a while and have you like this, and think that weak faith is also faith, and Christ is as close to the weak as to the strong, as he is to the strong.

1) namely, the paper "Daß der freie Wille nichts sei," St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1668.

2) Erl. Briefw.: "here an "um seems to be missing". We have assumed that.

3) Valentin Krautwald, Canonicus and Lector at the Johannesstift in Liegnitz, was won over by Schwenkfeld for his views after initial fierce resistance.

4) Here, according to the Vulgate, we have inserted before *Deus* the words: *non enim est dissensionis*, which seemed necessary to us.

5) Mrs. Dorothea Jörger, not, as Aurifaber thinks, Stiefels Frau. Aurifaber lacks the puuctum after *pacis*. Therefore Walch translates: "But you will greet your peace wife with the dear children" 2c. In the previous one, he did not use the words *sed pacis*.

6) Both Burkhardt, p. 97, and Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 568, note 5, assign this letter to the year 1525, which De Wette and the Erlangen edition have placed in the year 1546, which is also repeated in the St. Louis edition.

Paul tells the Romans on the fourteenth that Christ himself is sinned against, since the weak are not spared. And Paul commands to accept the weak everywhere, from which it can be seen that the weak also sit in Christ's lap. And thank God that you have come so far that you feel your weakness, for this is a good sign of a certain faith among you. Woe to those who are completely mad and feel nothing! Therefore be of good cheer, and as Joel [Cap. 3:15.] saith, "Let the weak say, I am strong;" and Paul 2 Corinth, on the twelfth [v. 10.], "Strength increaseth by in strength." So it must be. I have also often 1) suffered the illness that I thought neither God nor Christ was anything, that 2) I wondered how such things could happen to me, since I was more certain of them than of my own life. God thus tempts us, but does not abandon us, which is better than an anger (erger), since something must have suffered. I hereby commend you to Christ, who makes you weak in your own strength, that he may strengthen you in his power. Amen.

No. 943.

(Strasbourg.)

(Early 1526.) 3)

Gerbel to Luther.

(Regest.)

Gerbel expresses his pain about the communion disputes. About secret machinations and vituperations of the Strassburgers against Luther. He urgently calls on Luther to write a larger document on the Lord's Supper because of the frightening arousal through which large crowds are being drawn away from Christ. About his second marriage.

Handwritten in Strasbourg in *Thes.* Printed in Röhrich, *Geschichte der Reformation im Elsaß*, vol. I, p. 458; in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 77 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 298.

No. 944.

Wittenberg.

January 2, 1526.

To Amsdorf.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1786, no. 12.

1) "vaken". This expression occurs only in the Westphalian dialect, and from this it can be concluded that Luther did not write this letter in Low German.

2) Inserted by us.

3) This time determination results from the fact that Casel delivered Luther's letter, which is answered in this letter.

No. 945.

Wittenberg.

January 3, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

On the release of a Protestant preacher in Lübeck.

From the Weimar Archive in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 43; in Walch, vol. XXI, 140; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 75 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 357.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn, Most Gracious Lord and Prince! I am sending here an answer from Lübeck to E. C. F. G.'s letter; and although some there ask me most earnestly that I should urge E. C. F. G. to write again, I do not know how to do it, because I do not know what they are writing, and I worry that they have cut off the first letter. That's what they say: When you beg the farmer, his belly gets big. It would like to blow out this farmer E. C. F. G. also the belly. But E. C. F. G. will know how to keep to this, even though I would like to see the poor man⁴⁾ go. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Wednesday after *Circumcisionis* [3 Jan] 1526.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 946.

(Wittenberg.) January

3. January 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for the Licentiate Basilius Axt for support.

From the Weimar Archive in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 43; in Walch, vol. XXI, 142; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 76 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 357.

4) The prisoner was the former Premonstratensian Joh. Ossenbrügge, who had held private services in the house of Tylen Kayser in Lübeck and had presented evangelical teachings. The city council had him arrested on Aug. 26, 1524, and although King Frederick of Denmark and Elector John of Saxony interceded for him on Dec. 4, 1525, he remained in prison until 1528. However, he had to leave the city after gaining his freedom and went to Reval.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! In response to E. C. F. G.'s letter, I have spoken with the licentiate, for the sake of surgery, 1). But it has been decided that nothing will come of it this time; not that he cannot do it, or is unskilled in it, but that the Faculty of Medicine thinks it should not be done, for the reason that [it] is an art that belongs to Practica, and should not be done with reading; For it includes anatomy and many other things that are not yet customary or practiced in our country; and especially if it were to be read in German, the balblers would make a mockery of it and not listen, because they consider themselves ready masters. Should one then buy mockery for money and contempt? would not be advice; otherwise it is enough. It is true that we would have gladly helped him herewith to service and office, as he also did with my lord. H. blessed, Duke Frederick, that H. C. F. G. might want to provide him with a service. For he has one of the nuns, 2) because of which he is not allowed to go to foreign principalities in the presence of the nobility and tyrants, and yet he is pious, faithful, learned and well kept by our physicians, so that he would be well worthy if H. C. F. G. would give him a year or two in pay or man's money, until God advised him with a service. And since I did not otherwise complain too much to E. C. F. G., I would like to humbly request that E. C. F. G. look at his great poverty and thirst, in which he is now in his third year, and give him one florin or thirty out of the remaining money of this foundation, one year or two only. After all, it is so well invested,

1) We have placed the words "for the sake of surgery" between commas. Because this was not done in the previous editions, the Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 301 made Basilius Axt a "Licentiate of Surgery". In our letter, it must have been about the establishment of a chair of surgery in order to provide for Basil. However, nothing came of it, because the medical faculty had declared itself against it with the reasons given by it.

2) Ave von Schönfeld.

than from Christ himself, and a truly Christian alms and charity. For he can well earn it, not only with his piety, but also in hospitals, and to visit and help the sick; which he does without any of that. Command this all in E. C. F. G.'s gracious concern; I have also helped him so far, but the monastery was better off than I was. Hereby commanded by God, amen. Wednesday after the New Year [3 Jan.] 1526.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 9 47.

Wittenberg.

January 4, 1526.

To Matthew Who in Reutlingen.

Luther expresses his joy about the state of the church in Reutlingen, which has so far remained pure and free of fanaticism. He approves of the changes made there in the ceremonies and warns him against new changes along the lines of the Wittenberg order of worship.

Printed by I. G. Füsing (actually Beger), Reformation der Stadt Reutlingen, 1717, p. 102; by C. M. Pfaff, *Acta et scripta publica ecclesiae Wirtembergicae*, 1719, p. 30; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 115; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 78 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 301.

To the man of God Matthew Alber, 3) the exceedingly faithful evangelist of the church at Reutlingen, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace! Your exceedingly dear brothers are returning to you, my dear Alber, for God wanted them to be so edified by us as they have been pleasant and sweet to us, not only by their own faith and godliness, but also by the exceedingly sweet message with which they have delighted us greatly, telling us that the state of your church is still intact and pure from these spiritual wickednesses. For seldom do we hear

3) Alber or, as Pfaff says, more correctly: Aulber was born on Dec. 4, 1495 in Reutlingen. Dec. 1495 in Reutlingen, studied in Tübingen and Freiburg, and was appointed preacher in his hometown in 1519, where he introduced the Reformation. Zwingli's attempt to draw him to his side by his letter of November 16, 1524 (St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1513) failed. In 1536, he met Luthern personally during the negotiations on the Wittenberg Concord. Expelled from Reutlingen in 1548 by the Interim, Duke Ulrich summoned him to Stuttgart. He died on Dec. 2, 1570.

We are forced to see and suffer sects, violence, the wickedness of Satan on all sides, on the right and on the left. The Lord Himself, who began His work in you and has kept it until now, keep it and complete it until His day, amen.

We like the changed ceremonies with you. We too have made changes and are now publishing them 1) for the sake of the neighbors who demand it. But beware that you do not change again according to our example, but persevere as you have begun, so that the weak are not annoyed by sudden and frequent innovations. Only see to it that you do not burden yourself too much with reading, and by stopping too much cause the listeners weariness. But experience and the diligence of the listeners will teach you this. The grace of God be with you, Amen. Wittenberg, January 4, 1526, Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 9 48.

Wittenberg.

January 4, 1526.

To the Christians of Reutlingen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1539.

No. 9 49.

Wittenberg.

January 5, 1526.

To Marquard Schuldorp.

Luther again encourages him in his marriage with his sister daughter.

First printed in script: "Grundt vnd orsake worup Marquardus Schuldorp hefft syner suster dochter thor ehe genamen, boweret dorch Ern Nicolau Amßtorp Licentiaten, vn Ern Martinum Luther Doctor yn der hylligen schrift. Anno 1526." 2 quarto sheets, no location given. The printer was (according to Hüllße, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Magdeburg*, 1880) H. Oettinger in Magdeburg. Then, as an appendix to Schuldorp's writing: "Breef an de Glöyigen dev Stadt Kyll." Further, incomplete: in the *Eislebensche Ausg.*, vol. I, p. 270; in the *Altenburger*, vol. III, p. 516; in the *Leipziger*, vol. XXII, p. 434 and in *Walch*, vol. X, 961. Supplemented from *Cod. Pal.* 689, p. 66, in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 83; in the *Erlanger*, vol. 53, p. 364 and in the *St. Louiser*, vol. X, 808. In all these editions with the inscription, "An einen Ungenannten." Since now the *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 304 contains significant improvements from your first printing.

we have reprinted this letter, using the same. - The Bries, written by Luther to Schuldorp, probably in Latin, was translated by the latter into Low German for his writing, and from there translated into High German by others.

To the honorable and prudent Marquardo Schuldorp of Kiel, I, Martinus Luther, wish grace and peace in Christ.

I have heard your writing, my dear Marquard, which you sent to me the closest, and I can easily believe, and almost certainly know, that many are angry and make a big fuss about the fact that you have taken your sister's daughter in marriage. And I do not want to help you that you did it with my advice and permission, that is, with God's advice and permission, which I took from divine Scripture. Yes, this is what causes the greatest annoyance of all, that you have taken the arch-heretic and damned man, the devil's apostle and apostate, Luther, as your council and followed him in this.

You should have given money to the most holy father, the pope, and bought and paid such a woman from the same womanizer. That would have been right, Christian and godly; no trouble would have remained, and you would have been honored as a pious child. The villain Luther gives justice and takes no money for it: is this not a great impudence? how can one suffer it!

Now, dear Marquard, I confess and admit that it is my divine counsel and permission. For there stands our foundation and rock: What God does not forbid, but leaves free, that shall remain free for everyone, and no one is to be obeyed who forbids what God wants to have free, but everyone is guilty of doing against such a prohibition with words and works, and always to defy it, Gal. 2 and 5.

Now this is evident, no one may say otherwise, except that God has not forbidden but left it free for sisters' children to marry each other, or for someone to take his brother's or sister's daughter. In spite of this, one letter here indicates otherwise. Although the pope is not too shy to forbear such things when money or favor do the intercession, even though he is still such a strict lord. However, we hope that God Almighty will ever be so wise as to give

1) "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes," St. Louis edition, vol. X, 226.

and to govern people as the pope is, and we should be more sure to follow God than the pope. But this does not help; there is no hearing here. Say, write, sing, or read, and they stand like sticks, even like stones. In short, eyes and ears closed, with the head through: Heretics, heretics, heretics! It is not right, it is not right! like the mad, raging dogs or ravening beasts in the forest.

Well then, because they do not hear badly, and want to have such divine freedom increased and dampened by force, you should 1) again say and do everything in spite of their great power, which only distorts them to the very highest and annoys them most bitterly. They are worth nothing else than that they see and hear what annoys them, because they rage and rage against that which should correct them; as it is written: He does not want the blessing, so it should come far enough from him. I have also taken a nun in marriage, though I might have advised it, and had no special cause, but that I had done it in defiance of the devil with his scales, the great men, princes, and bishops, who wickedly desire that spiritual persons should be free.

And I would like to cause even more trouble, if only I knew something more that would please God and annoy them. For with this I cool my temper at their raging against the gospel, so that they are angry, and I do not give anything to it, and always continue, and do it the more, the more they do not want it. They insist on force, so I defy the right, and will wait whether force or right will finally go and stay.

So I counsel you to do likewise. You should be sorry if they are not angry with you, for that would be a sign that you are living to please the enemies of the gospel. But if they are angry, you should laugh and be of good cheer, because you know that it pleases God.

But that some of the weak also take offense at this is not our fault, but the fault of the tyrants who resist the gospel, so that it is

cannot get there and teach the weak. Therefore they must answer for it. Even if it comes to that, that Christian and divine liberty wants to be muffled or desecrated, the same is more to be taken care of, than the weak; because in God's word is more, than in the whole world.

If they threaten death, Christ has more life than the devil has death. If they will take goods, Christ is richer than they. If they want to be ungracious lords and nobles, let them bind up their grace, so that it does not follow us, until Christ's grace is no longer suitable.

Stand firm, therefore, and do not turn to anger, wrath, displeasure, trouble, harm, or danger, because God is not against you, but with you.

First of all, you have the clear text that sister-daughter is not forbidden before God.

Secondly, that even before the pope it is not forbidden higher than for the sake of favor and money, and not for the sake of God, that whoever keeps it [keeps it] not for the sake of God, but for the sake of money.

Now hold them against each other, God and Pope, which is the greatest? which is more to be believed and followed? and which has more honest cause for itself? God leaves it free for the sake of His grace and our conscience. The pope bequeaths it and holds it captive for the sake of money and his tyranny.

Thirdly, you have the powerful example of Abraham, who confessed his Sarah for his right sister, on account of his father and not on account of his mother, Gen. 20. This must be that [she] was his stepsister, or, as the text reads, his brother Haran's daughter. But Abraham is far more than all the popes. If he has not gone to the devil about it, but has pleased God in such a marriage, then no one will stand in danger according to your example. If they are angry and blaspheme the work and example of the holy archfather Abraham, let them be angry.

God, whom Abraham pleased and served with it, will find them well. Only despise their anger and blasphemy as much as they despise and blaspheme your marriage. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, *quinta Januarii* 1526.

Martin Luther.

1) "Shall you" put by us instead of: "shall they".

No. 950 .

Torgau.

January 6, 1526.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector asks Luther whether he should write again to the Lübeckers about the imprisoned preacher. - Luther's concern, which is no longer present, must have turned out favorably, because the Elector wrote again on 20th January.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, X, fol. 109. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 98 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 304.

By the Grace of God John, Duke of Saxony and Elector. Our greeting before. Venerable and learned one, dear devotee! We have read the contents of your letter in addition to the reply sent by Lübeck to the preacher's half, which will be kept in prison with them, and although we have heard your concern, why it would not be convenient to write further to the preacher's half touched by Lübeck, but since you have not read their answer, and we, if it is to be done according to the form of the same, would not be disinclined to prescribe the poor man once again, we have not refrained from sending you a copy of the touched answer and to hear your objections to it. For even though the Lübeckers justify their action by Imperial mandate 2), we have not failed to send you a copy of our reply. Maj. mandate 2), they nevertheless continue to charge the preacher with it, and also indicate how they would have had to secretly imprison him for it, so that they now do not know how to release him for obvious reasons. Therefore, our gracious request is that you see the letter from Lübeck, and then let us know your concern as to whether or not he should further be [prescribed] 3) and what should be written about. For we will note your misgivings, which we will therefore duly abide by and show ourselves to, and in your gracious opinion have not wished to restrain you from doing so. Date Torgau, Saturday *trium regum* [6 Jan] Anno 1526.

No. 951 .

Wittenberg.

January 7, 1526.

All Amsdorf.

Luther asks him for assistance for a man, that he may help him to his rights.

- 1) "with ichten" == any.
- 2) The Worms Mandate.
- 3) Added by us.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 310; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 86 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 305. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 997.

Mercy and peace! This Georg Schmid has approached me with complaints, which I am sending to you, my dear Amsdorf, so that you may see whether what he says is true, then advise him and move the authorities. Thus he swears, thus he begs. Then he is a person who inspires great confidence, so that I, as much as one may believe a man, almost believe, although it is unbelievable that your authorities exercise such great tyranny that they should not only deny the right, but also an answer, and act wisely by force alone. Yes, I have not been able to become free from man in any other way than by writing to you and the authorities. He is ready to stand in judgment, to let himself be accused and judged by anyone and to receive what his deeds are worth. You do what Christ gives, so that he may either find help if he is innocent, or be convicted if he is guilty, and be at ease in the Lord. Wittenberg, January 7, 1526.

Martin Luther.

No. 952 .

(Wittenberg.)

January 9, 1526.

To Leonhard Beier.

Luther speaks approvingly of Beier's intended marriage to a former nun.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Gud.* 214, fol. 20. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 68; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 86 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 306.

Grace and peace in Christ! It has indeed pleased and seemed good to me that you married Gertrud full of Mylen 4) if the Lord granted it. Therefore, go according to my advice and according to my wish. Wish for it in the name of the Lord. I like this woman in many respects above her other comrades. I write about this matter to her relatives, as you asked. May the Lord grant your counsel, amen. Tuesday after Epiphany [9 Jan.] 1526.

- 4) Compare No. 915.

No. 953 .

Wittenberg.

January 12, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession that the Elector grant the exiled King Christian of Denmark a place of refuge in the Electorate.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, C, p. 252, No. 13. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 98 and in the Erlanger Briefw., Vol. V, p. 306.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! His Royal Majesty, full of Denmark, has written and sent me a message, and, among other things, has advertised and requested that, because His Royal Highness is evil-minded, to take up again, in order to avoid the unchristian nature and charm, 1) which His Royal Highness is reproached with in the Low Countries, I 2) would like to ask E. C. M. for help. K. M. in the Low Countries, I 2) wanted to ask E. C. F. G. for help, so that S. K. M. may be preserved here with little need, until God sends it otherwise. Now I am of the hope that it should not be necessary for me to stop, because it is before our eyes the great miraculous work of Christ, which He has done in this man and has so changed and converted him that we may recognize nothing else in him, but Christ Himself as our guest, and who knows for what purpose God sends this, that He pushes such a great prince into misery and gives us into the fold. But I know what may be said here, of which I would perhaps, when I come to Torgau, like to tell E. C. F. G. by oral speech through those who are to present it, only that E. C. F. G. will not refuse the wretched man a gracious answer or consolation. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt. At Wittenberg, Friday after Epiphany [12 Jan.] 1526.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martin's Luther.

1) The governor Margarethe wanted to make the king, who was in the Netherlands at that time, papal again.

2) "I" put by us instead of: "itself". That it must be read in this way is clear from the following: The thread is: The king has "let advertise and desire that ... I wanted . . . help stop" 2c. Immediately following: "Now I am of the hope, it may not of my stopping" 2c.

No. 95 4.

Torgau.

January 15, 1526.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector's negative reply to the previous letter.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. C, p. 252, No. 13. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 99 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 307.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! When you now wrote to us, with avoidance, what royal dignity of Denmark, our dear lord and uncle, had sought from you by writing and advertising. Dignity of Denmark, our dear lord and uncle, had sought from you by writing and advertising, which their royal search and advertising basically extends to the fact that their royal dignity is not to be found in Denmark. W.'s search and advertising basically extends to the fact that her royal dignity is considering to make a choice from some of the things you have written. We have heard all the contents that her Royal Highness of the place may have her fair entertainment through us. When then the said royal. W., as our lord and grandfather, is inclined to show me friendly courtesy in this matter, but since it is not known to you in any doubt what form your royal family took before, during the life of our dear brother, Duke Frederick, of blessed and praiseworthy memory, when your royal family had its being in Wittenberg for some time,³⁾ was impetuously approached by its creditors for payment, as well as at that time your royal family had its being in Wittenberg for some time, it is not known to you in any doubt what form your royal family took before, during the life of our dear brother, Duke Frederick, of blessed and praiseworthy memory. Therefore, we fear that if her K. W. would again settle in Wittenberg and be in our country, the same search would be left behind by her creditors as little as before, and it would probably result in a burdensome access and injustice for us, also for our lands and people. From all this, as you have to realize, it will be difficult and painful for us to maintain our lord and uncle, the king, in this place. If, however, their sovereigns will settle matters with their creditors and those to whom they are indebted, and set them on their way, so that they will be satisfied and we will be credibly informed of it, we then want to take action against their sovereigns. We will then kindly and unquestioningly show ourselves against their royal dignity at the request and request that has now been made.

3) Christian was in Wittenberg on October 10, 1523, and remained there until November, for on Nov. 6 he wrote a letter from there to the Elector. The debts he incurred will have been applied to his armaments for the reconquest of Denmark.

We did not want to restrain you in your gracious opinion, because we are inclined to be gracious to you. Date Torgau, Monday after Erhardi [Jan. 15] Anno 26.

No. 955 .

Torgau.

January 17, 1526.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector demands from Luther and his colleagues an objection to the marriage case of the pastor of Allstädt, Jodocus Kern.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, p. 528. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 100 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 308.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! Between the priest of Allstädt 1) and his wife, there have been misunderstandings and discord due to their marital relationship, for which reason we have ordered our castle to interrogate him on the same matter. He has now sent us a record of the proceedings he has had and what each party has brought forward, which we are sending to you in safekeeping together with a document that the said priest at Allstädt has now sent to us. And since this transaction must be proven and acted upon by divine Scripture, and thus well worthy of good consideration, it is our gracious request that you, along with other scribes, diligently survey and move what will be necessary to report to the pastor and his wife, and send us the same of your and the others' concerns, which you will draw to this end, along with the enclosed writings, so that we may continue to give our minds to our treasurer at Allstädt.

1) In Nuremberg in 1524, Jodocus Kern had married Ursula Tepler *), a nun who had left the Engelthal monastery, but who did not accompany him to Saxony, but wanted to follow him when he found a place to live. When he was gone, however, letters from her former prioress aroused her conscience, so that she only followed her husband at the urging of her relatives when he became Münzer's successor in Allstädt. The relatives advised him to keep her firm so that she would not disgrace the word of God. Kern seems to have followed this advice, because he forced her to eat meat on Char Friday 2c. Finally she escaped to Mansfeld. After several futile attempts to persuade her to return, the Schösser at Allstädt received orders to interrogate her, and both spouses had given him their answers on January 11. She did not listen to the admonition to return to her husband.

*) Thus Seidemann, *Lutherbrieffe*, p. 26. The *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 31, note 1: "Tagler".

have to report. For we have written to him to inform the priest and his wife that they are to stand still with the matter until further notice from us, which is to be given to them 2) shortly. We do not want to leave this unopened in your gracious opinion, and do us the favor of recognizing this with grace. Date Torgau, Wednesday Antonii [Jan. 17] Anno 26.

No. 956 .

(Wittenberg.)

January 20, 1526.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 514, no. 99.

No. 957 .

(Wittenberg.)

January 25, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther recommends Balthasar Ritter, who had left the monastery of Dobrilugk, as the future pastor of Wahrenbrück.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, fol. 40b. A. 2. 1526. 28. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 101 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 311.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The people of Wartinbrug 3) E. C. F. G. have written for a preacher, because the present one is not competent to preach the Gospel. Since the parish is in fief to the Abbot of Doberleth⁴⁾ and he himself is also inclined to appoint this Baltzer Ritter, letter-writer from the same monastery, who is willing to leave the monastery for such a reason, I think it would be a good idea not to refuse, but rather to appoint a new preacher.

2) "of them" is a conjecture of the *Erl. Exchange of Letters*. Burkhardt: "darinnen".

3) Burkhardt has the following note on this: "The pastor Köler and the castle of Liebenwerda had examined the pastors of Wahrenbrück and Friedersdorf, and found the former unfit, since he was very unclear in his sermons and did not want to administer the sacrament under either form, because, as he claimed, it had not been 'recognized' so far. The examiners, however, did not enforce Luther's will; the congregation had already accepted Jakob Krüger as a clergyman before the purchase of the Elector's order." - That "Wartinbrug" and "Wartinburg" in the text are not to be understood as "Wartenburg", which is only one and a half German miles away from Wittenberg, is shown not only by the feudal affiliation of the parish to the monastery of Dobrilugk, but also by the choice of the examiners from Liebenwerda.

4) This is Dobrilugk, in Lower Lusatia, where there was a Cistercian monastery.

1) Therefore,
my humble
request to E. C.
F. G. is that you
allow those at
Wartenburg to
accept this man,
so that they may
come to the
parish with good
grace. E. C. F.
G. will know
how to keep to
this. Hiemit
GOtt befohlen,
Amen.
Thursday St.
Paul's
[Conversion]
[Jan. 25] 1526.
E C F G

That should be there, that it should stand, and probably a strong man of spirit would waver in such a case. But if they cannot persuade their friends, what can be done? So let them go and live according to their will, and then let the priest be free, as if she had died, to do as he pleases. Whether or not the loose spirit causes a great deal of trouble through this deal, one has to command God, who will probably make something good out of it. The Gospel will not and cannot be without offense, but woe to him through whom such offense comes, Matth. 18. We have informed E. C. F. G. of this matter humbly. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Thursday St. Paul [Jan. 25] 1526.

E. C. F. G.
subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 959 .

Zwynarde.

January 28, 1526.

King Christian II of Denmark to Luther.

(Regest.)

The king reports to Luthern the departure of his wife with a detailed description of the sufferings and circumstances that preceded her death.

The original is in the Archives at Weimar, *Reg. O.*, p. 528. Printed in Seidemann, *Lutherbriefe*, p. 26; in Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 313 and (erroneously) in the *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1857, column 102, no. 5.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Johans, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have humbly received and overlooked all the correspondence sent to E. C. F. G. concerning the pastor of Allstädt and his wife. And because E. C. F. G. desires our concern in this matter, we consider it best to have the woman brought to her friends in Nuremberg and there to try her for a while to see if the devil will give way to God's good admonition, since it is to be feared that she will remain with the people where she is now, and does not allow herself to be spoken or written about in any way, because there she has ears, eyes and all senses and hearts full of contradiction without interruption, and in addition is a woman who, through the natural nature of female weakness, also has the temptation of both the devil and men against her, so that great wonder and joy are the result.

Printed in *Spalatini annales ap. Mencken*, II, 652 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 313 ff.

No. 960 .

Wittenberg.

February 2, 1526.

To Justus Menius in Erfurt.

Answer to a letter of recommendation received, and from Luther's writing: "Deutsche Messt und Ordnung Gottesdiensts."

From the original in the royal library in Munich in De Wette, vol. III, p. 88 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 317 f.

To Justus Menius, evangelist of the people of Erfurt, his brother in Christ.

Mercy and peace! When he comes whom you have recommended, I will not lack anything, my dear Justus, if I can only be of use. I wonder, however, how it happened that the booklet about the nature of our ceremonies 2) has not yet been published.

2) *ceremonialis nostrae farinae*, that is the "Deutsche Messt" 2c., St. Louis edition, vol. X, 226.

1) Burkhardt: "kome".

which has been wandering around for more than a month since its publication, in which the last melody of the Epistles and Gospels 1) is more pleasing to me, although ours do not use it; but I would like you and others to use it. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the day of the Purification [of Mary] [Feb. 2] 1526. Mart. Luther.

Efforts will be made that "the council and master four" 2) will be written.

No. 9 61.

Wittenberg.

February 9, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

About the cancellation of the papal ceremonies in the Altenburg monastery.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 339; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 553; in Walch, vol. XXI, 145; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 88 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 367.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! In response to E. C. F. G.'s letter concerning the ceremonies of the convent at Altenburg, I humbly express my concern. First of all, I am pleased with the way the preachers in Altenburg have expressed their concerns. However, to strengthen E. C. F. G.'s conscience in the matter and to attack the idolater more gently, I hereby offer this addition to E. C. F. G.: namely, that E. C. F. G. lets himself be heard that E. C. F. G.'s conscience hardly wanted to be, and that E. C. F. G.'s conscience should not be, and that E. C. F. G.'s conscience should not be. conscience would hardly want to be, and quite unfit before God, to allow such their being any longer; as it is then also all the more true; for which reason I graciously suggest that they either abstain completely, or if not, that they keep their doings secretly without annoyance.

Such conscience have E. C. F. G. two reasons. The first, because the C.F.G. is certainly informed by God's Word that such blasphemous worship is unlawful and condemnable, and yet, as a secular authority, must protect it, and, having hitherto been provided with interest and goods, must manage it, would finally be in front of

God will also bring all her abominations home to E. C. F. G.'s conscience and weigh them down, as he will provide money, goods, protection and all works of approval for such abominations. And if such an abomination could or would go without C.C.F.G. protection and preservation, it would be excused and would have to let it go; but since it cannot remain without C.C.F.G. protection and preservation of the place, C.C.F.G. conscience would always have to be involved and guilty, as it could prevent it, and does not. The other reason is that a secular ruler is not to tolerate that his subjects are led into disunity and discord by obnoxious preachers, from which there would ultimately be a fear of riot and disorder, but in one place there should also be the same preaching. For this reason, the Nuremberg monks have stopped their monks and closed the monasteries.

But whether they will plead their consciences, that shall not help them; for they are first required to prove their consciences and presumptions with the Scriptures, or to be instructed. For this reason they have refused, and have publicly declared that they do not wish to engage in scriptural disputation, but will remain in their established custom, as proven by the Christian church. Thus they give sufficient testimony against themselves that they fabricate such consciences and only pretend to do so. For a right conscience does and desires nothing better than that it may hear the teaching of the Scriptures and dispute its matters with the Scriptures. But they willfully despise the Scriptures; therefore it would be right for them to be silenced or not to suffer, for the same reason, as those who have nothing good in mind, because they shun the light and will not wait for the Scriptures.

But for more glimpses, E. C. F. G. may offer them once again, yes, even demand with seriousness, that they try themselves with the preachers at Altenburg in the Scriptures, and act with Scripture against Scripture. If they can stand with the Scriptures, then so be it; if not, then, according to the Nuremberg example, they are freshly commanded to be silent and to refrain, and thus the same sermon and manner will be carried out at Altenburg.

But lest they say that mau forces them to believe, that is not the opinion; son

1) St. Louiser edition l. c. 251 ff.

2) "Meister vier" are probably the quarters and craftsmen. Seidemann-De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 558, note 10.

They are only left with the public annoyance that they themselves cannot maintain, and must confess that it is not founded in Scripture, and yet they want to keep it, wantonly to ruin other souls and to harm country and people, also to shame and ridicule God and His Gospel. They let them be content that they are left with body and soul, with protection and honor in the country, and that they may worship and serve in their chambers whom they want and as many gods as they want; publicly, they should not blaspheme the right God and deceive the people, because they prove from the Scriptures that they have the right and justification to do so.

This is what E. C. F.. G. wanted to give an answer to her request, put all this in E. C. F. G.'s favor and judgment. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. At Wittenberg, Friday after Dorothea [9 Feb.] 1526.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 9 62.

(Wittenberg.)

February 9, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Melanchthon's salary.

The original is in the Archives at Weimar, *Reg. O.*, p. 143. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 43; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 90; in Walch, vol. XXI, 144 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 369.

To My Most Gracious Lord, Duke John, Elector of Saxony. For his churfürstl. Gn. himself.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! E. C. F. G. has ordered in the regulations of the university to give M. Philippsen 200 fl. per year. Now the man complains about taking this, for the reason that, because he is not able to read the Scriptures so rigidly and daily, he would not like to take it with a good conscience, and thinks that E. C. F. G. demands such strict reading from him, so my saying and interpreting does not help him at all: for this reason, my humble request is that E. C. F. G. would purify and interpret her mind toward him herself, rather than that she be satisfied that he is reading the theology.

He should help him with the disputation and reading, as was done before, but as much as he can, even if it is only once a week, or as much as he can. For even if E. C. F. G. gave him such pay for a year or two, he would be well worth it, since he had previously read the Scriptures for two years without pay, with great labor and fruit, and perhaps also partly spoiled himself with it. I would like to bring the Scriptures back here in the Schwang, because we are looking for understanding of the Scriptures in all places. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen. Friday after [9 Feb.] 1526.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 9 63.

Wittenberg.

February 12, 1526.

To Eberhard Brisger in Altenburg.

From its economic and domestic affairs.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in *Cod. Gud.* 214, fol. 62. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 312; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 91 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 319. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1000.

To Magister Eberhard Brisger, pastor at Altenburg.

Grace and peace! What I have done in your matter, even before you asked me, with Nicolaus Demuth, my dear Eberhard, you will recognize from this letter of his. I am overwhelmed with expenses and financial expenditures, otherwise I would have laid out for you in the meantime. But I am very surprised that you have been so involved in debts; but you are right to acknowledge that it is a temptation from God. Now all that is left is for you to bear this wisely and await the end of a happy outcome, which you do not see, nor does it behoove you to see. He will not leave thee, nor let a bird die of hunger. That your salary should be reduced and your wood denied is a thing worthy of the despisers of the word, for so they have deserved that their perishable possessions should not serve the word.

But that of your wife moves me more, but one must also suffer this danger and ask God to avert what is feared. Certainly can not deny

that there is danger if the fruit is not felt; but if she has felt it at first from time to time,¹⁾ one may still have good hope, because (as I hear) the fruit tends to rest for a while; unless, for instance, your wife does not understand what it is to feel the fruit, about which one must investigate. Greetings to you and your chain, mine, whose fruit has been felt for about six weeks, thanks be to God and praise. We wish and pray the same for you and yours, and may Christ grant that we may see the children with joy, amen. Farewell and pray for me. Greetings to Spalatin in the Lord. Wittenberg, Monday of Carnival Week (*Bacchanaliorum*) [February 12] 1526.

Martin Luther, v.

No. 96 4.

Torgau.

February 13, 1526.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector's gracious answer to Luther's two letters of February 9.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, Reg. O, p. 124. 22. 15 a. Printed in Burkhardt, p. 102 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 320.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We have heard your letter and concerns about what is to be reported to the Chapter at Altenburg concerning the ceremonies, singing and the reading of the Mass, and have graciously noted this from you; accordingly, God willing, we want to continue to show ourselves Christian and unquestioning in these matters. When you also wrote to us on a note on behalf of Philip Melanchthon, we read it out, and our minds were not, as they are not, that Philip should be bound to read daily against the pay in the Scriptures, as he perhaps thinks, for we have ordered him the same pay more out of grace than that we should bind him to the work that is somewhat infallible to him on account of his body, as we also write to him in this regard. 2) We do not want to restrain you in your gracious opinion, because we are inclined to be gracious to you. Date Torgau, on Tuesday after Estomihi [February 13] Anno Domini 1526.

1) Instead of *sensisti*, *sensit* or *senserit* will be read. 2) This letter is missing.

No. 9 65.

(Wittenberg.)

February 18, 1526.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

On the writings published against Zwingli and Oecolampad and the death of Queen Elizabeth of Denmark.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* and in *Cod. Jen.* B 24, fol. 161. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 311; in *Unsch. Nachr.* 1721, 873 (with the wrong year 1529); in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 92 and in *Erlanger Briefwechsel*, vol. V, p. 321. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 997f.

To Johann Agricola, the extremely faithful educator of the youth in Eisleben, the servant of Christ, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Again, I have nothing to write, my dear Agricola, but I write to greet you and your wife, because what you asked for in your last letter, I believe, has become known to you in the meantime, namely that of the Strasbourg heretics; God convert them. For against Oecolampad and Zwingli, excellent things have been written by the very learned men of Swabia 3) (this book is published here anew), moreover, Billicanus has also written briefly (whose book I send here), but those have written extensively and learnedly. I hope that theirs will finally be hopeless, which they have so confidently praised so far. This one heresy now has five sects,⁴⁾ all of which have the same opinion, but with different grounds of proof; therefore they will soon perish.

That royal woman and in truth a queen, Elizabeth, the wife of the king of the Danes, departed from life, as the king himself wrote to me, but she departed in a great faith, having received the Lord's Supper according to the right custom of Christ, and could not be persuaded, though she was strongly challenged by the great ones, that she should return to the faith of the pope,

3) The so-called Syngamma Suevicum, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 520, no. 14.

4) Namely Carlstadt, Zwingli, Oecolampad, Krautwald and Schwenkfeld, and Petrus Florus in Cologne. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, annex, no. 128.

namely Christ also wanted to bring a queen to heaven once. I commend the teacher of the high children to you, and greet your Elsa and all of ours. My chain also greets you with yours and often remembers you with reverence. Farewell forever. February 18, 1526.

Martin Luther.

No. 966.

(Wittenberg.)

February 21, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks for support for the parfüßermönche in Wittenberg.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, p. 108. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 43; in Walch, vol. XXI, 144; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 93 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 370.

Meim gnädigsten Herr, Herzog Johannis, Churfürsten 2c. To Sr. C. F. G. himself.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Here the poor brothers are complaining about the Barefoot, as E. C. F. G. will hear from their petition. Now it is only right that others should enjoy the monastery, as some already have good parts of it, so that they are not pushed into misery in their old age, which would bring E. C. F. G. great displeasure and calumny along with all of us and the Gospel. I know very well that E. C. F. G.'s mind is not like that, but the poor people cannot be cared for like that,¹⁾ so they are not cared for like it would be Christian and fair that E. C. F. G. would be reported sufficiently. Please, therefore, let E. C. F. G. order the poor people from the monastery property to be provided for as long as it lasts; who knows how long they will live? And perhaps among them there might be one who would be the judge of us all on the last day. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Wednesday after Invocavit [February 21] 1526. Martinus Luther.

No. 967.

(Wittenberg.)

(February 25?) 2) 1526.

To Amsdorf.

Luther reports that he has not yet been able to find a position for Joh. Honhof. About the baptism of Carlstadt's second son. About the writings against Zwingli and Oekolampad.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 311 d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 94 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 323. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 999.

Grace and peace in the Lord! There was no opportunity, my dear Amsdorf, to help this poor Johann Honhof to a position. For there are many here, so that if one could measure according to the number of the Scriptures, one could turn the gospel around and say [Matth. 9, 37.]: There are many workers, but the harvest is small. But the miserable and needy belly makes such people much, in the spirit nevertheless remain few workers. Yesterday we baptized a son to Carlstadt, or rather we rebaptized the baptism. 3) Godparents are Jonas, Philippus, my Käthe; I have been a guest with others in a hurry. This happened in Segren on the other side of the Elbe, where Carlstadt is located. Who would have thought in the previous year that it could happen that those who called baptism a dog's bath should now ask for it even from their enemies! Whether 4) they desire this from the heart or sincerely must be left to God, but these are great miracles when one sees how the works of God run counter to the works of men. Farewell and pray for us. On the day of the bride of Bruno 5) 1526.

Two books against Zwingli and Oekolampad are published by us, one of the

2) This date is Seidemann's assumption in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 453.

3) D. Caspar Glatz wrote to Spalatin that Carlstadt's wife, after she had given birth to their second son in Orlamünde while Carlstadt was away (i.e. after October 1524), refused to perform the baptism and gave him the name Andreas herself.

4) Instead of *Sive* we have assumed *Si*.

5) The Erl. Briefw. remarks: "*Bruno* is probably Bruno Brauer, the later pastor at Dobien near Wittenberg," and Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 453, note 3: "Was Bruno's first wife called Walpurg?" His determination of the time is based on this. "Walburg" (see St. Louiser Ausg., vol. XV, 127) is February 25.

1) In the original "furkommen", which here is probably as much as: "to get away". Dietz does not have this meaning.

Theobald Billican, the other of the 14 ministers of the Word in Swabia, who [books] are very learned and exceedingly loud, and guard the right faith in the Sacrament excellently; you will see them with joy if you have not seen them yet.

No. 96 8.

Wittenberg.

March 9, 1526.

To Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for the miller Christoph Mocha zu Segren.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, fol. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 44; in Walch, vol. XXI, 148? in De Wette, vol. III, p. 95 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 371.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I humbly inform E. C. F. G. that the good, poor man, Christophel Mocha, of Segrehn, has recently been noticeably damaged by E. C. F. G.'s order. The fault lies with the commanders, who neglected to let the good man come neither to interrogation nor to evidence, but let the day of assistance go by postponing the inspection of the mill. Now he has good churfürstl. Now he has a good fief over the same mill, which I have seen and want to prove with the whole village that he is being wronged; therefore my humble request is for him, as he has asked me, because he is a poor man, has many children and little, that E. C. F. G. wants to help others. F. G. want to give orders to others, who could wait for it and would be suitable, as the captain of Heimchen and possibly a nobleman, that they inspect and recognize it, so that the good man does not suffer such damage and violence to further ruin. E. C. F. G. has also promised to build him several logs of wood, but it has not been done, and it will be delayed until the locksmith does not want to know anything about it.

E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously comply with this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Friday after Oculi [March 9] 1526.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 969 .

Torgau.

March 16, 1526.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Answer, how the complaint of Luther about the reprinting of his books fei. - The letter of Luther in this matter is missing.

The concept is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. N*, fol. 109. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 103 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 324.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We have received your letter, in which you inform us that the foreign printers are to the detriment of those in Wittenberg, and that they should print your books with such carelessness that you yourselves do not know them, with further content and your request. Now we would be inclined to grant your request by sending out notices to several places, also to the printers at Wittenberg, in the same way as the Pope, Imperial Maj. and Venetian printers. Maj. and the Venetians are wont to do to their printers, freedom and pardon should be granted. We fear, however, that if we were to do so,¹⁾ it would introduce an inaccuracy, but we think that it should be so, if something special new were to be printed by you in Wittenberg, that we would be notified of it beforehand; so we are graciously inclined to give the printers a special pardon for this, in which a named time is to be expressed, that within the same time no one is to reprint the same materials (marteri) in our princedoms. Similarly, we will gladly encourage others outside of our country, so that this may remain with their printers as much as possible. If you now think that the printers, even you yourselves, are sufficient for this, we will graciously respond to your further request. In our gracious opinion, we do not want to hold you to this. Date Torgau, on the 16th day of March, Anno Domini 26.

1) "thäten" (in the concept perhaps: "teten") put by us instead of: "liten" in Burkhardt and "litten" in Erl. Briefw.

No. 9 70.

Königsberg.

(Around March 24) 1526. 1)

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The duke, who "by the help of God and Luther has come to the light of true knowledge," invites him to his wedding, scheduled for June 24 (it did not take place until July 1), to Elisabeth, the eldest daughter of King Frederick I of Denmark.

Printed in the manuscript: "Das erste Fürstliche Ehliche Beylager, Welches Ihre Fürstl. Serene Albrecht Marggraff zu Brandenburg, first Duke in Prussia glorious commemoration held here in Königsberg, and to which he among other distinguished gentlemen and friends also especially Mr. D. Martinum Lutherum graciously invited. Königsberg 1646." 1 sheet in quarto; in Bock, Grundriß von dem merkwürdigen Leben Herrn Albrecht d. ä. von Preußen, Königsberg 1745, p. 206; in Tschackert in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XI, 281 and in Erlanger Briefw., Vol. V, p. 325.

No. 9 71.

(Torgau.)

(Around March 27, 1526.)

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Credentials for D. Hieronymus Schürf and Melanchthon for the negotiation with Luther about the Mainz Rathschlag.

According to the original concept in the archives at Weimar printed by Burkhardt, p. 104 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 327.

Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have ordered the Reverend Hieronymo Schürf, Doctori, and Philippo Melanchtoni, our councillor and dear faithful, to talk to you about our opinions. We therefore request that you give them credence in what they will tell you, and since the matter, 2) the booklet, which is based on the advice of the clergy, 3) is understood, and you well know how

1) Other invitations to this wedding went out on March 23 and 24; this one will have happened at the same time.

2) We put the comma after "Sach".

3) At the beginning of December 1525, deputies of all suffragans had gathered at Mainz, summoned by the cathedral chapter, and decided to proclaim the emperor by a special legation against Lutheranism. A copy of these resolutions came into the hands of Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, who communicated them to the Electoral Court. At the meeting of Landgrave Philip with the Elector at Gotha on February 27, this Mainz advice and the possible countermeasures to be taken were also discussed, and it was decided to communicate the same to Luther so that he would "denounce the Capitel unchristian and

Therefore, we request that you let yourselves be heard with answers against them, so that it may be unobjectionable to us and you, as well as to our cousin, Duke Jörgen, to no unfriendly will. You do our pleasing opinion. Date 2c.

No. 9 72.

Wittenberg.

March 27, 1526.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

On economic and other matters. Luther refuses to draft a general order of worship.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe No. 25 (with Hausmann's inscription: *De vasculo vitreo, de ordinario* (of the little glass vessel; of the "order"). Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 19. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 312 d; by De Wette; vol. III, p. 96 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 328. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1001.

To Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the city of Zwickau, his superior in Christo.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I thank you for the little vessel, my dear Nicolaus, and I did not expect that it would be made with so much work and effort, namely a wicker one would have been sufficient. But now you have made it all too dear and valuable to my Käthe, as women are wont to be. I admire the minerals very much, but I don't want to deprive you of them. You have people to whom you can give if something is left over, so that you don't lose it to my curiosity.

I have given this brother a carefully written letter to the prince; I hope it will be useful to him.

You want me to make a general order of ceremonies, but how can I do that with so much business? Would that

self-servingly noble pranks". Luther set about publishing the Rathschlag with a preface and epilogue. The beginning of the text had already been printed when the Elector, fearing a new flare-up of Duke George, prevented further printing. Nevertheless, Duke George received a copy, and a heated correspondence ensued that lasted into November. Luther's writing, insofar as it still exists, can be found in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, 339 ff, No. 826.

God, that you would design a form and send it to me, so that you too would do something in this matter, according to the gift of God given to you. Farewell, my dearest brother. My rib greets you. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Palmarum [March 27] 1526. Martin Luther.

No. 9 73.

Wittenberg.

March 27, 1526.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2641, annex, no. 128.

No. 9 74.

(Wittenberg.)

(After March 27, 1526.)

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther offers to stop the printing of the Mainz Rathschlag.

The original is in the Archives at Weimar, X, p. 71. 6.18. 6. Printed in De Wette, vol. III, p. 99 and in the Erlanger Ausg. vol. 53, p. 372.

To My Most Gracious Lord, Duke John, Elector of Saxony. To S. C. F. G. himself Handelt.

Grace and peace! Most gracious sir, I had intended not to think about Duke Georgen any further, because his thought is in [the] next printed quatern of the council.

¹⁾ And if it would please E. C. F. G. to refrain and not to express it fully, I would be satisfied, and allow myself some time. For however C.C.F.G. wishes to proceed or pay with it, it shall be done. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 9 75.

Wittenberg.

April 8, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Repeated intercession for the Miller Christoph Mocha to Segren.

The original is in *Cod. Gothan.* (mutilated). Printed by De Wette, vol. III, p. 304 (placed in the year 1528 because he did not decipher the year); in the Erl. Edition, vol. 53, p. 444 (according to De Wette) and in Burkhardt, p. 105. - The words in square brackets are added by Burkhardt, those in round brackets by us.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have previously written to E. C. F. G. also for Christophel [Mocha zu Segrehn] 2) and requested that E. C. F. G. would graciously have his matter examined for the mill. Now he comes and asks for more (and asks) for shells; has gone, how he can do it all better orally. He is also promised to build some wood beforehand. But because it is in arrears, the locksmith does not want to know anything about it. Therefore, I ask for him humbly. He is a poor man and has a house full of fine, pious children. E. C. F. G. would graciously show himself against him. Hiemit GOtt besohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Sunday after Easter [April 8] 1526.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 9 76.

(Wittenberg.)

April 14, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

About the sending of two preachers, one to Gera, the other to Arnstadt. Intercession for a poor person.

From the Weimar Archive in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 46; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 100 and in the Erlangen Edition, vol. 53, p. 373.

To My Most Gracious Lord, Duke Johann, Elector. To Sr. C. F. G. himself.

Grace and peace. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! E. C. F. G. has written to me for two preachers, one to be assigned to Gera, the other to Arnstadt, so I have asked around, and two are available. Now I am reported that the Lord

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 359, note 3 - From this passage it is evident that the entire Rathschlag, as far as it has been printed at all, is included there.

2) Here De Wette shows a gap, while Burkhardt has inserted these words in round brackets. The Erl. Briefw. does not indicate a gap.

1) refuse, and have not requested E. C. F. G. to appoint preachers, because they alone should have the right, and I also do not know whether they have requested it, and how E. C. F. G. has the power. I say this because I would like to present the preachers in such a way that there would not be any displeasure afterwards; however, E. C. F. G. will know how to dispose of all this.

There is also, most gracious Lord, here a supplication from a poor person whom I cannot help with as much effort as I have had; for this reason, I humbly ask E. C. F. G. to promote his cause with those at Jessen with a small letter. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen. Saturday after Quasimodogeniti [April 14] 1526.

E. C. F. G. most subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 9 77.

Wittenberg.

April 14, 1526.

To Valentin Krautwald in Liegnitz.

Luther's verdict on a paper sent to him by Krautwald on the Lord's Supper.

Handwritten in Breslau, in Rhediger's collection of letters, VII, no. 6. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 71; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 122 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 337.

Martin Luther to Valentin Krautwald (*Cratoaldo*).

Grace and peace in the Lord! As you wished, we have read your booklet, my dear Valentine, where you teach in other words, namely: in image and in truth, a thing that is quite well known in all streets. For who does not know that there is a twofold food, of the body and of the soul? What is the need to deal with these things in so many words and so anxiously? But what should be proved and what I had asked for, you completely ignore. But I had asked for this - that, as the passage John 6 is clear, that he speaks of a twofold meal, so also you would like to prove that Christ in the evening

1) The ruler in Gera was Heinrich der Beharrliche von Reuß; in Arnstadt Günther XXXIX von Schwarzburg, both churfürstliche vassals, but fierce opponents of the Reformation.

I see your words and the forcible application of Christ's words to what is written in John 6. I see your words and the forcible application of Christ's words to what John 6 says; but that application or *assimilation* (*assimulatio*) is not proven, nor can it ever be proven from the words of the Lord's Supper. Therefore I cannot admit yours. I therefore still beg you, if my request can find any place, to desist from this opinion, which already corrupts more than enough souls, lest you also become guilty and increase the corruption in the church; but if you are given over to your judgment, that you may do harm, do harm as much as Christ permits. I remain of the opinion that the words are to be understood in a simple way. You may see, I am innocent of your blood and of those whom you corrupt and will corrupt. Be well and return to a sound mind, or stop calling us brethren or participating in any naming of Christ. We do not want to agree with your teachings, nor can we. Wittenberg, on the day of Tiburtius 2) [, Valerianus and Maximus] [April 14] 1526.

No. 9 78.

Wittenberg.

April 14, 1526.

To Caspar von Schwenkfeld.

Similar content as the previous letter.

Handwritten at Breslau in Rhediger's collection of letters, VII, no. 7. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 45; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 123, with the wrong date: "August 11" and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 383.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1660, no. 33.

No. 9 79.

(Wittenberg.)

April 14, 1526.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther asks him to have the privileges promised to the printers in Wittenberg made out and sent to them, for the chancery costs he says good.

2) It is not *this Tiburtii et Susannae*, II August, as De Wette has incorrectly reduced it. The resolution given by us after the Erl. Briefw. is also confirmed (except by the following letter) by Bugenhagen's letter to Krautwald and Schwenkfeld of April 13, in Vogt, Bugeichagens Briefwechsel, No. 19.

From the autograph (erroneous, in our opinion) in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 45; in Walch, vol. XXI, 154; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 124 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 383. In the latter two with the wrong date: "August 11".

To the respectable, highly esteemed Mr. Gregor. Brück, the right Doctor and churfürstlichem to Saxony Chancellor, my favorable master and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, dear Lord Chancellor! Our printers are sending you 1) a messenger to fetch the freedom promised to them, of which M. Philipps will also speak to you; therefore, it is my diligent request that you 2) help them to produce and send the same, but indicate what is to be given to the chancellor for this purpose,³⁾ [it] shall be sent to you without delay. There I sit down, and if that is not enough, M. Philipps shall also sit down for it. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Saturday *Tiburtii* [April 14] 1526.

Mart. Luther.

No. 9 80.

(Wittenberg.)

April 18, 1526.

To Johann Agricola.

Luther recommends the Wendalin Faber as a teacher at a German school to be established. From the vessel received from Zwickau.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenberger*. Printed after the Schmid collection at Helmstädt in Schütze, vol. II, p. 69 and in De Wette, vol. III, p. 103; after the *Cod. Ratzenb.* in the Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 339. We have translated according to De Wette.

The; Mr. Johann Agricola, the instructor of the youth
"at Eisleben, his brother in the HErrn.

Grace and peace! Lest so many and so great things come, so much and so great you fear them, my dear Agricola, once again grace and peace. By the way, according to our testimony, Wendalin 4) is also worthy of being revered, not only cherished and cared for, because of his loyalty. He is

1) "you" put by us instead of: "him".

2) "them" put by us instead of: "him".

3) Ads" put by us instead of: "Anzeigers".

4) Wendalin Faber, recommended here as a teacher of the elementary school in Eisleben and soon accepted, later became the castle preacher of Count Gebhard von Mansfeld in Seeburg and as such signed the Schmalkaldic Articles. In the antinomian controversy he was Agricola's opponent. He delivered this letter.

But there, so that, if there is any hope of establishing a German school, he may take upon himself the work and the burden of teaching the children, as it is said that one has heard something from you that such a salary can be procured from the grass or from the authorities. You will therefore do what you can, and may you not desist from assisting the man who, according to my judgment, is holy in Christ. So much from him. That little vessel of Zwickau, oh how much and how much it has changed from what you saw, 5) when you saw it. But of this and the goblet given to me by Meinhard 6) another time. For I did not want that today and in such a short letter these wonderful things are treated. Fare well with Elsa and with her 7) grapes in the Lord. On April 18, 1526, your Martin Luther.

No. 981 .

(Wittenberg.)

April 20, 1526.

To Johann Rühel.

About a gift made to Luther's wife, which is unpleasant to Luther.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 271; in the Altenburger, vol. III, p. 517; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 550; in Walch, vol. XXI, 149; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 103 and in the Erl. Edition, vol. 53, p. 375.

Grace. Dear Doctor and Brother-in-Law! That you have given to my daughter here in Wittenberg,⁸⁾ I have been murdering inside for a long time.

5) What kind of vessel it might have been, we are not able to guess. In No. 972, Hausmann has described it in his inscription as a "glass one", for which a wickerwork, as Luther writes, would have been sufficient; in the letter to Agricola of May 11, it is called a "tin-glass one". But it was so beautiful that Luther's wife had taken it so much to her heart that, when Luther wanted to send it as a gift to Agricola, she got rid of it with the help of Jonas and Bugenhagen. In No. 999 it is called "a glass" (*vitrum*).

6) Christoffel Meinhard, a citizen of Eisleben who had formerly been a follower of Münzer.

7) Here we have assumed with the Erl. Briefw. *suus* instead of *tuis* assumed.

8) The Archbishop of Mainz, as reported in the Tischreden, Cap. 31, ? 2, (St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 975), the Archbishop of Main had sent 20 gold florins to Luther's wife through a doctor in 1525. Kolde, "Martin Luther", vol. II, p. 205 refers our letter to it and the Erl. Briefw. assumes this. But this seems very doubtful to us, not only because of the year 1525 (which might be wrong), but mainly because of what Luther says here about the "Firmelung" and the "firmelen", which can hardly go to the Cardinal of Mainz.

I could not do otherwise, you would have taken it away again, as I asked. But since the man causes such trouble through the confirmation, I was willing to send it all back to you, and I have not yet decided to keep it. For I should be guilty of other people's sins if I took it from him who so publicly mocks Christian doctrine. And I tell you that I am moved by such a thing, and that I almost leave the Psalter and Psalms behind. But it was not necessary to "confirm", it would have been done by someone else. Dear Lord, let us not grumble here. If we are serious about God's word, then it does not suffer from jiggery-pokery. The psalms are not yet finished, for I have too much to do. It is not speaking and doing one thing. Your Psalterlin shall become yours. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, am 20. April 1526. Martinus Luther, Schrift D.

No. 9 82.

Torgau.

April 21, 1526.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Elector informs Luther that Erasmus has complained to him about Luther's harsh letter. Now he sends a copy of Erasmus' letter to Luther and requests that he, along with Melanchthon, raise a concern and indicate to him what he should reply to Erasmus.

The concept is in the Weim. Archiv, *Reg. N*, p. 109. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 106 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 340.

No. 9 83.

(Wittenberg.)

April 22, 1626.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2231, annex, no. 5.

No. 9 84.

(Wittenberg.)

April 23, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther sends the suppressed writing from the Mainzer Rathschlag (St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 339 ff.), as far as it is printed, and indicates to the Elector what is to be answered to Erasmus.

The original is in the Archiv zu Weimar, X, p. 110. 43. 3. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 44, incomplete, and likewise in Walch, vol. XXI, 150. Complete in De Wette, vol. III, p. 105 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 376.

To My Most Gracious Lord, Duke Johann, Elector of Saxony 2c. For the attention of S. C. F. G. Handen.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Herewith I send E. C. F. G. the booklet of the Council, as much as it is printed; 1) because on E. C. F. G.'s letter the other one has remained in the pen and has been kept as E. C. F. G. requested.

To Erasmus' writing it seems good to us that E. C. F. G. does not let himself get involved in the matter, as the *Vipera* seeks, but answers in such a way: as he himself well knows that E. C. F. G. may not nor should be judge in the spiritual matter; therefore he should have spared E. C. F. G. such a request 2c. But E. C. F. G. wants to add: that, even if it were a secular matter, he would still have repaid Luther with a writing that went out into all the world, as he knows that a greater judge belongs to it than a prince, nor is the right way to punish someone by someone's writing or complaint alone, but court, complaint and answer should be made as is due, 2c., which is stated in E. C. F. G.'s letter. C. F. G. favor. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Monday after Jubilate [April 23] 1526.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Mart. Luther.

Nv. 983.

Wittenberg.

April 25, 1526.

To Vincentius Obsopöus, schoolman in Ansbach.

Preface to the prophet Jonah. He praises Obsopoeus' translations and exonerates Secerius from an accusation.

First printed in a single edition of the interpretation of the prophet Jonah published by Joh. Secerius in Hagenau in 1526, the title of which we have included in the 14th volume of our edition, Col. 836. Further in Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 77 and in the Erlangen edition, *Opera latina varii argumenti*, tom. VII, p. 504.

Martin Luther au his [friend] in the Lord, Vincentius Obsopoeus.

Grace and peace in the Lord! That among other things which are of thee, thou shalt also

1) not only "the first printed sheet", as the Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 344 states.

You have translated the prophet Jonah, which I have treated in a German interpretation, into Latin, my dearest Vincentius, that is very pleasant to me, so much is missing in it that it should be annoying to me, which you have sometimes suspected. Those people are certainly annoying to me who not only translate what is contemptible, but also all the good things of others in such a way that they completely reverse them, since they are ignorant of languages and extraordinarily industrious, not to mention how much they not infrequently err in meaning, so much so that they express negatively what is affirmative, and vice versa. But I see that you, along with few others, have been given this not insignificant gift, that you translate my German writings purely, actually and carefully into Latin. Therefore I am glad that my Jonah speaks through you in Latin. Not as if the honor tickled me that this work should be spread out in a foreign language, which I would hope in vain in this time, which so despises poor Luther by all and everywhere, that I could dare to sing or rather lament with Christo in truth thus [Ps. 22, 7.]: "I am a worm and no man, a mockery of the people and contempt of the people." But, what I rejoice in with a clear conscience, is this, that godly and pious readers will read nothing evil, nothing heretical, nothing seditious in my Jonah, but godly, healthy and wholesome things, while meanwhile those restless and forward spirits with insolent blasphemies put the whole world in confusion and draw even the godly and calm minds into their monstrosities. For this is the mischievousness of Satan, that, if he cannot destroy all, yet he gives trouble to all with ungodly doctrines, and afflicts all, so that they do not apply themselves purely and freely to the pure doctrines of Christ alone. In this respect, I wish you happiness for the second time, who in such great turmoil of the angry prophets do not give way, nor are you annoyed by my inability, but simply choose what is pure and well-founded, in which you work with us, even 1) with Christ, for the spread of the knowledge of salvation.

That is, of the faith that clings to Him. Hail, brother! Continue as you have begun, and the Lord will multiply and sustain you. But it pleases me that you give the booklet to Johann Secerius at Hagenau to print, because this man is worthy of much greater service, and above all a faithful and careful printer. For the fact that he is disgraced by certain people, as if he were Secerius, whom I accused of theft in the preface to a certain postilla 2), I believe has happened either through ignorance, or because they have been deceived by the ambiguous name, or through the malice of men, who under this pretext wish to harass the man in an undeserved manner, as Satan is everywhere wont to do nothing but harm. For in the same preface I testify clearly enough that in Wittenberg there was that "typesetter" (*secerium*) in our print shop who is called *locator*, who stole an incomplete copy without my knowledge. Therefore, by this my testimony, I want to have excused my Secerius, the printer of my Latin Jonah, to all pious people, so that he will not be burdened by fate or rather by the misfortune of the same name. I wanted to add this to this letter out of a sense of duty. But you, my dear Vincentius, are quite well in Christ. Wittenberg, on the twenty-fifth of April, Anno 1526.

No. 9 86.

Wittenberg.

April 26, 1526.

To Nicolaus Gerbel in Strasbourg.

Luther praises Gerbel and his friends for remaining free of the sacramental mystery. He invites him to be godfather to the expected child.

Handwritten in Hamburg, Mg. 11, fol. 522 and in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 285. Printed in *Wolf, conspect. supell. epist.*, p. 51; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 116; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 106 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 345. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1003.

1) As the Erlanger Briefw., Vol. V, p. 345 notes, instead of *uno* is to be read *imo*.

2) See the preface in the St. Louis edition, vol. XI, XLVI, in the second paragraph: "der Setzer". This was the name of the Hagenau printer whose name was changed to *Secerius*.

His brother in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Gerbel, the servant of the Lord at Strasbourg.

God be praised and thanked that Christ has at least preserved you with some others, among whom to my joy is also my Lonicer, from those who hate to be called "heavy spirits" while they continue to be so. And that Oekolampad is seized by this plague before all is a great pain to me, because God has made this man skillful in handling our affairs, both by knowledge of languages and by his reputation in more than one respect; God convert him by His 1) grace. By the way, what you desire, that I should write against them and treat the Lord's Supper, that is also my highest desire, but so far neither my time nor my strength has permitted this. Christ will help in due time; in the meantime, it is good that they should be fully revealed and brought out into the open. It is easy for the truth, namely Christ, to triumph, even though he must be crucified for a little while and not be seen. I give thanks to my Christ, who not only strengthened me in the right opinion, but also did not let those spirits disgrace his own with anything but a sham, and a weak one at that, and left a great opportunity for a triumph. Farewell and greet your rib, and invite it to be my godmother on Pentecost, if it should be a girl; but if it should be a boy, then you shall be my godfather, if God is gracious to me and has thought me worthy of it. Greet my Lonicer. My necklace greets you. Farewell. Wittenberg, Thursday after Jubilate [April 26] 1526. Martin Luther.

No. 9 87.

(Wittenberg.)

April 26, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for the imprisoned preacher Amandus in Pomerania.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Elector, and Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave in Meissen, my most gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The Highborn Prince, Duke George of Pomerania, has had an evangelical preacher, named D. Amandus, appointed through the dealings of evil people, and has suffered much unhappiness. Now his people ask E. C. F. G. for an intercession to the above-mentioned duke for the good man. Although they accuse him of being rebellious, the city of Stettin and the preachers there give a good testimony about him; so I also interrogated him here the other day, and know him well; he also had good letters with him: for this reason, I humbly ask E. C. F. G. to do a Christian work, and to seek to help Christ in his poor in prison, and to provide us with an intercession for the prisoner, which we should provide. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen. Thursday after Jubilate [April 26] 1526.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

No. 9 88.

Altenburg.

(End of April?) 2) 1526.

To Friedrich Myconius.

Luther expresses his suspicion that the papist princes are uniting for war against the Protestants.

Handwritten in *Cod. Gothan.* 1048, p. 1, No. 1. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 314d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 100 (in March or April) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 347. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1002.

To the brother Frederick Mecum, to be highly honored in Christ, the faithful and completely sincere servant of God.

Grace and peace! Since Oswald, your mayor, leaves and returns to you,

2) This date has been set by the Erl. Since what is said in this letter can only refer to the negotiations of the Leipzig meeting of the Archbishop of Mainz and Henry of Brunswick with George of Saxony, which took place around Christmas 1525, but only became known to the Elector in mid-April, our letter will fall towards the end of April.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 44; in Walch, vol. XXI, 150; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 107 and in the Erlangen Edition, vol. 53, p. 377.

1) There is a gap before *gratia*. We have assumed *sua* with Strobel- Ranner.

my dear Frederick, I did not want to be guilty of him coming empty, at least without a written greeting. For if you are well and the Word of God is prospering, I cannot hear anything more pleasant; we are well, as much as the Lord gives. But I commend myself to your prayers, that Christ may not forsake me in temptation. By the way, you see how Satan is raging against the Catholic princes; the godless bishops are conspiring (as they say), and that even war is threatened, Philip writes me, is the truth.

¹⁾ Therefore, you will see to it that the people are exhorted to fight valiantly in the faith and to pray to the Lord, that they may be overcome and restrained by the Spirit, and that they may be compelled to keep peace in the flesh. At least I recognize from the writings and sayings of many that it is highly necessary, the highest necessity, to pray earnestly, because Satan is thinking of attacks. Therefore, I ask you to impress this matter upon the people as a serious and necessary one, since they are placed in the midst of Satan's swords and rages, and are in danger. The Lord be with you with his grace and with his power. Amen. Altenburg, 1526. Martin Luther.

No. 9 89.

Torgau.

May 1, 1526.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector asks Luthern to give his consent in Hufener's marriage case.

The concept is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. O.*, p. 506. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 107 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 348.

Our greeting before. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! Our citizen Jakob Hufener 2) has sent us with a letter of his

1) We have used the *Erl. Briefw.* the reading of the *Codex vera*, adopted, instead: *Jena* in the editions. - Around this time, Melanchthon was at the court of Torgau, as we see from a letter to Agricola (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 795), where he may have received this message.

2) Hufener's wife had run away and joined the knight Hans Schott, who took her (a née Anna? Auerbach) in and married her, since her husband had also committed adultery and she had received a marriage dispensation from the preacher at Torgau. (Burkhardt, I. c.) -Am

You will find out and note his search from this. Since you then indicate how you previously acted in the matter between him and his wife, therefore you have special knowledge of the occasion, our gracious request is that you report and indicate to us your concern as to what we should do and refrain from doing at his request. In this you do us a gracious favor. Date Torgau, May 1, 1526.

No. 990 .

(Wittenberg.)

(After May 1, 1526.)

To Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 688. 3)

No. 991 .

(Wittenberg.)

2. May 1526.

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of Laurentius Fabri; of Mutian's death and Jonas' illness. In the postscript of the *Hyperaspistes* of Erasmus.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, manuscript in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 255. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 50; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 108 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 349. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1005.

To his [friend] in the Lord, Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful bishop of the people of Altenburg.

Grace and peace! I am sending this Laurentius Fabri, my dear Spalatin, as you asked and the prince wrote to me at your request that I should send him to you. We consider him suitable, you can therefore safely send him to the Cronswitz⁴⁾ nuns, or if any other standing (*auctoritatis*) is required, you can easily bring it about.

July 15, 1528 Melanchthon writes to Camerarius: "I want you to know that in these days the verdict against Hans Schott has been passed that he should send his wife back to the citizen of Torgau. (*Corp. Ref.* I, 989.)

3) There as in De Wette without date. Burkhardt, p. 116, and the Erlangen Briefw. place the letter in the beginning of May, - instead of "Haffener" is to be read "Hufener". - Should the settlement of this matter, as can be assumed from the last note to the previous letter, really have taken place only in 1528?

4) In Cronschwitz there was an Augustinian nunnery, the richest and most prestigious in the Voigtland. The convent was abolished in 1536. In 1542, Hans von Bora, Luther's brother-in-law, became the administrator of the property.

That Mutian died so 1) I was very pleased to hear, as you write.

Our Jonas is sick (as they say) with kidney stone and at the same time with vain defect of the liver. You pray for him. My chain will multiply me with offspring around Pentecost. You pray to Christ that he may make her a happy child-bearer, as I also pray for you by your chain, with which you may be well pleased. Wednesday after Cantate [May 2] 1526.

Martin Luther.

I have not read the protector of the diatribe, but I hear that he is an adder, and I am glad that the larva is pulled off him, and at the same time he is given as a proteus all the day. But Philip, the Prince of Hesse, has sent me a copy, and asks the same as you.

No. 992.

(Wittenberg.) May 8, 1526.

To Georg Mohr,²⁾ Pastor at Borna.

This letter does not refer, as De Wette states, to Emser's translation of the New Testament, but to a translation of the *Hyperaspistes* of Erasinus made by the same, in which he had given *facere legem* by: "make law" instead of: "fulfill the law". See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1759, second paragraph.

Handwritten in *Cod.* Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 272; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 517; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 550; in Walch, vol. XXII, 155; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 109 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 378.

Magistro Georgio Mohr, servo Christi apud Boruam, suo in Domino fratri.

Grace and peace in Christ. Of course, Emser did not correctly translate *facere legem*, make law. I have spoken in the way of Christ Joh. 7,19.: *Nemo ex vobis facit legem*, that is, *implet*, *Dazu consequentia et praecedentia, ac tota disputatio satis monstrat, non de condendis, sed servandis legibus me loqui; quia de vi liberi arbitrii loquor toto libro. Sed eat impius* [the following and the before

1) His last words are said to have been, "O JEsu, behold your servant."
2) About him, see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 14 a.

and the whole discussion shows sufficiently that I do not speak fully of laws to be given, but of laws to be kept, because I speak in the whole book of the power of the free will. But away with the ungodly]. I do not mind if you write against the Leipzig seducer; but he will not be silent. But do not harm that his foolishness comes to light. Only see to it that you remove his writing from him, and do not speak much to him. *Vale in Domino. Feria tertia post Crucis* [May 8] MDXXVI.

Martinus Luther.

No. 993.

(Wittenberg.) May 11, 1526.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

Luther wanted to send the Zwickau vessel (No. 972 and No. 980) to Agricola, but Käthe had appropriated it and put it aside. Several other things are briefly touched upon.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratend.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 69; in De Wette, vol. III, p. III and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 351.

Semem brother in the Lord, Johann Agricola, the servant of Christ in Eisleben.

Grace and peace! I am sending you this little pewter-glass vessel before it gets another master. For my Käthe was also very much inferior to him. I like your judgment of Erasmus, but I like even more the progress of your boys' school, that one may at least hear a good word in the great turmoil of this time. Wendalin is absent, but he will hurry to you full of hall; so we have written and sent him your letter. You will help the man as he is worthy, and you know [how to help]. You shall tell your Elsa, if she does not know it yet, that D. Draco has become a husband, and it is said that, in the hope of that, Syrus has followed here. Fare well with all yours, and pray for me. Friday after Ascension [May 11] 1526.

Mart. Luther.

Behold, as I was already about to hand over the letter to the bearer and was looking for the small jar, my stalking Käthe had taken it away. I would have found it, but I did not know where it was.

they prevented it by a conspiracy of the provost 1) and our priest, who may have taken it to themselves. Therefore, wait until it is freed by the childbed and will come to me again, and I will steal it.

No. 994.

(Wittenberg.)

May 14, 1526.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Intercession for his former teacher Wigand Gülденapf because of his pension.

From the Coburg Archives in Georg Paul Hönn's Coburg. Hist., vol. II, p. 139 in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 44; in *G. H. Goetzius, de praeceptoribus Imtheri, Ludec.* 1718, x. 13; in Walch, vol. XXI, 151; in De Wette, vol. III, p. III and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 378.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! This He Wigand, Briefszeiger, has given up the parish of Waltershausen to the town council, according to a contract that E. F. G. himself has drawn up, so that they are to give him 30 fl. annually from the parish goods. Now it is impossible that he will not get such money, because perhaps the council does not have the parish, as E. F. G. will hear further report, that the poor old man must run for his food. Because he has been my schoolmaster, and I would be obliged to do him all honor, I humbly request that E. F. G. not let my schoolmaster forfeit such obligatory money, but graciously help him so that he does not have to go begging in his old age. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Monday after Servatii [May 14] 1526.

E. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 995 .

(Wittenberg.)

May 18, 1526.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1684, no. 177.

No. 996 .

(Wittenberg.)

May 26, 1526.

To Caspar Müller, Mansfeld chancellor.

Request to be godfather to his expected child.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 45; in Walch, vol. XXI, 153; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 113 (after the *Cod. Jen. B 24. n. f. 162*) and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 379.

To the honorable and prudent Caspar Müller, Count Chancellor of Mansfeld, my favorable lord and friend.

G. and F. in Christ. I would gladly ask M. G. Lord to sponsor me, but I am afraid of the pomp that would be attached to me, as if I wanted to distinguish myself with a monk's and nun's child and have great lords as sponsors: therefore I will remain here, and ask you to ask M. G. H. Chancellor called Caspar Müller on my account that he wants to humble himself, and so God will give me fruit. G. H. Chancellor, Caspar Müller, for my sake, that he will humble himself, and if God gives me the fruit, that he will take care of it and be its spiritual father, so that it may be born into Christianity. But I cannot set the time, it would be too long for me to send a messenger after the birth; but if it pleases, take one who represents your person, but that you have the name and the deed. The wistful mother reckons to me about St. John's day, and that is also true *cum tempore conceptionis*. I have counted according to the first feeling, but I have missed it; for she has now felt over twenty weeks. Hiemit GOtt befohlen. Saturday after Pentecost [May 26] 1526.

Martinus Luther.

No. 997.

(Wittenberg.)

May 26, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks for the promotion of the Dohna disputes by churfürstlich-richterlicher Spruch.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ee*, fol. 19a, G 48a. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 108 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 353.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The noble Lord Henry of Don 2c. came to me and asked me for advice.

1) Jonas; the pastor is Bugenhagen.

1) because it has been hanging in the court for so long, and would like E. C. F. G. to take it to him and decide. Now I do not know how to refuse him such a request, and because the cost will be too heavy for him, I ask, as much as it suits me, if it is not burdensome to E. C. F. G. that I do not understand anything, E. C. F. G. would graciously see whether he would like to come to the final judgment by E. C. F. G. himself; that will please God. Hiemit Christo befohlen, Amen. Saturday after Pentecost [May 26] 1526.

E. C. F. G.
subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 99 8.

Wittenberg.

May 29, 1526.

To Johann Gülden (*Aureus*).

Luther exhorts him to teach faith and love above all.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 316; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 113 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 354. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1007.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It has been reported to me about you, my dear Johann, how you handle the word a little too strictly,²⁾ and have been asked to admonish you. Therefore, if thou wilt suffer it, I beseech thee that thou mayest teach that which is most important (*seria*) first, that is, that thou mayest urge faith and love. For if these have not taken root, of what use is it that we labor in the treatment of foolish ceremonies, by which nothing is accomplished, but that we tickle the unstable minds of the exceedingly foolish great multitude, which is frivolous and fussy, to no fruit, not to say to the detriment of the

1) Bernhard and Heinrich, Burgraves of Dohna, had already been in dispute with Count Wolf of Gleichen since 1515 because of a claim for ancestral manors (Burkhardt).

2) Melancthon writes (about Oct. 1527, *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 898, No. 472) to Spalatin: "I did not want to follow the nonsense of Gülden (*Aurei*) and his equals, who think that only this means to teach the gospel rightly, if one proceeds with the highest strife and the highest bitterness, as it were by the fist, against those who do not have the same opinion with nns."

Glory to God and the Word. Well then, arrange it with your colleagues in such a way that you govern and do everything with a united heart and in a unanimous manner. Do not despise those of whom you do not know what kind of people they may be, but entice them with all calmness and humility, and do not insist or boast about how right the things are that you deal with and intend to do. This will be seen abundantly afterwards: Nothing is made alive unless it is first given over to death. Take this admonition of mine to the best and be well. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Trinity [May 29] 1526.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 999 .

(Wittenberg.)

2. June 1526.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

The teacher expected in Zwickau for the girls' school (Hausmann calls her in the inscription: *Hanna a Salw*) Will not go there. The prophet Habakkuk is not yet ready. Wittenberg is fortified. Once again from the glass from Zwickau.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 25 b. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 45; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 117; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 114 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 355. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1359.

To the man of God, Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, his exceedingly dear [friend] in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! The virgin Hanna has moved from us to your people, so you cannot expect her to be a teacher at the school. Perhaps she would not take this office upon herself, since she fears that she would not be up to it and would not appear suitable for it. But we have no other teacher who is just as learned.

I would have loaded Philippi 3) with the prophet Habakkuk, but he will hardly be ready in eight days. There is no news except that our city is fortified, though we know nothing of enemies. Again, my rib, Jonas and [?] 4) the Rector, and all our men and women greet you.

3) Perhaps the brother of Hansmann (De Wette).

4) In the summer semester of 1526, Jonas himself was Rector (Erl. Briefw.).

My chain stubbornly holds on to the glass, which you decorated and gave to me, in your memory; otherwise M. Johann Eisleben would have wrung it from me through his request. Farewell, dearest Nicolaus. Saturday after Trinity [June 2] 1526. ¹⁾

Martin Luther.

No. 1000.

Strasbourg.

June 5, 1526.

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

(Regest.)

He reports that after the disputation in Baden, almost all Strasbourg adhered to the Sacramentarians, with the exception of some Hedio. Because Zurich, Basel and Strasbourg had adopted the same opinion, orthodox writings either did not reach them or were suppressed for a long time by the Strasburgers. Much could have been prevented by immediate publication of Luther's letter to the Strasburgers (No. 925 and 926). The discord over the Lord's Supper harmed the progress of the Gospel much more than the peasant revolt had harmed it. He, Gerbel, had to suffer both from papists and evangelicals, but wanted to remain firm. Luther should let Erasmus go, and treat the matter of the Sacrament with the firmest possible proofs, reasons and scriptural passages. Therefore, he sends several arguments on which Oecolampad relies the most, and with which he had cornered Eck the most at the disputation in Baden. Finally, about his conjugal life: he had lost a beautiful hope because of the miscarriage of his wife.

Handwritten at Strasbourg in *Thes. Baum*, vol. II, p. 250. Printed in Kolde's p. 81 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 356.

No. 1001.

(Wittenberg.)

June 8, 1526.

To Johann Rühel in Eisleben.

Luther sends him a book and reports the birth of his first son.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 45; in Walch, vol. XXI, 152; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 115 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 380....

Kindly written to my lord and brother-in-law, Doctor Johann Rühel at Eisleben.

Grace and peace in Christ! I hereby send you the little psaltery, dear Doctor.

1) In the original, by Luther's transcription: 1528. Walch has (obviously incorrectly) placed the letter in the year 1522; likewise Schütze. That it belongs to the year 1526 is certain from the next letter to Hausmann on June 13, 1526.

and brother-in-law; with whom I am able, I also want to the Psalms. I have attacked the anathema, 2) I have also been trained for service and school, 3) therefore be satisfied. I also want to tell M. Eisleben on my account that my dear Käthe, by the grace of God, has brought me a Hansen Luther, yesterday at two, since the day is called Dat 4) in the calendar, and that he should not be surprised that I let him run with such an order; for he should think almost at this time of the year what it is to have sons. Greetings to your dear son-bearer and Eisleben's elf. Hiemit GOtt commanded, Amen. Now this letter the sick Käthe demands me. Friday after Bonifacii [June 8] Anno 1526. Martinus Lutherus.

No. 1002.

(Wittenberg.)

June 13, 1526,

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Of the promised Habakkuk and the birth of his son.

The original is in the Anhaltische Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 27. Handwritten in the *Franciscanum*, Ms. 26, fol. 20 b, at Zerbst. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. 11, p. 316b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 116 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 359. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1008,

Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful servant of Christ at Zwickau.

Grace and peace! Habakkuk (as I promised your Philip) is not yet finished, so I will be drawn to it; but it will be finished (as I hope) in the next week, and I will not deceive Philip with the promise. There is nothing new, except that Christ has blessed and strengthened my daughter with a son, John, who is healthy and lively. Praise and thanks be to his unspeakable goodness. The mother and child greet you very much. May you be well in Christ. In haste, the Wednesday after Barnabas [June 13] 1526. Yours, Mart. Luther.

2) We do not know what Luther means by this. The assumptions of De Wette and the Erl. Briefw. do not satisfy us.

3) The *Cod. Ratzenb.* reads here: "and for debt austegesteupert".

4) dat == he gives. The Erl. Briefw. notes, "According to the verse of *Cisiojanus* for June, *Nic Marcelle Boni dat Jun Primi Ba Cyrimi*, the 7th syllable is *dat*, and means the 7th day."

No. 1003 .

(Wittenberg.)

June 17, 1526.

To Spalatin.

Luther thanks him for his congratulations on the birth of the son.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 255. Printed in Aurifer, vol. II, p. 316 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 116 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 360. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1008 f.

His brother in the Lord, M. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at Altenburg.

Grace and peace! I thank you in the Lord, my dear Spalatin, that you so heartily wish happiness to me, a happy husband (may God continue this), who have received a son, Johannes Lutherlein, from a very good wife and a very lovely woman through God's blessing, and have become a father through God's wonderful grace. I grant you the same and beg for it, also with a happier and greater blessing, since you are better and higher than I am. ¹⁾ But pray that Christ may preserve the child for me against Satan, who, as I know, will not refrain from hurting me in the Son if God allows him to do so. For even now the child is somewhat afflicted, I do not know by what small illnesses, or rather (as one thinks) by the indigestibility of the unaccustomed milk, with which the child-bedewomen are first forced to nourish.

I am sorry that M. Eberhard's joy has been snatched away from him, but God's will is good, but in a very hidden kindness, so that one cannot feel anything more painful. By the way, when will you come to see us, to see the old memories of our familiar intercourse and friendship? I have planted the garden, I have built a well, both quite happily. Come, and you will be crowned with lilies and roses. Be well in the Lord and pray for me. On Sunday after Vitus [June 17] 1526. Mart. Luther.

1) These last words are in the original, according to the ink, crossed out by Spalatin.

2) Brisger. Compare No. 963.

No. 1004.

(Wittenberg.)

(June 20, 1526.) 3)

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for several people.

See No. 976. In the Leipzig and Walch editions, op. cit., this Supplication is considered an appendix to Letter No. 976, which is incorrect. This supplement has its own cover. (De Wette, Vol. III, p. 101.)

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector, and Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious lord.

First of all, here is a supplement of one, named Jakob Holzwart, formerly a choir pupil, whom E. C. F. G. kept for a year, with a promise that, where it was invested, E. C. F. G. would do a better job of taxation, as the supplement shows, and it seems to me that the journeyman is skilful; but E. C. F. G. has placed all this in his gracious will.

On the other hand, a nun named Elfe Gaudelitz, 4) from the Nymph Monastery near Grym, was asked to get something back from the monastery, after she had turned a lot into it; but the answer did not come.

Thirdly, God has sent us two Gardians from France, who have also been robbed and are coming here for the sake of God's word, and the priest and I are feeding them on the goodness and help of E. C. F. G.; if E. C. F. G. wants to give them something for the sake of God, it would be good if we could not. C. F. G. wants to give them something for God's sake, a guilder or six, would be good, if not, we have to get rid of them and give what we can, and yet beg E. C. F. G. again the next time. God gives us many poor people, and we ourselves are also poor, but still unspoiled.

Fourthly, a pious man, Bastian Ligarius, has been sent to Arnstadt as a preacher after St. Peter's Day with a supplement, which I intend to send to E. C. F. G., according to E. C. F. G.'s written request.

3) This letter arrived in Torgau on June 21, as we can see from the next letter.

4) She received 40 fl. on June 22, 1526 and later on Dec. 18, 1528 another 30 fl. Between June 1526 and Jan. 1529 she had married a citizen of Grimma, Bastian Gulmann.

For, God willing, I will provide the two cities of Arnstadt and Gern with two preachers, so that it shall please E. C. F. G.. This has now lain here for three years; what I have been able to do, I have helped; for what I do, I do out of E. C. F. G.'s gift, because I have nothing else. If C.C.F.G. also wanted to give him a donation for God's sake; he is pious, learned and skilled, but bare and poor, I am not able to do as much as is necessary. Put that also in E. C. F. G. mild kindness.

Finally, most gracious Lord, I ask for myself, as before, that E. C. F. G. would not let the cantor's office dissolve like this, especially because the present personnel have grown up on it, and should also be worth the art, full of princes and lords to maintain, and yet probably more than so many other things, where perhaps not so well need be turned, they could well be in Wittenberg. In such and such persons, the monasteries' goods would be useful, and God would be pleased with them.

Let that be enough at once, E. C. F. G. graciously give me credit for this.

No. 1005 .

Torgau.

June 22, 1526.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector's reply to the previous letter.

The concept is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. N*, p. 72, No. 19. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 109 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, Vol. V, p. 362.

By the Grace of God John, Duke of Saxony and Elector. Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! Yesterday, among other things, we received a list from you, in which you were requested by some to interdict the sūrder against us 2c. We have heard this from all sides, and as far as Jakoben Holzwart is concerned, who has come to you with a Latin letter that we wanted to give him another twenty florins for a year over the previous grace shown 2c., you know for a fact that we are daily burdened with such issues at Wittenberg and elsewhere; we want to make sure that the same student will make do with the previous grace we have shown him, and now provide for himself for his own good.

For the sake of the nun. Elfe Gaudlitz, who was in the monastery at Nimpschen (Nymptzshken), we are sending you an order to the superintendents or [the] administrator of the same monastery, who is to get along amicably with the same nun, where she brought something into the monastery, so that she will be satisfied.

When you asked for two gardians sent to you from France, who are said to have been robbed on the way, we hereby send you six guilders, which you will deliver to them.

The two preachers you have appointed for us, one to Arnstadt and the other to Gera, will be sent to Weimar in accordance with our letter. What they now consume on the way and are still in need of, shall be given back to them on their arrival, and thus be dispatched according to need.

For the sake of the choir, Ern Conrad, 1) the bandmaster, reports to us that it is almost badly tuned and equipped with the present journeymen and boys, as we hear such things ourselves every day in singing. So we have given Ern Conrad his final farewell at his humble request and let him be satisfied. Since Conrat Fridrich 2) will no longer be with the choir, it cannot be considered our concern that it be kept in good order and government, to the extent that the journeymen, and in some cases also the boys, are badly tuned; We also take care that with the food they have had to receive so far, something better can be done after all circumstances, and that God is also pleased with the world; because if we are not all here, the same journeymen go the more part idle and spend their time thus in laziness and without benefit. But we want to show ourselves well in all this, as we will find it best and most convenient. All of this we would not want to conceal from you, for we are graciously inclined to you. Date Torgau, Friday after Viti [June 22] 26.

No. 1006 .

Wittenberg.

June 27, 1526.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

Recommendation of Veit Amerbach as assistant to Agricola. From family matters.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 70; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 118 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 363.

- 1) Conrad Rupsch (Ruppisch, Rupf) in Torgau had already been Capellmeister under your Elector Friedrich; he died in 1538.
- 2) Maybe: forever?

To Johann Agricola, the young people and the boys at Eisleben teacher and image ner, his brother in your Lord.

Grace and peace! Veit 1) has come to me, my dear Agricola, your future xxxxxxxx (collaborator (to speak Greek). It only remains that you diligently recommend him to Count Albrecht, as he deserves, since he is a good, indeed, a very good young' man. At the same time you will also receive him duly, we know that. What you wrote the other day, that my mother would be prevented from coming, I received in time. Christ does what pleases him and is good. John Luther's little child is healthy, as much as it can be; the mother has suffered from lack of milk so far, and still she barely moistens the palate of the child with a few (*raris*) drops. Greetings to all of us. The grace of God be with you, amen. Greetings in our name to your Elsa, for whom we pray for a happy birth, Amen, On Wednesday after St. John's Day [June 27] 1526. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1007.

(Wittenberg.) June 29, 1526.

To Andreas Kaugisdorf in Eilenburg.

Luther advises him not to leave his office.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* B 24, fol. 176. Printed in Aurifaber vol. II, p. 317; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 118 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 364. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1009 f.

To the brother Andreas Kaugisdorf, preacher and shepherd in Eilenburg.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It does not seem advisable to me to leave the service of the word, unless you are forced by force or called elsewhere. What is the matter with the wicked being in your district with their Satan, since he does not stay away anywhere? But this wickedness of Satan must be borne for Christ's sake; therefore, be constant and patient, to keep the remnant and the

1) Veit Amerbach was Agricola's assistant in Eisleben for several years. Later he fell out with Melanchthon, returned to his fatherland Bavaria and became a papist again. He died in 1557 as professor of theology in Ingolstadt.

to receive the neglected in Israel. I will be thoughtful for Magnus; now there was nothing I could do. Farewell and pray for me. Friday after John [June 29] 1526. Martin Luther.

No. 1008

(Wittenberg.) (Towards the end of June 1526.)

To Spalatin.

Luther reports to him the well-being of his wife and son, and that he has written to the prince on behalf of a prisoner.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv (with the inscription Spalatin: *Doc. Martinus scripsit pro captivo Luccaiense*. M. D. XXVI.). Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 254. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 50; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 117 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 365. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1010.

His M. Georg Spalatin.

Grace and peace! Since the messenger is in such a hurry and I am busy with the printing press, I could not write what I wanted to Eberhard; I will write at another time. By the way, my little house (*Johannellus*) is well, together with its mother, namely as far as it is sufficient for a child and a woman in childbed. Thanks be to Christ. Be well with your (as I wish) soon coming chain. Mart. Luther.

I have written to your prince for Matthew of Luckau.

No. 1009.

(Wittenberg.) 3. July 1526.

To Spalatin.

Luther offers his thanks for a congratulation for his wife and child. From some other things.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 255. Printed by Buddeus, p. 57; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 119 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 366. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1011.

To the Lord George Spalatin, the sincere servant of Christ, his brother in thy Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! My little deer John and his hind give you great thanks, my dear Spalatin, for the service of your blessing, from which he hopes and desires.

He wishes that it will bring him salvation and happiness. At the same time, he also wishes you a similar deer from your hind, which can be blessed in the same way, amen.

Finally, I wrote to M. Eberhard, although I did not know what I should answer him, because you demanded it so urgently and amicably. Everything is still well with us, in the usual way and as it can be. Caspar Schalbe is a guest with us, since he is tormented by his own with the suspicion, yes, with the accusation, that he has defiled a maid. Thus envy haunts the poor man. He sends you his respectful greetings. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. On Tuesday after the Visitation of the Virgin Mary [July 3] 1526.

Mart. Luther.

No. 10 10

(Wittenberg.)

3. July 1526.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Of one of Carlstadt's writings, which he had published before he came to Luther, and of the latter's stay in the country near Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 26. Handwritten in Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 21. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 317 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 120 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 366. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1011.

His superior in the Lord, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the holy and faithful servant of Christ.

Grace and peace! The booklet of Carltadt,¹⁾ of which you write, my dear Nicolaus, I have long since seen, because it was published before its arrival at me 2), but now it is spread by the adversaries. But God will have mercy

1) Probably no other writing is meant than the one directed against Luther's "Against the Heavenly Prophets": "Anzeig etlicher Hauptartikel christlicher Lehre, in denen D. Luther Andresen Carolstadt durch falsche Zusag und Nachred verdächtigt macht. The other writing, which was assumed to be here: "Von dem neuen und alten Testament" (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 286), cannot be taken into consideration here for this reason, because it is provided with a letter to the Christians of Rothenburg and the date: "March 16, 1525.

2) Here again we have a confirmation that Carlstadt sought and found a refuge with Luther. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 22 ff.

and also correct this disgraceful act. Incidentally, Carlstadt lives with us near Wittenberg and farms in Berkwitz, a mile from our town. I have hardly been able to obtain this from the prince against the entire court with great and persistent entreaties. God finally convert him completely.

My John Luther greets you again, together with his mother, and says thanks for the service of the blessing of which you have made him worthy. The grace of God be with you. On Tuesday after the Visitation [of Mary] [July 3] 1526.

Mart. Luther.

No. 1011

(Strasbourg.)

July 10, 1526.

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

Gerbet reports what an evil influence the disputation at Baden had had on the Strasbourg people, and urges Luther to write to the "Bedeuteter" (*significatistas*).

Handwritten at Strasbourg in *Thes*. Printed by Kolde, p. 82, and in Erl.

Briefw., vol. V, p. 367.

Hail in Christ! Our preachers still insist on their opinion, with the exception of Hedio, who stays away from this disputation as much as he can, and handles this doctrine so cleverly that it is not easy to know which of the two opinions he subscribes to. The others have become even more stubborn after the disputation at Baden, of which the rumor has undoubtedly reached you, because in no other piece did Oecolampad corner Eck so much as in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. For he demanded of Eck that he should prove from Scripture the transformation of the bread into the body of Christ. Then, even if he proved it as much as he could, whether this could be done by the voice of any boy? Furthermore, when Oecolampad asked if the body of Christ was present in the bread in an invisible way, Eck answered that it was there in an invisible way. From this, Oecolampad claimed, it follows that Christ had two bodies, one at the table, because he lay at it, the other in the bread. Since Eck was cornered by these and similar reasons, and had nothing to say, they moved on to other things. Our people are undoubtedly already triumphant, and have turned over the greater part of the city, as well as the noblest men of the council. I see that the cause of this is that

countless writings of these people are offered for sale, of which, who have the opposite position, hardly one or the other is read, whether it is that they are suppressed by the masters, or whether it is that this opinion has so established itself with the vast majority that they refuse to hear or read another. I wanted, so that not so many souls would be lost everywhere, that you would consider the matter carefully, examine its proofs, reasons and scriptural passages with your usual skill and refute them, whether perhaps some could be preserved and torn out of that shameful opinion. For this poison increases daily more and more, and I see many changed who were of a far different opinion before the disputation at Baden. In my opinion, nothing has harmed the gospel in a more dangerous way than this persistent discord of the learned people. You do your duty, which is now required by the highest and most extreme necessity. Fare well, my kind father, and love me as you are wont to do. July 10, 26.

No. 1012 .

Weimar.

July 11, 1526.

The Electoral Councils to Luther.

On behalf of the Elector, they requested a "learned, skillful and decent preacher" for Mühlhausen, - Luther sent Johann Mantel, who had previously served the church in Wittenberg.

The concept is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. Llp.* 157, No. 112. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 110 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, Vol. V, p. 368.

Our kind services before. Venerable, distinguished, special lord and friend! After the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Johans, Duke of Saxony and Elector, our most gracious lord, has the regiment in the city of Mühlhausen this year, 1) his C. F. G. has now written to us from Eisenach and ordered us to write to you, that you should seek for a skillful, learned and decent preacher and order him to come to us, whom we have then ordered to be delivered to Mühlhausen. Because, according to the local design, a skilled preacher is highly needed,

1) After the conquest of Mühlhausen in the Peasants' War, the princes George of Saxony, Prince John and Philip of Hesse had acquired the right of protection, but in fact the regiment over the city, which they exercised alternately. Duke Georg, who exercised it in the first year, used it to reintroduce the Papal religion. Now the Elector followed him.

In place of and on account of our most gracious lord's gracious request, we kindly request that you endeavor to find a learned, skillful and decent preacher and assign him to us in the most beneficial manner, and we will then promote him according to our lord's order. Lord's order, we will then dispatch him to Mühlhausen, and decree so much that he shall be provided with proper and necessary maintenance for the place, and that he shall not lose any diligence in this. In this you show our lord favor. Lord but favor, so we want to earn it for us kindly for you. Date Weimar, Wednesday after Kiliani [July 11] *Anno Domini* XXVI.

No. 1013 .

(Strasbourg.)

(End of July 1526.)

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

Gerbel sends excerpts from a letter of Capito to Zwingli, which Faber has falsified in his translation. He is thinking of leaving his position as clerk of the cathedral chapter and seeks Luther's advice.

Handwritten at Strasbourg in Thes. Printed in Kolde's *Analecta*, p. 84 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 369.

Many things are now coming to light which, I have no doubt, will be of use to you when you write about the Lord's Supper, namely that you can see what Satan is up to and what he is up to, how badly he conceals, that he does everything he does out of a desire for honor, even though he praises I don't know what kind of spirit and a leniency unheard of in the world. Capito has written a very long letter to Zwingli in the past few days,²⁾ which is full of new things, some of which I have written out that refer to you, because the rest is either foolish or not worthy of being written to such a great man. Faber has translated this letter into our language, but with such great faithlessness, likewise with such great malice.

2) June 11. Zwinglii opp., tom. VII, p. 515.- The messenger was arrested in Wettingen on the Limmat for thoughtless remarks about the cult of Mary and brought to Baden, where his letters were taken from him, which Joh. Faber, who was present at the disputation, seized and immediately translated into German with various forgeries and published. In addition, he accused Capito both at the Strasbourg Council and at the Speier Imperial Diet of highly treacherous activities. Capito not only proved his innocence orally before the Strasbourg Council, but also countered Faber in two writings that were published in Strasbourg on August 12 and 21.

I do not know whether he did not understand the Latin or whether he falsified the translation beforehand according to his liking. Therefore, you may not believe that translation, for I have compared the Latin with the German, which is virtually in conflict with each other. It is a passage because of which Capito almost got into the greatest danger, because Faber translated it differently than the matter stands. Among other things, Capito closes the speech thus: *vehementerr opus esset, ut disputationis 1) catastrophe extaret* [it would be very necessary that one could foresee an end of the disputation, or: that the turning point of the disputation would occur]. This is what Faber said: "Then it would be almost necessary that the disputation be reversed. The Swiss, where the disputation was held, were very unwilling that Capito should desire such shameful things. But surely you see how wrongly *catastrophe* is translated in this place. But as the letter is foolish, so it has also received an unrhymed and nonsensical translator. As for you, this is: "Summa Summarum, the pope with his satellites has fallen, 2) after his esteem has been driven out of the hearts of the people, whom the advocates of the inculcated Christ support quite gently." After many other things: "Luther translated the Syngamma of the Swabians into German and praised it in a magniloquent preface, in which you and Oecolampad are discussed. 3)" Don't you see, my dear Gevatter, where people of such great sanctity come to, how miserably they disgrace themselves before all the world? When Capito wrote this letter and handed it over to some foolish person to bring it to Zwingli, it was intercepted on the journey, opened and brought to the people full of Faber through printing. Furthermore, the council of our city secretly asks me to translate the Latin into our German as faithfully as I ever could. I have done what I could, without regard to any person. All this, my dearest father, I would have sent to you, if the annual meeting of my own had not prevented me.

By the way, as far as I am concerned, I am in charge of a very difficult office, which is contrary to my morals and my conscience. But I see

I do not know whether I should leave it or not, and what kind of position I should choose. For to be in idleness neither suffers my mind, nor are the means sufficient. Therefore, according to your special love for me, consider and advise what you think I should do and where you think I should go. For if it could happen, there is no thing I would rather devote myself to than the muses, than the sciences. I await your advice and your authoritative word in this matter, and that as soon as it is ever possible. You have advised many at my request; since I am now asking myself, I have no doubt that you will help me in the most helpful way. Farewell and greet especially my godmother in my name, then also Philip, whom you will call in for this consultation, as a person who undoubtedly loves me very much.

No. 1014.

(Wittenberg.)

(July or August 1526?)

To Johann Rühel.

(Fragment.)

Printed by Neudecker, Die handschriftliche Geschichte Ratzeberger über Luther 2c. Jena 1850, p. 235; in Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 79 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 372.

My dear doctor and brother-in-law! I thank you for the new newspaper and thought that the Reichstag would do no good. But I do not like to hear the alliance against the emperor, because people, I worry, will be missing.

No. 1015.

(Wittenberg.)

August 8, 1526.

To the City Council of Mulhouse.

Luther sends Johann Mantel as a preacher.

From the Mühlhausen archive in *Cod. chart.* 186. 4th Goth.; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 122 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 382.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Mohlhusen, my favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear Sirs! By order of our most gracious Lord Duke John, Elector of Saxony 2c., we have a preacher to be

1) namely the disputation at Baden.

2) Here Gerbet has omitted the words: *exturbata existimatione* in his excerpt; likewise *quem* before *leiniter*.

3) *persecuti* in the text instead of *perstricti* in Capito is probably only an error of the copyist (Erl. Briefw.).

whom S. C. F. G. wants to feast on you. The same now comes here, He Johann Mantel, 1) our church in Wittenberg Lector, with whom you, as much as God gives men, I hope, shall be provided as with a learned, quiet, calm, pious man. For this reason, I ask that you receive him in a Christian manner and keep him as I promise. May Christ, our Lord, graciously look upon you after your miserable affliction and help you, so that the mobs may cease and you may learn and do according to his holy, pure word. I would gladly have come with you, but I do not want to suffer the matter here. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. *Octav. August.* 1526. Martin Luther.

No. 1016.

Wittenberg.

August 11, 1526.

To Michael Stiesel in Tolleth.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1544.

No. 1017.

(Wittenberg.)

August 28, 1526.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

About paternal authority. News. Luther reads about the preacher Solomon.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 618; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 125 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 377. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1012.

Grace and peace to the Lord! As you write, so I hold it in this case of paternal authority, yes, so I have written before in several booklets; this opinion I cannot change yet. This matter can also be put into no other rules than those of equity, that is, that the power is mostly with the parents, but that they can abolish it either according to their good sense or according to the requirements of the matter, so that love is given a place before the right and the laws. If there are people who have a different opinion, we keep this custom. Therefore it is in vain,

1) The Schultheiss of Eisenach was entrusted with Mantel's introduction. But the Catholic council invoked an imperial ban of April I and refused to anoint Mantel and to let him preach publicly, but kept Gallus Möcben of Freiburg, who had been sent by Duke Georg. Cf. Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 562, note 2.

That I should treat in new writings the matter which I have so abundantly treated.

The Reichstag at Speier is held in the usual way that Germans hold Reichstags: people drink and play; nothing more. There is nothing new here, except that Wittenberg is being fortified with such great labor that you would hardly recognize it if you compared the old with your present. I am reading Ecclesiastes to Solomon, who is extraordinarily unwilling and impatient about this reading: so many Hebrew idioms and obstacles of the unknown language are there; yet by God's grace I tear through. You pray for me and be at ease with your nipple, which God will soon make a mother and you a father. My son is alive and well by God's grace. Greetings from Philip, who is a little better, 2) and would be even better if he stopped working. Tuesday after Bartholomew [Aug. 28] 1526. Martin Luther.

No. 1018.

(Wittenberg.)

(end of August 1526.) 3)

To Spalatin.

Luther thanks for the news from the Imperial Diet at Speier, reports an act of violence by the Elector of Brandenburg against the preachers at Jüterbock and asks for his use for the singers.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav. A*, 189 and in *Cod. Jen. a*, Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 375 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 435 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 378. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1100 (not, as De Wette and him, according to the Erl. Briefw., states, again Col. 1153).

His in the Lord exceedingly dear Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ and his brother.

Grace and peace! You have done us a favor, my dear Spalatin, and your

2) On August 3, Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 808): "I have lain down in the greatest danger for more than 12 days, and not only I, but also the physician had despaired of my life.

3) Aurifaber has placed this letter in the year 1528, De Wette in March 1529. But the original bears Spalatin's inscription: *D. Lutherus pro Cantorib. redeunti ex Comitibus Spirensib.* 1.5.2.6. Below this the remark: *Martburgi redita.* Dominion p. (that is Sept. 2). That the letter belongs to the year 1526 is also shown by the content.

It is your duty, mindful of us, to inform us about the present Diet 1). For here, the enemies boast that all kinds of terrible things happened upon the arrival of our prince: some say that he was expelled from Speier, others that he was deprived of his electoral dignity, others tell other things, although we neither believe nor fear them. Here we are building bravely,²⁾ and by God's grace we are still in good peace.

The margrave 3) has kidnapped and captured by 40 horsemen at Jüterbock the preachers, who had been appointed by trickery outside the city, therefore there is a tremendous and dangerous uproar of the people against the authorities at this place, yes, the town councillors have been forced to go and reclaim the preachers; it is uncertain what will happen. One of the preachers taught there calmly and well with the approval of the bishop of Magdeburg, Thomas Schneidwin, the brother of the Schösser of Eisenberg.

I beg you, if you are able, to take the reed donkey as a comrade and help the poor singers, as I have written to him, because it is unfair and harsh that they are so merely pushed out. Fare well and pray for me.

No. 101 8a .

(Wittenberg.)

3. September 1526 (?) (1524). ⁴⁾

To Thomas Neuenhagen in Eisenach.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1018, no. 132.

No 101 9

(Wittenberg.)

September 13, 1526.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VII, 1544.

1) Here Aurifaber has the marginal gloss: *Comitia Splrensia anno 1528*. In this year, however, no imperial diet took place at Speier.

2) on the fortification works.

3) Joachim I of Brandenburg.

4) We are still of the opinion, which we expressed in the 19th volume of our edition, Introduction, p. 47 f., that this letter belongs to the year 1524.

No. 11020.

(Wittenberg.)

September 13, 1526.

To Johann Herwagen in Strasbourg and to Joh. Secerius in Hagenan.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1578.

No. 1021 .

(Wittenberg.)

September 19, 1526.

To Spalatin.

About the abolition of papist customs in the Altenburg monastery. A rumor about the King of Hungary. About an error in the interpretation of Isaiah 9.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 207. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 315; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 110 and in, Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 392. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1006.

To the servant of Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelist at Altenburg, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I wish you happiness that you have arrived safely, and I ask Christ to grant you that you have brought a little Spalatin from Speier.

It would be nice and quite just that your Baalites 5) would be forced by a command of the prince to abandon their monstrosities, since they falsely boast that he has commanded them and wants to uphold them. Therefore, if they boast of a false obedience, let them be driven to the right; you also cooperate in this, I will do the same.

Likewise, one assures so certainly and constantly that the king of Hungary is slain that I am completely in doubt. But these are monstrosities, if they are true, which foreshadow the Last Day, since God is doing such works on the highest kings at this time. This is the purpose of so many signs from Heaven that have been occurring over and over again during these years.

Who does not see that there is an obvious misprint in the interpretation of Isaiah Cap. 9? 6)

5) The canons of the St. Georgenstifts in Altenburg.

6) The passage to which Luther refers here is found in the Church Postil, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, 1995, p. 44 at the beginning, where in the first edition it said by a misprint: "that his mother had to be.... in the special power of the Holy Spirit". In the church postilion, "to be born" was left standing, but "his mother" was changed to "he of his mother". This sermon was preached on Dec. 25, 1525, as we see from Buchwald, "Andreas Poach", p. XXIV.

But I do not have my copy; without doubt, where one reads: "to be born", there either has been written or should have been written: "to become pregnant". This requires the whole interpretation and the thing of which is acted. But who can shred a measure for all, that they do not falsify or err? Fare well and pray for me. On Wednesday after the Exaltation of the Cross 1) [Sept. 19] 1526.

Martin Luther.

No. 1022.

Wittenberg.

September 20, 1526.

To Agricola.

Of economic affairs.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 73; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 128 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 394.

To Johann Agricola, teacher of the youth at Eisleben, his brother in Christo.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Since I had nothing to write, I am writing this, my dear John, especially since Philip is there as a living letter. I am glad that he is going there, so that people will see that the cause is being pursued by us with great respect and earnestness. God grant that which is watered may prosper. Greetings to your taller "Elfe" and your smaller 2) and your Hanna together with Philipp. I ask you to send us more of those things that are like small medlars, in German: "Erlsbeere" (*Eltzbeer*),³⁾ because my Kethe (*cathena*) devours them greedily, but even more the Eberhardin, who is pregnant. To Count Albrecht, if it can happen, recommend me. But greet D. Johann Rühl with his own (*cum sua carne*) and Conrad, "the scribe", 4) Johann Dürer, with your mouth, with

1) De Wette has wrongly assumed "Cross's invention" and therefore the date: "May 9". But at that time the Diet of Speier was not yet opened, and King Louis of Hungary was killed only on August 9 in the Battle of Mohacz.

2) Agricola's wife, Elsa, and their daughter of the same name.

3) In German there are many names for it: Arlesbeere, Arleskirsche, Sperberbeere, Sperberapfel, Speierlingbeere, Sorbapfel.

4) Spalatin calls him: *D. Caspar Conradus, scriba ducalis*. - Dürer" also means Thür, Dürr, Durch; he was Chancellor of Mansfeld.

my heart. I give thanks for the fur that has finally been delivered, but it is all too dear; I will write about it at another time. All of you fare well in the Lord, amen. Wittenberg, Thursday after the Exaltation of the Cross [20 Sept.] 1526.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1023 .

(Wittenberg.)

September 21, 1526.

To the musician Johann Walther.

Luther wants to use him and two other cantors, whose cantor positions in Wittenberg the Elector wants to abolish.

From the original in *Cod. chart.* 380. I. *Bibl. Goth.* in De Wette, vol. III, p. 129 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 384.

D. Johnnni Walther, Musis amico et amato, suo in Domino charissimo [To the Lord Johann Walther, the friend and lover of the Muses, his in the Lord exceedingly theur (friend)].

Gratia. et Pax. My dear Walther, I will leave you to your trouble and expense, and even write to m. gn. H. for you three abandoned *cantors*; for it seems to me that dragging you out (it would be a different matter) is of no use. For people should probably think that I would be driven so hard by you; it is better that I turn myself in than that I do it by myself. I have also called Spalatinus; he writes that he wants to do the best. I am now writing to Mr. Conrad 5) also for the books and for you to provide for the Schwebelin 6) for the sake of the feud, as you know. The books shall still serve for use and benefit as much as I can. Only that one gives the people a form, since they could not pass. Herewith God commands and greets me your dear Coste and says that she will become a straight and jointed rib. *Feria 6. post Lamberti* [21. Septembers 1526.

Martinus Luther.

5) Conrad Rupsch.

6) "das Schwebelin" will probably be Jakob Holzward from Memmingen.

No. 1024.

(Wittenberg.)

October 14, 1526.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther reports on his literary works.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 28. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 30b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 319b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 130 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 398. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1013 f.

To the servant of God, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! Here was nothing new, my dear Nicolaus, what this bookseller could have brought, because the book of warfare is not yet finished, but it is promoted from day to day in print.

I deal with the fact that Zechariah is to follow Habakkuk and Jonah. The preacher Solomon troubles me a lot, as if he did not want to be read, but he is forced to be read; so much has this book been lying low until now. You are right in saying that the world is going to ruin; I also hope that the day of the appearance of the coming of the great God is near, so much do all things everywhere glow, burn, waver, fall, tumble, rage. But you be well and pray for me. On the Sunday after Dionysius [October 14] 1526. Martin Luther.

No. 1025.

(Wittenberg.)

October 25, 1526.

To Michael Stiefel in Tolleth.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1545.

No. 1026.

Wittenberg.

October 28, 1526.

To Johann Frosch in Augsburg.

Luther consoles and strengthens him in his trials and tribulations, which he had to endure in the fight with the predominantly strong Zwinglischeu party in Augsburg (only Stephan Agricola [Kastenbauer] was on his side), and promises that he will write against the Sacramentirans.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 320 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 131 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 400. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1014.

To the Herru Doctor Johann Frosch,²⁾ the exceedingly faithful herald of Christ in the city of Augsburg.

Grace and peace! Christ keep you and yours, my dear frog (*Rana*), but remember in this challenge that many must be angry, and few will be chosen who will endure. Satan is now raging out of approval of God because of the ingratitude and contempt of His word, which few understand, as I have always foretold, it would happen that we ungrateful people would be struck with wars and mobs. You be strong and support your little group. They may rage, rule and triumph; he who is in us is greater than he who is in them [1 John 4:4]. I am burning with desire to confess my faith once again and to show their mockery with a few words (for they themselves no longer hear), and I would have done it long ago if I had not lacked the time and Satan himself had prevented me. But I will make an effort, if Christ is gracious to me and you pray for me to come forward. Your letter and that of Martin Weiss are with me and are before me, because I have always been anxious to deal with these matters publicly. Now the hurried messenger does not allow me to write anything more. Farewell in Christ and comfort and greet the brethren. Wittenberg, on the day of Simonis and Judä [Oct. 28] 1526.

No. 1027.

(Wittenberg.)

October 29, 1526.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1546.

No. 1028.

Wittenberg.

November 1, 1526.

To Queen Mary of Hungary.

See St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1.

1) "Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können," St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 488.

2) About Joh. Frosch see St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2409, amn.4.

No. 1029 .

Wittenberg.

November 14, 1526, ¹⁾**To Wolfgang Fueß, pastor in Colditz.**

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 710.

No. 1030 .

Wittenberg.

November 15, 1526. 2)

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for Caspar Schalbe of Eisenach.

From the Weimar Archive in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 55; in Walch, vol. XXI, 269; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 401 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 50.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! M. Caspar Schalbe is still in misery and out of Eisenach, not without great harm and trouble, as E. C. F. G. well know to consider: I now humbly ask E. C. F. G. to put an end to the matter, and to order the good man to leave Eisenach. C. F. G. would put an end to the matter, give orders, and let the good man be helped home again; for if it were true (as I do not hope), we are human beings, and may such afflictions be corrected with a fair punishment. May God mercifully command him E. C. F. G., Amen. Thursday after Martinmas, 1526.

E. C. F. G.
subservient

Martinus Luther.

1) In the old edition of Walch, the date is: "Monday after Martini" (November 12) instead of: "Wednesday" in De Wette and in the Erlanger. The same error also in the St. Louis edition, but in the preface to the 10th volume, Col. 79, the correct date is set.

2) This letter is erroneously placed in the year 1528 in the editions, which Burkhardt, p. 112, has already pointed out. It certainly belongs to the year 1526, as can be seen from the answer of the Elector on November 26, 1526 and from a later letter of Luther to the Elector on March 1, 1527.

No. 1031.

Wittenberg.

Before November 16, 1526.

To the Electoral Councils.

Duke George had known how to obtain either the manuscript or the copy of Luther's intended "Gegenschrift Wider den Mainzer Rathsclag" (St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 339 ff.), which had been suppressed by the Elector, and already on July 4 he complained about it to the Elector through Andreas Pflug, bailiff at Leipzig. The Elector promised to approach Luthern about it and to send his answer to Duke George. However, the Elector was already busy with his departure for the Diet of Speier, and his letter to Luther did not arrive until after his return from the Diet on September 10. On September 15, he apologized to Duke George for the delay, and promised to write to Luther now, and on November 16, he sent the copy of our letter to Duke George.

From a writing in the Weimarsche Gesammtarchiv in De Wette, vol. III, p. 120 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 381.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable and highly esteemed, dear lords and good friends! This is my answer to your request, which you sent and complained to my lord about the booklet I should have printed about the priests' counsel, and about Duke Jörgen, who complained as if he should be reviled in it, to his lordship:

First, that you will excuse me against my most gracious lord. After His Lordship had suggested to me that the same booklet, when it was started, even by his own intention long before, rather than Duke Jörgen might pray for it, not to let it go out, nor to let it come from me (which is now also dear to me myself, because God has let the bloodthirsty priests not to carry out their murderous counsel before the Emperor. Maj., and did more than I might have done with the booklet): so I would not have provided myself with such complaints from Duke Jörgen, and not only that, but because the same booklet was taken from me secretly and not in any proper way, or copied, and would well like to suffer that it could be learned how the same booklet was obtained and brought to me or copied; for my Lord Elector or Duke would have it known. Lord Elector or Duke Jörgen himself would not like to suffer that letters or trades were secretly transcribed in their offices.

or carried away without knowledge and will: therefore my need would be to know the same. Thus writes St. Jerome, if they were disgraceful books, but if they remain secretly in the box, they should not be considered disgraceful books, whether they are secretly carried away by book thieves or get out. I want to have such for my excuse against my gn. Lord that the booklet has been secretly stolen or copied from me, so that his Lordship will not think that I have stolen or copied it. G. does not think that I have brought it out or sent it out contrary to his churfl. G.'s order or let it go out. Hereby God is commanded. At Wittenberg, 1) 1526.

Martinus Luther.

No 1032.

Berkwitz.

November 17, 1526.

Carlstadt to Luther.

He seeks Luther's use to be allowed to live in Kemberg.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, N 367, No. 183. 3 Printed by Burkhardt, p. 112 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p.405.

Respectable, highly learned doctor, favorable and dear godfather! My very willing services before and what good I am able to do. My Lord! Your respectability is undoubtedly well aware that I complain many times and why I have to leave the farm in Berckzaw 2). Because the departure of my horses has not ceased, but recently a large, strong stallion together with another stallion, which I would not have liked to sell for 15 fl., both died in one week, I have hurried and sold such property at a good price, so that I would not become a beggar, and the field would have to become deserted because of me. I hope that no one can blame me or accuse me of being unstable because I have now lost 7 horses and otherwise have lost great unbelievable wealth.

1) The Weimar manuscript has as date, but again crossed out, "die Magdalenä", that is, July 22, which De Wette and after him the Erlanger have set. But the letter cannot have been written so early, because only on November 16 the Elector writes to Duke George: "that from those, whom we ordered to take such report from Dr. Luther, shortly before report and Luther's answer has arrived, as your dear ones will hear from the enclosed copy". He enclosed an undated copy of our letter with the letter.

2) Berckzaw, Berckaw == Berkwitz.

I have suffered some damage. Now, praise be to God forever and ever, I have produced a little livestock, namely sheep, pigs, oxen and cows, and also a small six-month-old cow, which I do not dare to take far without danger. In particular, I am not able to take my fodder, hay, straw and wood with me far for the sake of the cart, but I would have to give half of it away and make it into water, and over that I would have to buy other things at great expense, all of which would be to my undoubted detriment as a poor man.

I may not assume another farm, so E. A. know, how I have looked around for a dwelling in Grefenheinge 3) during the summer and have not found anything. Kemberg, however, which abuts the Birkzaw (sic) village, is in the Elector's possession, since I have been admitted by grace, but with a gracious final clause, until [it] would be different 2c. But there I could get several houses for rent or purchase, and bring in my fodder, cattle and wood with favorable help in the most satisfactory way, which I am not allowed to do or think without intercession and permission. Because I have kept myself so quiet and practiced all kinds of work, which I report for the sake of necessity and not for the sake of fame, 4) that there is no more talk of Carlstadt's teachings, nor am I willing to enter into any matter of the scholars, but to wait for my food, which E. A. is nowhere more certain about. A. may nowhere experience more certain daily, because from the proximity, so I ask E. A. for God's sake, E. G. (sic) want me to the most illustrious and highborn Prince and Lord, Mr. Johansen, Duke of Saxony, of the Holy Roman Empire Archmarshalken and Churf, 2c., my gn. Lord, to ask H. C. F. G. for princely clemency and Christian mercy, to pardon me with that which does not break off a penny to their churf. G., as I understand it, to further extend the gracious agreement shown to me, and to allow me to come to Kemberg, to feed myself along with other citizens, and to acquire food and clothing for my poor children, as I am obligated to do. I will be prepared to do this at all times, without saving my body and goods, in order to earn your honor. Date at Berckzaw, Saturday after Martinmas [Nov. 17] Anno XXVI. year.

CA.
willing servant
Andreas Carolstat.

3) Gräfenhainichen.

4) "thue" put by us instead of: "thun".

No. 1033.

(Wittenberg.)

November 22, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther applies for a church visitation. He asks for Carlstadt to be allowed to live in Kemberg.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 519; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 554; in Walch, vol. XXI, 156; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 135 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 386.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! I have not brought E. C. F. G. supplication for a long time, they have now gathered, E. C. F. G. wanted to have patience; it will not and cannot be otherwise.

First of all, most gracious Lord, the parish priests are complaining beyond measure almost in all places. The peasants no longer want to give anything, and there is such ingratitude among the people for the holy word of God that there is undoubtedly a great plague from God; and if I knew how to do it with a good conscience, I would well "help" that they have no pastor or preacher, and live like swine, when they do: there is no longer any fear of God or discipline, because the pope's ban has gone, and everyone does whatever he wants.

But because we are all commanded, especially the authorities, above all to educate the poor youth who are born and grow up every day, and to keep them in the fear of God and in discipline, we must have schools and preachers and pastors. If parents do not want to do this, they can always go to the devil. But where the youth neglects and remains uneducated, it is the fault of the authorities, and the country becomes full of wild, loose people, so that not only God's commandment, but also the need of all of us, forces us to turn away from this.

But now in E. C. F. G. principality, papal and ecclesiastical compulsion and order is over, and all monasteries and convents fall into the hands of E. C. F. G., as the supreme head, there comes at the same time also the duty and complaint to order such a thing; for no one else accepts it, nor can, nor should. Therefore, as I have talked everything over with E. C. F. G. Chancellor, also Mr. Niclas von Ende, it will be necessary to ask E. C. F. G. in the most conducive way.

F. G., as God has required and authorized in such a case, to have four persons visit the land; two who are responsible for interest and goods; two who are responsible for doctrine and persons, so that these persons, by order of E. C. F. G., may establish and care for the schools and parishes where necessary.

Where there is a town or village that is of property, the C.C.F.G. has the power to compel them to keep schools, preaching stations, and parishes. If they do not want to do it for their own happiness, E. C. F. G. is there as the supreme guardian of the youth and of all who need it, and shall force them to do it; just as if they were forced by force to give and serve for bridges, footpaths and roads, or for any other accidental necessity of the country.

What the land needs and requires, those who use and enjoy the land shall give and help. Now there is no need for people to come and rule after us. But if they have no property and are otherwise too heavily burdened, then the monastery estates, which are primarily endowed for this purpose and are still to be used for this purpose, are to be spared the common man all the more. For it is easy for the C.C.F.G. to mean that in the end there would be an evil clamor, and it is also not justifiable where the schools and parishes lie low, and the nobility should bring the monastery estates to themselves; as is already said, and also done by some. Since such estates do not improve anything in the C.C.F.G. Chamber, and are finally endowed for church service, they should serve this purpose first and foremost. What is left after that may be used by the C.F.G. for the needs of the country or for poor people.

On the other hand: D. Carlstadt has asked me very much to write to E. C. F. G. for mercy, so that he may live in Kemberg; otherwise he cannot stay in the villages because of the malice of the peasants, as E. C. F. G. can hear from this letter of his, and also from Hans von Grafendorf, and yet he is afraid to write to E. C. F. G. himself. Because he has so far been silent publicly, and our one part, also Hans Metsch, Captain, consider it good that the Provost 1) at Kem

1) Bartholomäus Bernhardt (Feldkirch).

I also humbly ask that E. C. F. G. would graciously grant him this, although E. C. F. G. has already done much and has been the subject of much talk on his behalf. But God will reward it all the more abundantly. Let him stand for his soul; let us do good to his body and to his own. May the grace of God be with us, Amen. Thursday after Elizabeth [Nov. 22] 1526.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1 034.

(Wittenberg.)

November 23, 1526.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther recommends the preacher at Schweinitz to be the pastor there.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 393; in the Altenburger, vol. III, p. 657; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 551; in Walch, vol. XXI, 158 f.; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 137, according to the original in the Weimar archives, and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 53, p. 389.

To the Serene, high-born. Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord. Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The people of Schweinitz ask me to intercede with E. C. F. G., so that they will give the preacher they now have, who was previously appointed by Doctor Lucae and left behind after his fatal departure, in his place as pastor. Now it is true, he is a pious, learned man. But I also have to report to E. C. F. G. that the people of Schweinitz, as well as almost all commoners from time to time, want to appoint pastors on other people's property, and give nothing themselves, and feed no one. Whoever wants to have the power and right to appoint, should also be obligated and obliged to feed, and not call, build or free on another's property. Otherwise I lack nothing in the person; in this E. C. F. G. will know well how to keep. For the parish goods and interest

are solely endowed by the Superior. Ordered by the grace of God. Friday after Elizabeth [23 Nov] An. 1526.

E. C. F. G.

subservient Martinus Luther.

No. 1035 .

Weimar.

November 26, 1526.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Response to Luther's letter of November 22; the note responds to the letter of November 15.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, N, p. 367, No. 183. 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 114 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 407.

Our greeting before. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have read all the contents of your letter concerning the establishment of parishes, schools and Doctor Carolstat, and as far as the establishment of parishes and schools is concerned, we also find daily that there is a great lack of ours in this area, and we do not like to hear it. Since we have judged and considered among ourselves that we, as the sovereign, are due to see to it, you know that we have ordered our advisors and dear faithful, Gregory Brück, Chancellor, and Hansen von Grefendorf, whom we left behind us in Wittenberg for this and other matters, to have a conversation with you and the four deans 1) about it. When the same two, coming to us again, reported to us that they considered it good with you up to our favor, that one person or two from the university, and from us someone from the council, should be ordered to visit our cities, towns and villages, if the necessity requires it, and the agreement should have been that persons from the university, suitable for this, should be appointed to us in writing, We do not know how to convince you that such a discussion, which ours had with you and the four deans, will please us. We also want to appoint two of our councilors, whom we will consider suitable and useful for such a visitation, and we will not let the costs, which will result from it, be lost for the good of the matter. However, we graciously request that you be present at our university, so that we can make use of two per

1) That is, with the decans of the four faculties.

If you compare the names of the persons and teachers 1) who are to be paid attention to, and if you name and identify them to us, you and they shall be left to our discretion as to the time and place at which we first want to carry out and have carried out such a visitation.

Secondly, we have also heard what you have written to us concerning Doctor Carolstat, to the effect that we have noted his complaints and objections from his letter 2). Now we know not to leave it undisclosed to you in your gracious opinion that all sorts of things were said on his account when we were at the Diet of Speier, and in particular our councilors, whom we used there as a committee in the affairs of the realm, have indicated to us that some have publicly said that the said Carlstat should not refrain from writing to some of those who are dependent on his established sect, and to strengthen them in this way, 3) in which way, also with what measure and happened promise the said Carlstat would be suffered by us at this time in our lands in the best, so much might have happened that we could no longer have known him in our princedoms. We therefore graciously request that Carlstat be reminded to keep his promise and to dispense with letters and other things that serve to strengthen the affected sect, and we want to have it done, according to your intercession, that he may turn to Kemberg, which you may also indicate to him on our behalf. We request, however, that you inform and order the provost of Kemberg and others, whom you respect in this regard, to have good respect for the man's character and actions, as well as for the people who will come to him. For if it should happen to us that he writes outside of the country or praises or otherwise strengthens the affected sect in our countries and principalities, he would have to consider what displeasure we would bear and what we would be caused to do because of it. We have not wished to restrain you from this, and are inclined to you with graciousness and good. Date Weimar, Monday after Catharine [Nov. 26] Anno 26.

1) The Elector later appointed Hans von der Planitz and Asmus von Hanbitz as visitors; the university appointed Melanchthon and Hieronymus Schurs. - The visitation began on February 13, 1527.

2) No. 1032.

3) The meaning of this passage will probably be: and if it had come to that, that our councilors would have had to report on it 2c.

Notes.

Concerning Caspar Schalken, of whom you wrote to us in another letter, we would be well inclined to procure at your request that he be secured to his own. However, we cannot reproach you for the fact that we have received such a report on account of his actions and things, and that he has now been absconding for some time, so that we may not consider him innocent. If he should now be admitted without punishment, you are to consider to what imposition such a thing will be sufficient for us. If, however, he is inclined to carry out his innocence, as is fair, or to get along with the mistress and others, so that no one has cause, even if it is done secretly, to complain about it, then, at his request, we will gladly order our bailiff at Wartburg or someone else who is in a position to do so, to act in one of the ways indicated.

No. 1036 .

Wittenberg.

November 28, 1526.

To Conrad Cordatus⁴⁾ in Liegnitz.

Luther speaks about the religious conditions in Liegnitz that Cordatus told him about, namely, on the one hand, swarm spirits, Schwenkfeld and Krautwald, and on the other hand, carnal life.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 73; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 138 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 410.

Grace and peace be with you in the Lord! You write strange things about your Liegnitz, my dear Cordatus, that in one and the same place the spirit is so powerful and the flesh at the same time, since the former boast nothing but spirit and the latter live nothing but flesh. But although this is a common corruption in the whole world, namely, the overindulgence in words, you must still try and stop it. 5) Who knows whether God does not want to do the opposite and a new thing in this place, that just as elsewhere the zeal for the gospel first glows and then is cold, so there it should first be cold and then glow. May God grant that this people may be the son who first refuses to go into the vineyard, and after that

4) About Cordatus and his life fate see St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, Introduction, p. 4b f.

5) This will refer to the new academy founded by Duke Frederick II of Liegnitz, to which Cordatus was appointed as a teacher. It did not last and Cordatus left Silesia already in April 1527.

but repents and has gone, and is preferred to the one who first promised to go but did not go [Matt. 21:28 ff]. Therefore continue bravely, and the Lord will be with you. But do not fear the spirits, which are spiritually the most spiritual. It is truly foolish with God what they imagine. But Christ be with you. And if you can, write to us often. Your letters are pleasant to us, both because they are witnesses of your faith, which is very important to you and to others, and because they are full of facts and refresh us who are eager for them. ¹⁾ Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, Nov. 28, 1526.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1037.

Wittenberg.

November 28, 1526.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

(Fragment.)

Luther strongly advised him against a double marriage.

This letter is taken from the original in the Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Kassel, which is now in Marburg, and published in Niedners Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie 1852, Heft II, p. 265, by Professor Heinrich Heppe in Marburg; also in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 79 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. V, p. 411. The beginning of the original is torn off.

.... For the sake of this matter, my faithful warning and advice is that Christians in particular should not have more than one wife, not only because it is annoying, and no Christian should give trouble without need, but should avoid it most diligently, but also because there is no word of God here, on which one may rely, so that God is pleased with Christians. Pagans and Turks may do as they please. The ancient fathers had many wives, but they were forced to do so by necessity, as Abraham and Jacob, and after them many kings, to whom the wives of their friends died as an inheritance according to the laws of Moses. Now it is not enough for a Christian to look at the work of the fathers, he must also have a divine word for himself, which makes him certain, just as they had.

¹⁾ In the editions: *terreant*. De Wette suggests *satiant*. We have adopted *recreant*.

For where there was no necessity or cause, the fathers of old had no more than one wife than Isaac, Joseph, Moses and many others. For this reason I do not know how to advise, but must advise against it, especially the Christians, unless there is a great need, as if the wife were leprous or otherwise stolen. But I do not know how to defend the others. This is what I will humbly answer E. F. G. to such a question. Hiemit GÖttes Gnaden befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Wednesday after Catherina [Nov. 28] 1526. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 1038.

(Last months 1526.)

King Henry VIII of England to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 382, no. 82.

No. 1039.

(Wittenberg.)

December 9, 1526.

To Joseph Levin Metzsch.

Luther's opinion of polygamy; on infant baptism and the appointment of a preacher.

In the Unsch. Nachr. 1712, p. 13; in the Leipz. Suppl., p. 46; in Walch, vol. XXI, 160; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 139 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 53, p. 390.

To the honorable and firm Joseph Levin Metzsch 2c., my favorable master and good friend.

Grace and peace. Honorable and firm, dear lord and friend! To your first question: whether anyone may have more than one wife in marriage? This is my answer: The unbelievers may do as they please, but Christian liberty should be directed by love, so that everything should be directed to the service of the neighbor, where it can be done without necessity and error of faith and conscience; but now everyone wants to seek the liberty that serves and is useful to him, taking nothing into account, neither the neighbor's benefit nor improvement, even though St. Paul says: *Omnia licent, sed non omnia expediunt, 1. Cor. ep. VI. tantum ne libertatem in*

occasionem carnis detis etc. It is also free to prostitute oneself, or to live without them; but who will do it without need, with a good conscience? Even if the ancients had many wives, Christians are not to follow such an example, because there is no necessity, nor correction, nor especially God's word, that commands such a thing, and so great trouble and unrest may come from it. For this reason, I do not consider Christians to be any more free, since God would have to command such freedom beforehand.

How one should baptize the children, I have written abundantly in the Postille after Epiphany 1); the enthusiasts do what they want. That you appoint a preacher 2) to your people, and let him become honorable (for it is need, benefit and freedom, also God's word for it), is fair, so far as you have complete power and authority over them, if not, then you should let it be commanded by God, and likewise let him dare for himself whether he wants to preach. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Sunday after Nicolai [Dec. 9] 1526. Martin Luther.

No. 1040 .

Dresden.

December 21, 1526.

Duke George of Saxony to Luther.

Letter accompanying the letter from King Henry VIII of England to Luther, which the Duke sends.

The original concept is in the Hauptstaatsarchiv zu Dresden, *Locat.* 10,300, koi. 203. Printed in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* 1880, Heft 2, p. 349 (Seidemann) and in the *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 413.

[3] The noble prince, Lord Henry of England and France, protector of the Christian faith 2c., our special dear lord and friend, has sent us a writing [today], holding to you, kindly minded to send it to you by our messenger, and that you may give us the more faith, so we send you herewith a copy of his royal dignity letter, done to us. Dignity letter, done to us, and at the same time royal dignity answer [to you]. Würd reply [to you], as they come to us. If we knew kön. Dignity in more service, we would be willing.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 486.

2) In 1526 Donat Krause came to Reichenbach, which belonged to Metzsch, as pastor.

3) The enclosed in square brackets is an addition by the hand of Chancellor Pistori.

No. 1041.

(Wittenberg.)

December 22, 1526.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

About an earlier writing of Luther's, newly published by others, who is buried the present year, as if he still holds so now.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 321; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 140 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. V, p. 414. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1016.

Grace and peace! Those articles I will either let go or, if I have time, revoke. Because also another unworthiness has itself recently in this! I have also recently shown myself to be worthless in this year, in that the number of this year has been added to the issue, as if I were to keep it that way in this year. Thus Satan mocks in his wrath. Farewell and pray for me, and comfort the afflicted Marquard. 4) On the Saturday after St. Thomas [22 Dec.] 1526.

Martin Luther.

No. 1042.

(Wittenberg.)

(End 1526.)

To Assa from Kram.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 488.

No. 1043.

(Wittenberg.)

(End 1526.)

To Philipp Gluenspies in Mansfeld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1016, no. 131.

No. 1044.

(Wittenberg.)

(Late 1526 or early 1527.)

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1786, annex, no. 11.

No. 1045.

1526.

To a parish priest.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 688.

4) Schuldorp.

No. 1046.

1526.

**Concerns about how the peasants' revolt
could be alleviated at its source by
abolishing the mass and employing good
parish priests.**

This writing is found in the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 222 b, as from the year 1525, with the marginal note: "This writing is found in Herr Spalatin's Bibliotheca, and, as its handwriting shows, is Germanized by him, but, as can be seen, not of all things completely, especially at the end. Completely the same in the Jenaer (1556), vol. III, p. 182 b, but with the marginal gloss in the register: "Gehört ins 26. Jahr." Further in the Altenburger, vol. III, p. 337; in the Leipziger, vol. XIX, p. 551; in Walch, vol. XXI, Anh. p. 152" and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 72. In all these editions, it has been overlooked that single printings of this manuscript are available, which Panzer has already listed under No. 3018 and No. 3019. Only the second edition of the Erlanger Ausgabe, Vol. 26, p. 1 gives the titles of these editions, and has given the text of the manuscript after one of them. The title of this edition reads: "Eyn ratschlag wie in der Christlichen gemehne, ain rechter anfang vnd beharrliche endtschafft, eyner bestmdigen ordnung solle furgenommen vund auffgericht werden. D. Mar. Lu." Without place and year. 1 sheet in 4. It can be assumed that Luther himself wrote the scripture in German. The first edition of the Erlangen edition only brings in the register the title found in the old editions: "Luthers Bedenken, wie jetziger Aufruhr zu stillen", with the remark: "*latein*. We give here the text according to the second edition of the Erlangen edition, but here and there we have adopted Spalatin's readings. - Walch, Seidemann and the Erlangen edition recognize the year 1526 as correct.

**A Counsel by Doctor Martini Luther on
How to Establish and Complete a
Permanent Order in the Christian
Community. 1526.**

Because this next upheaval has so wrought havoc on us that it is easy to see what evil will come of it if we do not see to it that the common man's mind is quieted and united as much as possible, it is necessary to do this not only by force, as is already the case, but also by reason. For force without reason cannot endure, and keeps the subjects in eternal hatred of the rulers, as all history shows us.

Now one cannot deny that in the mob, from many years ago, unwillingness has grown up and evil delusion has taken hold of the dishonest life of the spiritual state, and since one does not want to improve it, but rather defends it with defiance against all fairness, the delusion has become a

The result is such misery as unfortunately exists; therefore, the first thing to do is to reform the state, or the pen will not come out of the heart.

The first thing to be done here is to approach your main task, namely, the mass, so that it is performed in a Christian, common, unanimous manner, in which God and men may be pleased and satisfied. The manner, however, must be taken from the divine word, without which no order is unanimous and constant, since nothing so powerfully fills the mouths and quiets the hearts of all men as the divine word. Words of men certainly cause sects and unequal ways, as one can see before one's eyes all over the world.

It is obvious and cannot be denied by the clergy themselves, how in the whole world such a terrible abomination and horrible misuse of the reverend Sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ's body and blood is going on, namely the great cruel misuse, which even reason without Scripture recognizes and condemns, that a loud fair and manipulation has been made of the holy sacrament, since Christ, the Holy Spirit, grace, life, heaven, forgiveness of sins, and redemption from hell and purgatory have been sold; yes, even if a sow is sick, or has lost a penny, or some other small misfortune befalls you: all this is sought to be averted by the Mass with money, so that the Mass has been free, open and ready to obtain a merchant's office against all kinds of misfortune on earth with a penny or half a penny for anyone, whether pious or wicked, regardless of faith, love and all God's glory and salvation. -For even if, among a hundred thousand, one or a few more might be found to keep mass for God's sake, the others and the common state 1) are abused, so that, if there were no money, no one respects the mass or is directed to help anyone with it. For for this purpose monasteries and churches have been founded, into which one does not go other than to feed one's belly and have good days through the abominable and blasphemous creed of divine service and the masses; this is no different and no one can deny it.

1) That is, the state of the clergy in general.

Moreover, it is seen and grasped that this creedalism and money-making by 1) Christ's blood is not applied to pious poor people, but the majority to the clergy, who lie in carnal uncleanness, as Paul calls it, also in public fornication, adultery and all disgraces. Many of them are drunkards and full of impiety, and live blamelessly in all these under the appearance and protection of spiritual status.²⁾ So, impudent and unclean, they go desperately to the altar, that is, to their merchant's booth, trade and torture, sell and exchange the dear Christ. If there were no abomination on earth, this alone would be enough for God's wrath to carry us away, like Sodom and Gomorrah.

And indeed, God has let himself be noticed in this uproar, if we wanted to open our eyes, that the misery has been inflicted on the clergy and for the sake of the clergy, as they protect and suffer such abominations, and finally, as a common punishment, has gone out on the rabble, who have also followed and served such abominations, and there is no end to it yet; In addition, it is to be feared that it was a fox's tail, and where one will not yet do anything to put an end to such a public, known abomination, but will handle and tolerate it insolently and as if in defiance of God, the iron rod will follow afterwards.

Therefore, it is advisable that all masses be dismissed with a final common judgment, and that one does not intend to keep them and to improve them with the patchwork of a glittering reformation. For where the mass should remain as it is now, it is impossible to prevent it from becoming a creed, unless others are ordained to attend masses, since they are and must be vain idlers who have no office to serve the word and neighbor, for which Christ actually instituted this sacrament. But where there is idleness, all vices follow, so that it cannot be advised here that the ministers of the Mass should be given the office of the word; those who are not able to do this should not say Mass either. Otherwise, the useless people will be and are too many, and because they almost

If they are vain belly servants and idlers who serve no one, but let them serve, the annoyance and vexation of both God and man will not cease.

If we had ordered this main part correctly, then the other part, as it depends on it, would be easy to advise. But if one does not want to do this, then I would not like to advise the other orders, because this is in vain and a vain wasted effort, which is broken by the handling of the measurements. The source of the abomination must be stopped, otherwise the rivers and streams will not dry up.

Above all this, the mass is even more abominable and abusive; For even if it were without outward gross abuse and not a creed, but were kept for God's sake, since it is kept as a sacrifice and good work, and not in memory of our Lord Jesus Christ, as he instituted it, Christians' consciences are also built on it, as if they should be saved by offering Christ in the mass, so that faith is destroyed and the one sacrifice that Christ offered himself once for us is forgotten and despised, which should be remembered with great diligence in the mass. But to destroy faith and make a selfish work and sacrifice out of a divine common treasure of souls is such a perversion 3) and abomination that no man's heart can comprehend it. Therefore, it is necessary to look into this matter with seriousness and haste, before God overpowers us with His wrath.

To say that it was decided by imperial mandate at the Diet of Worms, one should stick to the old Christian custom and practice:

It is obvious that in the same mandate nothing at all is commanded about the abuse of the masses; although, as I said, they know it well, and nevertheless pretend not to see it, and jump over it, as if it did not concern us, so that God is nevertheless despised to the highest degree and his honor is forgotten. Therefore, from the attitude of such an imperial mandate, such a pity has come that, just as they have ignored God's

1) Thus Spalatin; in print: "an".

2) Erlanger: "Life".

3) In print: "Devastation".

have forgotten, despised his honor and enraged him, again both spiritual and temporal authorities have come into such contempt and hatred, and are still daily in it, and the longer the deeper they get into it, the more that no good can ever come of it, as the rebellion has begun and indicated, and thus the saying of God is fulfilled 1 Sam. 2:30: "Whoever honors me, him I will also honor, but whoever despises me shall be despised again. Therefore, the Wormsian mandate is far too little to maintain good order, because it despises and lets go of such public vice and abomination, and does nothing to promote divine honor and put away the blasphemy and dishonor of His name.

And if the mass were properly ordered, it would be necessary to have good, pious preachers. In this case, it will depend on the people who have to be educated in schools and universities. Therefore, reformation of schools and universities is necessary, so that no expense or effort is spared. This must be especially well thought of, for where the schools are not well established, where people are to be trained and educated, no church service will be advisable. But perhaps the empire will not accept this, but will leave it to each dominion to provide in its country. But it is necessary and the highest article of one.

But what to make of foundations, monasteries and bishoprics, I do not know. If they remain like this, they do not serve God and do not wait for the word. But if the bishops visit, as is their office, they may not wait for the word. But this is to be considered, because they bear the name and rank of bishops, abbots, deans, and yet they do not rule, but are secular lords, that they are also in the rank to great dishonor and dishonor of God, and it would be a thousand times better that they let themselves be changed into secular rank, and that such estates be taken in fief from the realm and given to those who are found worthy of it, as otherwise happens when a lordship dies. For it is no different than that through the gospel the bishoprics 1) all die off and fall to the founders or the kingdom; for the names of the bishoprics 1) all die off.

Bishop, abbot, provost, dean, scholasticus, cantor, canonicus, vicarius, and deacon indicate what kind of office such people should have; in secular courts and estates such names and offices do not exist.

Psalm 33:11.

The counsel of the Lord endures forever.

No. 1047.

Wittenberg. January 1, 1527.

To Johann Agricola.

On economic matters, the cold-heartedness of the Wittenbergers, and Luther's intention to write against the enthusiasts.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 75; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 145 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 1.

To Johann Agricola, instructor of Christian youth at Eisleben, his brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! My mistress and mistress Käthe has ordered me to thank you for the cloth you gave her; however, such a proud gift would not have been necessary for us poor people. She has faithfully endeavored that this maid Elsa should come to your Elsa; God grant that she may be quite obedient.

Here we are quite intent on and on fortifications so that Wittenberg will be invincible, meanwhile we are cold and almost full in the Gospel of God. I arm myself against the enthusiasts; pray to God for me that He may crush Satan. There is no news among us other than what I believe is known among you. Fare well with all yours in Christo and greet ours. January 1, 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1048.

(Wittenberg.)January 1. January 1527.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther apologizes for his long silence, justifies himself against a grammatical reproach by Dolzig, and complains about the poor administration of the monastery estates.

The original is in *Cod. Goth.* A 122, fol. 24 (partly damaged). Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 322; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 76 (only the second paragraph); in De Wette, vol. III, p. 146 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 2. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1019.

1) In print: "Bishops.

Grace and peace in the Lord! That it is not my fault that I write to you less often, my dear Spalatin, these enclosed letters shall be my witnesses, for they waited for a messenger, as they were always before my eyes. You will recognize from the months, days, and the matter in which they are written, that I myself had forgotten the things, and finally, overcome by annoyance, unsealed them again to see what I would have written. Yes, in the case of the last messenger, I had very much intended that he should not leave without my letters to you, for the sake of the Schösser at Eisenberg 1); but even so I did not get anything. When I went down to look for him - perhaps his presence had been reported to me too late - I was told that he had lost patience and had gone away. At the same time, I was displeased with my people. That's how it goes: What does not concern you, you do not care about. But remember for yourself whether I used to behave like this when you were at court, that is, when you told me about certain messengers or certain *publicans* who were supposed to deliver my letters to you. But now I have to use random messengers; how many of them, I pray you, ask for letters, or deliver them, or desire them, or wait for them? 2) This is my excuse, because I do not want to put my many affairs before you, since there are none that could prevent me from writing to you, since I am sure from your manner, which I know, that even a letter written during the meal would be pleasant to you.

To the matter. You should tell our very dear Dolzig that if he tolerates a friendly quarrel (as he does), we do not lack a reason for claiming that it should sometimes be written "darumb", sometimes "drumb". For why should we Germans not follow the Greeks, the Latins, and the Hebrews in contractions and abbreviations 3) since there is scarcely any language

that shortens more than the German one? With an abbreviation we say: "thou shalt do it to me", which according to Dolzig's strictness should be said: "thou shalt do it to me". See what sweetness the abbreviation has and what repulsiveness the rule. If one asks, "Why do you do this?" we regularly answer, "Because of this," because the word stands alone; again, when words are added, it is said with graceful abbreviation, "I will not let it be because of this." How peevishly would one say this: "I will not let it be about this"? To the Thuringians with these un-Germanic *Germanisms*! You see how perceptive we are, too. Therefore, Dolzig may beware of a grammatical fight, especially if he undertakes to irritate us, since we seem to be double, triple, yes, quadruple people like Aristarchus 4). This in jest.

Very serious, my dear Spalatin, is the matter concerning the robbery of the monasteries, and, believe me, that it troubles me very much. What you desire, I have long since pursued with writings. Not satisfied with that, I (when the prince was here) even entered the prince's chamber against everyone's will in order to talk to him alone about this matter. Only "Riedesel" was present. Unawares, I approached the prince and complained about what you write, after I had also complained about the same thing to the younger prince in the antechamber, and he indicated that he disliked such things. He answered that they would take care that everything would be done properly. What should I say? Under the best of princes, I am afraid that I and all of us will be given a blue haze, empty appearances and fairy tales, so that we will not even be required to know the originators. They think Frederick is dead; in this opinion they are kings in this country, God grant that this does not happen so happily. And that is the sourest vinegar to me, that those who before as enemies of the Gospel (now as persistent enemies) did not agree with Prince Frederick in godliness, now, on the occasion of the loot, mock, laugh and, having become rich, rejoice that it is possible for them under the

1) Cutting wine. See No. 1018.

2) Melanchthon also repeatedly complains that there is so little opportunity to send letters to Spalatin. See *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 855, No. 430 and *ibid.* Col. 865, No. 440.

3) *syncopis* - omission of a letter in the middle of the word.

4) A critic made proverbial by his sharpness,

The people who are free in the name of the gospel are at the same time the highest enemies of the gospel and enjoy all the freedoms of the gospel. Have you ever seen anything like this ungodliness? Since I see that the prince, who is overwhelmed with business, is reminded in vain, I have no other advice than that it seems to me that the prince should be reminded by a public booklet that he administers the monasteries in a different way, whether perhaps those people want to be ashamed. For what you remind him, that he should command and rule according to the example of his brother, you know yourself, is not to be hoped for. The faithful man is exposed to the deviousness of all, and such a one who believes that all men are his equal, good and faithful. It must be a rogue who is to be a prince, and it behooves a tyrant to be a king, that is what the world wants. You see that I have become prolix, both out of necessity and with my will. If, moreover, you have any advice through Christ, share it with us; we will gladly follow it, so much do we hate the raging, the deceitfulness, the wickedness of Satan everywhere, in all things, on and on, that it will give us pleasure to meet or harm him in any way. Fare well in the Lord with your rib. My little Hans greets you, who in the month of teething begins to slur "Father" (*tattare*) and to scold everyone with sweet insults. Käthe also wishes you all the best, especially a Spalatinchen, who will teach you what she boasts she learned from her little house, that is, the fruit and joy of marriage, of which Pabst was not worthy with his world. On the day of circumcision [Jan. 1] 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1049.

Wittenberg. January 1, 1527.

To Michael Stiefel in Tolleth.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1792, 1) annex, no. 16.

No. 1050.

(Wittenberg.) January 7, 1527.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 690.

No. 1051.

(Wittenberg.) January 7, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther sends Carlstadt's letter of apology, asks for intercession for the expelled Danzig preacher Bonholt; in the postscript: Request for alms for the licentiate Basilius Axt and for a Wittenberg family.

The letter is found from the original in the Weimar Archive in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 47; in Walch, Vol. XXI, 164; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 153 and in the Erlangen Edition, Vol. 53, p. 396. The postscript: from the original in the Weimar Archive in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 86 and in the Erlangen Edition, Vol. 56, p. LXVII, both undated, but Seidemann assumes the year 1527. That the postscript belongs to this letter, says the Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 8.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony, Elector, and Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sincerely, Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Prince, most gracious Lord! I should have sent the next E. C. F. G., as I wrote, D. Carlstadt's apology, 2) and was provided and forgotten, send the same still herewith; about this he asks Niclas von Amsdorf, and I also with him humbly, for an alms, that is, for a writing to the council at Danzig for a pious priest, He Johann Bonholt, chased away by the King of Poland there, who also gave up his fief before, so that he might feed his estate and his wife's estate. Now they are holding both his wife and his estate against him, so he very much hopes that E. C. F. G. will write for him, that it will help, as it has helped others, also prescribed by the prince, as E. C. F. G., if he so desires, from this writing of his, and from his

1) This letter, which we have placed there in the year 1528 according to Förstemann's, Seidemann's and Burkhardt's processes, will be more correctly assigned to the year 1527 with Köstlin, M. Luther, vol. II, p. 644 ad 113²⁾, as we have already pronounced in the 14th volume of our edition, Col. 1768, note.

2) Carlstadt's letter of apology that he did not correspond with Zwingli and Oecolampad in the matter of the Sacrament, dated Wittenberg, Lucie (Dec. 13) 1526. The original is in the Weimar Archives (Burkhardt).

Amsdorf may continue to hear. God's grace be with E. C. F. G. always, Amen. Monday after Epiphany [7 Jan.] 1527.

E. C. F. G.
subservient
Mart. Luther.

[Postscript.]

About that, most gracious sir, although I am ashamed, and begging is much, but I must do it. The licentiate Basilius, whom E. C. F. G. had given the year XXX by C. Blancken, but now accepted as a physician at Torgau, truly on sufficient pay and hired service, he would like to become a doctor for more prestige, which such an office requires. If now E. C. F. G. would once again let give the same XXX Gulden for the last time, it would be necessary and good, but I want it in E. C. F. G.'s gracious will.

Otherwise, there is a poor citizen here who has been ill and spoiled for a whole year with his wife, who now cannot get ready for food again, who is deteriorating the longer the more, and who almost asked me to call upon C.F.G.. God knows that I have mercy on them, so I ask once again that E. C. F. G. also appear gracious and merciful to them. These are two money matters that I do not like to deal with.

No. 1052 .

Wittenberg.

January 7, 1527.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Council not to be hasty with the publication of the church order.

The original is in the state archives at Kassel. From it printed by Rommel in Röhr's Kritische PredigerBibliothek, vol. XIII, issue 2, 1832, p. 362; in Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 80; in the Darmstädter Allg. Kirchenzeitung 1849, no. 201; in Hassenkamp, Hessische Kirchengeschichte, vol. II, p. 306; erroneously in *Prospectus*, den D. Carl Zimmermann zu seiner beabsichtigten Ausgabe der sämmtlichen deutschen Werke Luthers erließte, Darmstadt 1853, p. 7, and from it in Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 56, p. 170.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! To the order sent to me by E. F. G. and requesting my opinion on it, I reply as follows

We do not like it, because many blame us in Wittenberg, as if we did not want to let anyone count for anything without us, when we, God knows, well wish that everyone would do the very best without us. But for the service of E. F. G., and because such an order might go out with a clamor, as if my speech had also come to this, it is my faithful, submissive advice that E. F. G. does not permit this order to be omitted by printing at this time, because I [could not] be so bold so far, and also cannot be so bold yet, to introduce such a heap of laws with such powerful words among us. That would be my opinion, as Moses has done with his laws, which he has taken, written out and ordered almost the whole part, as already in use among the people of old tradition. So also E. F. G. first provided the parishes and schools with good persons and tried beforehand by verbal order or drawn on slips of paper and all that in the shortest and least what they should do. And which would be even better, that the parish priests first of all of their three, six, name among themselves began a unanimous way in one or three, five, six pieces, until in practice and Schwang would come, and then further and more, as thing would probably give itself and force, until so long all pastors followed. Then it could be put into a small booklet, for I know well and have experienced well that when laws are set too early before custom and practice, they seldom turn out well; people are not skilled in this, as those think who sit there by themselves, and do it with words and thoughts, as it should go. Prescribing and doing are far apart. And experience will show that many parts of this order will have to change, and some will remain alone with the authorities. If, however, some of the pieces were to come into force and custom, it would then be easy to add to them and put them in order. Furthermore, making law is a great, dangerous, extensive thing, and without God's Spirit nothing good will come of it. Therefore, approach with fear and humility before God, and keep this measure: Short and good, little and well, gently and always on. After that, when they take root, more would follow from the act of faith itself than is necessary, as must Christ, the Romans, the Pope, and all the faithful.

The first one is the one that has gone to the preachers. This is my opinion to keep myself safe, because to E. F. G. and the preachers 1) in E. F. G. country I do not want to set neither goal nor measure. F. G.'s country, I do not want to set a goal or a measure, but command them to God's Spirit. I am willing and obliged to serve E. F. G.. At Wittenberg, Monday after *Epiphany*. [7 Jan.] 1527.

E. F. G.
willing
Martinus Luther.

No. 1053.

(Wittenberg.) January 10, 1527.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

About the visitation, Luther's literary works, and the rampant sacramental error.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 31. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 22 and at Zwickau in the Rathsschulbibliothek, XXXI V. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 325 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 154 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 10. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1024 f.

To Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior in the Lord!

"Grace and peace in Christ, my dearest Nicolaus! I also have nothing new, except that the prince answers the university that he wants to accelerate the visitation of the parishes. When this will be done, then also the churches will be ordered, the use of the ban will be possible; but what can be done, since the things are so torn? Zechariah is being promoted for publication in print, and the book is growing daily under my hands; at the same time I am attacking the Sacramentarians. You pray that Christ may guide my pen against Satan happily and salutary. I am also very happy about your testimony that you are still untouched by this leaven, because I have always believed this about you. I am very sorry that the exceedingly noble man Oecolampad has fallen into this abyss with such ridiculous and trivial thoughts, at the instigation of Satan; the Lord pull him out! Urban Rhegius either leans towards this evil,

or he has already fallen. May the Lord preserve his own!

I believe that you have heard that the Emperor's army in Italy has been fortunate. The pope is haunted everywhere so that he may be destroyed, for his end and his hour have come, although persecution is raging everywhere and many are being burned. My Kätke greets you respectfully. January 10, 1527, your Martin Luther.

No. 1054.

(Wittenberg.) January 13, 1527.

To Spalatin.

About the affair of a certain bather. Complaint about the court. Apology for his rare letter and report of a severe, almost fatal seizure he has had.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A, No. 190 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 210. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 326; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 154 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 11. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1025 f.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, his brother, rather his superior in the Lord, at Altenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although I have recently written to you, my dear Spalatin, and believe that the letter has reached you, I am nevertheless compelled to write again, because you implore me so urgently in the last letter. First of all, as you write about Simon the physician, I will watch, but at court there is no hope left at all, so much do the nobles presume all things and also put them into practice; therefore, an unbelievable confidence arises among them and such great pride in the rule that it seems that they bring a quick downfall upon themselves. Enough of this. I confess that I seldom write, but I would like you to believe that this is not through my fault or because I am moved by any cause of insult or offense, for (as I wrote before) I would freely admonish you if such a thing occurred, just as I would have you admonish me. The messengers are rare, then some are so hopeful and commanding that they completely demand that I sit still and idly await their arrival. Everything stands here

1) "the preachers" put by us instead of: "the preacher".

well, as before. Give my best regards to Eberhard and all of us, and be well with your Kätthe. It is true that the other day I was frightened by a sudden stagnation of the blood around the chest, and was almost lifeless, but a drink of the water of the *Cardui benedicti* 1) (as it is called) was the remedy. This water has an extraordinarily effective healing power, although it is neglected by physicians or rather unknown to them. On the eighth day after Epiphany [13 Jan] 1527.

Mart. Luther.

No. 1055.

Wittenberg. January 17, 1527.

To the Zerbst City Council.

Luther recommends Magister Niclas Pintzelt from Gera to the council as a preacher.

Alls the original in the Rathsarchiv zu Zerbst in Sinteris, Denkschrift, 1846, pag. 27; in the Erlangen edition, vol.56, p. 171 and in Seidemann-De Wette, B.VI, p.82.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Zerbst, my favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear Sirs! At E. W.'s next letter and request, I have asked this M. He Niclas to come to you and to try whether he will please you. He is pious and honest, also skilled in preaching, as E. W. will probably hear for himself; he has also been well practiced in the office of schoolmaster for several years, so that he can help to establish and maintain the schools with reading and singing. What God will give, we will wait for. Christ's grace be with you all, Amen. At Wittenberg, on the day of St. Antonii [17 Jan.] 1527. Martinus Luther.

No. 1056.

(Wittenberg.) January 23, 1527,

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

About a miraculous sign that happened in Magdeburg and about Luther's writing against the Sacramentirians.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 326 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 155 f. and int Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 13. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1027.

Grace and peace! There is nothing new that I could write to you, my dear Wenceslaus; and what should we worms, who are hidden in the furthest part of the world, write to you, who sit on the top of the world and see and hear the face of the world before you? Rather, we wretched and poor of you people, who are rich in facts and news that you hear,²⁾ must receive the light and what is in the light in this world. But Amsdorf writes to me that on the night [of the feast] of the Circumcision, during the early Mass in the main church, all the chandeliers and lamps suddenly went out, except for the one in front of the Sacrament. But there are so many, especially those lit during High Mass, and so many hidden corners of the chapels, that it is impossible for them to be extinguished by the wind (which cannot reach them). Some interpret it in such a way that the death of the canons is thereby foreshadowed; thus, it is said, it also happened in the past that when Bishop Ernst 3) was dying, the great chandelier fell down, went out and broke, and, as he lay, lit another one. God will watch. Many signs are happening that will not be in vain. I again go against the Sacramentirians; pray for me that Christ will give me happiness in His cause. I expect the seeds for the garden at the future equinox. Fare well with yours and with all in the Lord. January 23, 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1057.

Wittenberg. January 29, 1527.

To Conrad Cordatus in Liegnitz.

Luther advises him to leave Liegnitz and go elsewhere.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 77; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 156 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 14.

1) *Carduus benedicti*, Bornwurz, Heildistel, Spinnendistel, a *Cnicus* species to which the most extensive healing powers were attributed in those days.

2) Walch: "you who are rich in wealth and hearing".

3) Archbishop Ernst of Saxony, 1476-1513. The fallen chandelier was in the Marien-Magdalenen Chapel at the Moritzburg in Halle, where Ernst died.

But I would rather, my dear Cordatus, that you leave under the press, I do not know for what reason the printer those adversaries of Christ 1) as soon as possible and go has postponed it. Fare well in the Lord. 1527.

Martin Luther.

to the one of whom I have written, especially since everything with you is as you write. But nevertheless, so that I do not throw a rope over you, nor do I make a necessity, I want that the time of the coming is free to you. These people have an aversion to you, but there you are expected. Whatever you decide now shall be right and safe with the Lord. I could not write more now for lack of time and because of the hurry of the messenger. Continue in Christ and be steadfast; in him you will be well. From Wittenberg, 1527, on Tuesday after Paul's conversion [29 Jan].

No. 1058.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of January 1527.) 2)

To Justus Menius in Erfurt,

Luther wishes him luck with the birth of a child. From the protective letter of Menius Wider D. Conrad Kling zu Erfurt.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 360d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 226 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 14. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1074.

Grace and peace! I now wish you happiness anew as a father; if the former congratulations did not come true, God does not deceive. Also to me it is frightening example of God's wrath that such great men can fall in such a way that they accept these inconsistencies of Satan for certain currency; Christ keep us. Who would believe that the prince of darkness would have such great power? But this raging will have its course, as long as it pleases God. Your protective speech 4) is already

1) Schwenkfeld and his followers.

2) Aurifaber and, according to him, De Wette placed this letter in November. But the date of this letter results from Luther's congratulation on the birth of a child of Menius, under which only his second son, Eusebius, can be meant, who was born on January 19, 1527.

3) In Erl. Briefw. by a printing error: *gratulator* instead of *gratulator*.

4) The title of the same is: "Widder den Hochberümbten Barfüßer zu Erfurt, D. Conrad Klingen, Schutzred vnd gründliche Erklerung etlicher Haubtartickel Christlicher Lere

No. 1059 .

(Wittenberg.)

(End of January 1527.)

To the Christians of Erfurt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1524. 5)

No. 1060 .

(Wittenberg.)

1. February 1527.

To Eberhard Brisger in Altenburg.

Luther apologizes that ex cannot make the requested allstage.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Gud.* 214, fol. 63, and in Gotha, *Cod.* 185. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 78 ; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 157 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 16.

Grace and peace in Christ! You honor that I should lay out eight florins for you, my dear Eberhard, but where should I get them? I, as you know, am burdened with a heavy household, then I myself owe almost more than a hundred florins here and there through my carelessness; all these debts were made in this year. Three goblets stand in one place as a pledge for 50 guilders. But the Lord, who punishes my imprudence in this way, will free me again. In addition, Lucas and Christian 6) no longer want to admit me as a guarantor, namely because they know from experience that they will either receive nothing more in this way, or I will be exhausted. Yes, I have given them the fourth cup for 12 guilders, which they lent to fat Hermann by giving him copies on my say-so. But what is the point of this, that I

by Justum Menium." The writing had already been completed and sent to Luther on November 12, 1526. Luther's preface to it is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1524. Compare also *ibid.* vol. XIV, 272, note.

5) There, according to De Wette and the Erlangen edition, incorrectly dated: "In November 1527. The correct dating results from the preceding letter. - In the eighth line of the text read: "Now I am not minded" 2c.

6) Lucas Cranach and his compaignon, Christian Döring (Aurifaber).

Somebody is completely sucked out like this, yes, not sucked out, but plunged into such great debts? That is already no longer giving alms from my own, but from other people's goods. I believe that I cannot be charged with frugality or stinginess, since I am also so lavish with other people's goods. Therefore I want to do this: I want to talk to those people whether I can pacify them in any way, then also make use of Reiner's advice. If money came to my hand, I would not be burdened to spend it for the time being. Yes, I would like you to come yourself and talk to those people once and put your matter in order, and even rent out your house 1). For why is it standing there so idle, since it could have brought you a considerable sum this year? Fare well in the Lord. On the day before the Purification [of Mary] [Feb. 1] 1527.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1061.

(Wittenberg.)

1. February 1527.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1774, annex, no. 3.

No. 1062.

(Wittenberg.)

2. February 1527.

To Johann Draco.

Luther exhorts him to persevere in Waltershausen despite the adversities he has to endure.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 327 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 159 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 18. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1028.

Your man, Doctor Johann Draco, faithful bishop of Waltershausen, who is highly esteemed by the Lord, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! But I advise you in every way, my dear Draco, that you do not let yourself be overcome by evil, that you change the place, but overcome evil with good, according to the counsel of Paul [Rom. 12:21]. Remember, I beg you, that you did not go there for the sake of the wicked.

1) About Brisger's house see No. 795.

Dear, if you left them for the sake of the wicked, how great a sting of death would you put in your conscience! If you were not there, you would have to run for the sake of the good, without taking the wicked into account. Do you want to be alone without a persecutor, a rose without thorns, a child of God without Satan? And would you rather have other wicked ones instead of these? It is to be hoped that God will put an end to this temptation and you will finally win those whom you would later be sorry for having abandoned. The Lord will feed you, do not doubt; but I write to the godly prince, and I ask that you forgive if someone has 2) sinned against you; we sin one against the other, we must confess and forgive one against the other; such is life. Your customs and ceremonies please me quite well, only be prepared that you do not hope to have all your own as good and quiet people, but rather give thanks when three love and like you, but the others hate and persecute you. I pray thee, how many had Christ in his own so great a people to his followers? Hardly the yeast, the rest and the refuse of all Israel, the chosen people of God. Fare well and pray for me. February 2, 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1063.

Wittenberg.

February 3, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for the pastor Draco at Waltershausen.

Handwritten in the parish register at Waltershausen. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 237d; in the Jena edition (1556), vol. III, p. 436d; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 690; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 552. In Walch, Vol. XXI, 164 f; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 160 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 53, p. 397. In the parish register of Waltershausen there is also a copy of the electoral decree issued in response to this letter, in which the prince commands conscientious payment of the interest. This also remained without success, which is why Draco left Waltershausen in 1528 and went to Eisenach, where he remained until 1530, but had to struggle with the same difficulties.

2) We have adopted De Wette's conjecture, *aliquis* instead of *aliquid*.

Grace and peace. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Doctor Johannes Draconites, pastor of Waltershausen, complains about how he has to deal with the people who are supposed to pay him interest, and asks me to write to E. C. F. G. that E. C. F. G. wants to ensure that he does not have to do so. For it is annoying, as if it were avarice, when it is necessity. But I console them all with the future visitation. But it will take me a long time, and some great merchants say that it will remain.

If this is the case, it is the end of parishes, schools and the gospel in this country; they must run away. For they have nothing, they walk and look like dry ghosts. But more about that some other time. E. C. F. G. will know how to hold on. At Wittenberg, Sunday after Purificationis [Feb. 3] Anno 1527.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1064.

(Wittenberg.)

4. February 1527.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Luther inquires how the matter of Caspar Schalbe stands; of his literary works, and request for Erfurt Rettige and seeds thereof.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 328; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 160 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 20.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1772, annex, no. 2.

No. 1065.

(Wittenberg.)

February 5, 1527.

To Hans Ottensaß, Mayor of Hersfeld, currently imprisoned in Spangenberg.

Luther informs him that he will plead with the landgrave and M. Adam Crato for his release.

The original is privately owned in Hamburg. Printed by Schütze Vol. II, p. 372; by De Wette, Vol. III, p. 161 and in the Erlanger edition, Vol. 53, p. 397.

1) "dürren" is missing in the manuscript.

To the honorable Hans Ottensassen, mayor of Hersfeld, now imprisoned at Spangenberg, my good friend.

G. and F. My Hans, how sorry I am that you have been imprisoned for so long, and I didn't know it, it was only yesterday that I received your letter. I have been working diligently on M. Gn. H., the Landgrave, and hurriedly, because there happened to be a message. God grant that it helps, as I hope. And I also called M. Adam 2), because I am willing to serve you. God commanded, because I have much to do. On the day of St. Agatha [Feb. 5] 1527.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1066.

Wittenberg.

March 1, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Further intercession for Caspar Schalbe in Eisenach.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N.* No. 108, 4l. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 47; in Walch, vol. XXI, 165 f.; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 162 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 398.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector, and Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

G. u. F. in Christo. D., H. F., G. H.! E. C. F. G. have previously graciously put off M. Caspar Schalben, a citizen of Eisenach, when he had made up with the maid who had accused him, they would graciously help him back to his own; since this has now happened and yet some of the council of Eisenach are still trying to strengthen his disgrace, my humble request is therefore that E. C. F. G. continue and graciously protect him against such people's mouths and insolence. C. F. G. will thus continue, and graciously protect and handle him against such people's mouths and nobility, as he relies on E. C. F. G. and puts him off. E. C. F. G. will without doubt graciously know how to keep to this. At Wittenberg, Friday after the celebration of St. Peter's See [March 1] 1527.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

2) M. Adam is Crato or Kraft of Fulda, court preacher in Cassel.

No. 1067.

(Wittenberg.)

(Before March 11, 1527.) 1)

To Spalatin.

A short letter delivered by M. Eberhard Brisger.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv (with Spalatin's inscription: *P. M. Eberhardus Brisgerus* 1527). Handwritten in 60ä. u. lob 256. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 58; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 163 and in *Erl. Briefwechsel*, vol. VI, p. 27. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1079.

To M. Georg Spalatin, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! More with the pastor at Zwickau; now I am busy with thoughts and writings against the Sacramentarians, so that I do not want, and also you would not want, that such a draft would suffer damage in my mind. But M. Eberhard will report everything. Farewell and pray for me.

Mart. Luther.

No. 1068.

(Wittenberg.)

March 11, 1527.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VII, 2224, annex, no. 1.

No. 1 069.

(Wittenberg.)

March 17, 1527.

To Hans von Dolzig.

Luther recommends a former monk as gardener.

Handwritten in *Cod. Seidel*, Dresden. From the papers of Sagittarius printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 47; in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 166. From the original in the Quartal-Schrift für ältere Litteratur und neuere Lectüre, edited by Canzler and Meißner, III, 2, p. 39; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 164 and in the *Erlanger Ausgabe*, vol. 53, p. 399. Here with the variants given in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. XII.

To the strict and firm Hans von Dolzig 2c. at Torgau, my favorable lord and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. My strict, firm, dear lord and friend! I ask you very kindly to let this pious man, Heinrich, be in your command, whether he might

You know that he is a good gardener and has nothing to gain from the monastery, if each of the others gets a hundred guilders from it. I hope you will be the best friend. Hiemit GOtt commanded, Amen. Domin. Reminiscere [March 17] 1527.

Martinus Luther.

My Kätke sends you two bitter orange peppers. If she had known, she would have sent them to you long ago with her own messenger, because she would like to hear you get well; she has none left either.

No. 10 70.

Wittenberg.

March 21, 1527.

To Clemens Ursinus, pastor in Bruck.

Luther admonishes him not to leave his post, answers several questions posed by the same and instructs him to administer his office properly.

Printed in *Aurifaber*, vol. II, p. 330 b; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 165 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 29. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1030.

To Clemens Ursinus, pastor in Bruck.

Grace and peace in the Lord! With regard to what you have asked, my dearest Clement, I absolutely advise you not to leave your position unless you are forced, just as Christ also tolerated the sloth of the Jews for a long time. That is, in truth, shaking off the dust when we are forced out. Who knows if there are not some who will still believe? I dare not approach your nobleman (*heroem*) with letters yet, for I fear I would make things worse, which has often happened to me. You talk and continue, and command God the matter, so you will be safe.

On the restoration of the right use of the Mass, many German books have already been published by me 2) and others, but one of mine in Latin, "von dem Mißbrauch der Messe", ³⁾ which is sold and out of print, so that I have none to send you. Zwingli's and Oecolampad's opinion takes hold

2) "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes," St. Louis edition, vol. X, 226.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1068.

1) The year is derived from the inscription Spalatin/ the approximate date from the following letter.

and has already many different sects among itself, but Nothing, they have become strong before and force you, various people have written against it in Latin and so that it is not ordered by your will, but only by force, if German. I, too, am now writing a book against it in something should be ordered. In the meantime, let the German. ¹⁾ If you take my admonition, you will flee this word go forth and do what the Lord wills. Greet Ambrosius delusion as a plague, because it is a blasphemy against Buxius with love, and Philip Melancthon sends you his Christ's word and faith. We believe and know this. I think best regards. And be at ease in the Lord, and pray for me the same of infant baptism against Balthasar Hubmeier. in love, Amen. Wittenberg, Thursday after Reminiscere 2) If you have to teach badly, then at least leave opinion [March 21] 1527.

alone in these articles, and in the meantime practice faith, love, freedom of the spirit, the cross and obedience to the authorities, and make them well instructed in these; the rest will follow in its time. No one has yet written about the Revelation of John. I myself do not have a *catalog of my* books, but neither do I have the books themselves, since I wish that the true Bible be read instead of mine. I am improving the Bible according to the Hebrew truth,³⁾ pray for us. Polygamy, which was formerly permitted to the Jews and the Gentiles, cannot be honestly approved by Christians and cannot be undertaken with a clear conscience, unless there is an extreme necessity, as if one of the two spouses had been separated by leprosy or something similar. Therefore, you may say to carnal people: If they want to be Christians, they must be faithful and force the flesh, not let the reins shoot; if they want to be pagans, they may do as they please, at their peril. In short, teach the gospel in such a way that you say all that a Christian must know, be he strong or weak. But refrain from violent interference, and change

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1071.

March 29, 1527.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther admonishes Hausmann to stop his preacher Paul Lindenau (Lindenauer, Lindauer, Lindemann), who had attacked council members in the pulpit. Punishments of persons do not belong in the pulpit, but in the congregational meeting.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 970; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 553; in Walch, vol. XXI, 167; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 166 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 399.

Grace and peace in Christ. Worthy, dear Lord Pastor! It has been said to me, also reported by N.⁴⁾, how one of your preachers is behaving clumsily in the pulpit, and is attacking the person of the council in a disorderly manner, which is then filled with the rabble; and thus the spirit is still sparkling along, seeking its own honor and following. For this reason, my friendly request is that you and the council have understanding here, so that we are not again troubled by sleep and insolence. You know well by God's grace that such punishments of the person belong nowhere but among the gathering of Christians. Now you have not yet ordered a collection, as we hope it will be done by the visitation. Even if the gathering were ordered, such a rebuke would still not be right, because St. Paul says: *Seniorem ne increpes, sed obsecra ut patrem*; and Christ, Matth. 18, has previously admonished in particular. Whichever spirit does not keep this order has nothing good in mind. But

1) "That these words of Christ, this is my body 2c., still stand firm." St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 762, No. 20.

2) Hubmeier, from Friedberg near Augsburg, burned at Vienna on March 10, 1528, had written several writings against infant baptism.

3) Köstlin, M. Luther, vol. II, p. 162 f. and the Erl. Briefw. refer this to the Latin Bible translation allegedly made by Luther, which is appended to the 14th volume in the old edition of Walch. However, there are various counter-witnesses, and we too must admit that it is very doubtful to us that Luther is the author of this translation. Compare also our preface to the 14th volume of our edition.

4) "N." is the mayor Mühlport, who had sent his complaints to Wittenberg on March 15.

In the public *theater of* London, where Christians and unbelievers stand together and listen, as happens in the church, one should also punish in general, and all kinds of unbelief and bad behavior, and no one should be singled out. For it is a common sermon and should remain common, and no one should be ashamed and reddened in front of others until they are separated and come into the assembly, where they are properly admonished, prayed for and punished. But if he has a desire to punish publicly, let him do it to those who first attack him publicly, as I do to the papists and zealots. Otherwise he shall stop, and make no attachment, nor contempt of persons. For such punishments mend no one's ways, but they doom the rabble, and atone for the punisher's pleasure. I ask you to report this to the honorable council for my sake and for your sake and for yourselves, and to watch over it diligently. For Satan does not sleep and always seeks to cause misfortune. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Friday after Oculi [March 29] 1527.

No. 10 72.

(Strasbourg.)

(April 2, 1527.) 1)

Nicolaus Gerbe! to Luther.

(Regest.)

Gerbe! reports on the suffering and abuse he has to endure from the Sacramentarians and urges Luther to write against them. About the evangelical inclinations of Duchess Margaretha of Alenyon and other news.

Handwritten at Strasbourg in *Thes.* Printed by Röhrich, *Gesch. der Ref. im Elsaß*, vol. I, p. 456 (without year and date); by Kolde, p. 85 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, Vol. VI, p. 37.

No. 10 73.

(Wittenberg.)

April 9, 1527.

To Justus Menius in Erfurt.

From the printing of a treatise by Menius against D. Conrad Kling. Complaint about Erfurt's obduracy and ingratitude against the Gospel.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 331 d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 167 and in *Erl. Briefwechsel*, vol. VI, p. 40. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1032.

1) The date of this letter, which Kolde has set "6. end of March", results from a. Remark in Kerbel's diary.

To the Lord Justus Menius, the faithful servant of Christ at Erfurt, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace! Care has been taken that your protective writing 2) is printed, my dear Justus; the way in which the printer and your messenger have come to an agreement, he will tell you. Your Erfurt is and remains Erfurt; wrath from heaven follows so quickly that as soon as grace has begun to shine, the wrath of God immediately follows, which blinds and hardens the heart of Pharaoh. 3) You pray to the Lord for me and greet the Lord Lang and all of us in Christ. Tuesday after Judica [April 9] 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1074.

(Wittenberg.)

April 22, 1527.

To Friedrich Pistorius, Abbot at Nuremberg.

Luther gives thanks for a watch given to him.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 332 d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 168 and in *Erl. Briefwechsel*, vol. VI, p. 41. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1035.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Friedrich, Abbot of the Aegidien Monastery in Nuremberg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I write as a stranger to a stranger, my dear Lord, that makes my and now even more your Wenceslaus Link, who sent me in your name a bronze clock 4) given by you, an exceedingly pleasant gift, so that I am compelled to become a student of our mathematicians, until I understand all these forms and rules of the One Clock, because before I have not seen nor observed anything like that, because I am ignorant of these things of mathematics. Would that

2) This does not refer to the "Schutzrede" (St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1524), because it had already been printed, but to Menius' sermon on Reminiscere Sunday, to which Luther also wrote a preface. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 272, where the title is also given.

3) In some churches of Erfurt the old cultus was restored by the archbishop of Mainz.

4) The inventor of pocket watches, Peter Hele, still lived in Nuremberg. He died in 1542.

God, that I could be according to your heart, which I realize is most intimately indicated by this gift: there would be nothing I would rather accomplish. This, I would like you to receive in the best way (as I hope), according to the kindness of your friendship, and to be well disposed and pray for me. Easter Monday [22 April] 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1075.

(Wittenberg.)

April 28, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for the citizen Michael expelled from Mühlhausen. Cook.

The original is in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv, *Reg. N*, fol. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p.47; in Walch, vol. XXI, 168; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 168 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 400.

To the most illustrious, high-born. Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I come once again on behalf of the poor man Michael Koch, 1) citizen of Mohlhusen, and humbly request that E. C. F. G. would graciously help him and let him come back to his own, for he has now been in misery long enough, and, as he reports, he has come to it innocently through the mayor; but now many have been let in and come in again, who have also been guilty in the riot: he asks for God's sake to come in too, and he begs for the highest and best he ever can. E. C. F. G. wanted to look at his misery, and, where it is suitable, let him enjoy my intercession; for I almost took pity on the poor man. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday Quasimodogeniti (April 28) 1527.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Mart, Luther.

1) He was a wool weaver, and compromittirt in the Bauernanfuhr.

No 1076.

(Wittenberg.)

April 29, 1527.

To Spalatin.

From a satirical book published in Nuremberg, Wider das Pabstthum.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 53; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 169 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 48. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1038.

His brother, Georg Spalatin, who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! Magister Eberhard returns, who was taken in by me according to my small fortune, he will report what he has seen and heard. From Nuremberg we have received a booklet 2) that was published there, with prophetic pictures, which I believe is called *Hieroglyphia*, which quite actually foreshadows the course and fate of the papacy. We will reprint it here, otherwise I would have sent it, although we have only one copy, and a foreign one at that. Pray for Christ on my behalf; in him you too will be at ease. Monday after Quasimodogeniti [April 29] 1527. Mart. Luther.

No. 1077.

(Wittenberg.)

(April or later) 1527.

To Justus Menius in Erfurt.

Luther sends him his scripture printed in Wittenberg.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 360b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 227 (dated: "in November?") and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 44. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1074.

2) "A strange prophecy, of the Pabstum, how it should go to him until the end of the world, ynn figures or reports, found at Nurmberg, ym Carthauserkloster vnd is ser alt. A lecture by Andreas Osiander. With a good, understandable interpretation, interpreted by a literate audience. Which Hans Sachs has set down in German reckoning and added to it. In M. D. xx. vij Jare. Gedrucket Nürnberg, Hans Guldenmundt." Under this title, Osiander found 30 pictures in the Carthauserkloster, which he considered to be very old, but which were taken from an alleged writing of Abbot Joachim von Floris (d. 1202), which was only printed in Bologna in 1513. At his request, Hans Sachs wrote rhymes for it that were sharpened to the pabstical. On March 27, Osiander and Sachs therefore received a warning from the council, which feared harm from this writing.

Grace and peace! This accountant comes and brings your explanation 1) against Kling, admittedly a little late, but so it had to happen. Christ will (as I hope) restore his honor with you through this his disgrace, because nothing that is of God is glorified that is not first crucified in the world, unless Erfurt deserves to be deprived of the recently emerged but despised word. But I promise myself good things and hope for better things, because Christ has many in this Corinth whom he has chosen. Therefore Satan rages and fears so that these may be snatched out of his jaws. This letter (I ask) you want to have delivered to Jakob Koch at the fish market "to wolves". The grace of God be with you. 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 10 78.

(Wittenberg.)

4. May 1527.

To Spalatin.

Literary news, especially from a breeze and writings of Zwingli.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A, 193. Printed by *Bud deus*, p. 54; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 171 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 44 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1038.

To his brother in Christ, Georg Spalatin, Bishop of Altenburg.

Grace and peace! I received this letter from Prussia to send it to you, moreover, there is nothing new here. Zwingli wrote me a letter 2) which is full of hopefulness, slander, obstinacy, hatred and almost all malice, but under the best words. This is how this spirit rages. He has enclosed three little books.

Besides, there are the interpretations of Oecolampad on the last three minor prophets, those of Bucer on John 3) and Matthew, of Brenz on John against that, and all the

Prophets translated into German;⁴⁾ namely in everything they come before, we are nothing. What do you think they will do after they have seen my booklet 5)? So finally that spirit will come to the day. You pray Christ for me and be well in the Lord. 1527, the Saturday after Quasimodogeniti [May 4]. Martin Luther.

No. 10 79.

(Wittenberg.)

(Around May 4) 1527.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

About Zwingli's letter and the translation of the minor prophets published in Worms. Luther also sets about translating the prophets.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 332; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 171 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 46. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1034.

Grace and peace! I have only this news to write, my dear Wenceslaus, that Zwingli has also sent a letter to me, together with his quite insignificant little book, written with his hand, which is certainly quite worthy of that exceedingly hopeful spirit. With all modesty 6) he rages, rages, threatens and rages in such a way that he seems to me irredeemable, even if he is convicted by the obvious truth. My eloquent little book has indeed been of use to many. I do not despise the prophets translated into German at Worms, 7) only that the German idiom is too dark, perhaps due to the nature of that country. 8) They have applied diligence, 9) who

4) "Alle Propheten nach Hebräischer sprach verteutsch" 2c. "Printed at Worms by Peter Schöffern and published on the thirteenth day of April, August XXVII. The translators were Joh. Denck and Ludwig Hetzer.

5) "That these words of Christ: This is my body, still stand firm." This book came to Switzerland from the Easter Fair in Frankfurt,

6) We would be inclined to accept the reading: *immodestissime* instead of: *ita modestissime*; but because in the preceding letter it is said that Zwingli does all this *optimis verbis*, we have not dared to make a change, although this passage may not be well understood by Wenc. Link may not have been well understood.

7) Later, Luther comments more unfavorably on this work. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 978.

8) That is, by the dialect spoken there.

9) Walch summarizes here the words: *forte natura illius regionis fecerunt diligentiam*, and translates: "they hüben vielleicht nach Art des Landes gekünstelt; wer will aber alles berühren?" .

1) The paper mentioned in No. 1073.

2) Zwingli's letter is dated April 1. It is printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 33 ff.

3) "Luther is mistaken here; Bucer's interpretation of John did not appear until April 1528 in Strasbourg with Joh. Herwagen." (Erl. Briefw.)

but can achieve everything? But I now set out to bring them into German as well, reading about Isaiah at the same time, so that I will not be idle. You ask the Lord for me and for his church. Christ let me hear that a child is born to you and that it is safe, amen. My Käthe has sickness and vomiting again due to the hope of a second fruit. ¹⁾ Greet the Spengler and thank him, for all the seeds you sent are sprouting, only the melons and cucumbers are fading, although they are also sprouting in other gardens. Farewell. 1527. Martin Luther.

No. 1080.

(Wittenberg.) (Around May 4) 1527.

To Michael Stiefel in Tolleth.

About Luther's writing against the Sacramentirians; about Zwingli's letter and its *amica* exegesis.

Manuscript in Copenhagen, old royal library, 1393, p. 119 and (theillweise) at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Aug.* 11.10, fol. 235. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 345; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 172 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 47. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1049.

Grace and peace! I have, my dear Michael, sent a letter to you the day before yesterday, together with my booklet against the enthusiasts (*Antischwermerio*), of which I hope you have received it and that it has pleased you. For many are, by God's grace, fortified in the right faith through this booklet; again, I await the angry response of those people, whom, if Christ gives it and wills it, I will oppose with strength and wisdom. For Zwingli has written a certain "declaration" 2) to me, with the addition of a letter in his own hand, which is full of hopefulness and sacrilege. For there is nothing of shameful deeds or cruelty of which he does not accuse me, so much so that even the papists, my enemies, do not tear me to pieces like these our friends, who were nothing without us and before us and did not even dare to protest, but now, puffed up by our victory, turn their attack against us. This is what it means to give thanks, this is what it means to

In short, only now do I understand what it means that the world is in trouble and that Satan is the prince of the world. Until now I thought that these were only words, but now I see that it is a fact and that the devil really rules in the world. 3) To your mistress 4) say thanks in my name, in the name of her little house and Catharina 5). Hans is extremely proud of the delicious undergarment you sent him. If I could serve her in turn with that, I would certainly be pleased. "For I realize that God is with her. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen." My Käthe sends her best wishes for your well-being. Wittenberg, 1527. Martin Luther.

No. 1081.

(Wittenberg.)

(Around May 4) 1527.

To Johann Agricola.

Luther recommends a certain Stephanus to him and invites Agricola's wife to come to them for the sake of her health.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratenb.* Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 333b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 173 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 48. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1037.

His brother in the Lord, Johann, the farmer (*Agricolae*) and instructor of the Christian youth at Eisleben 2c.

Grace and peace! If you are able to do something, my dear Agricola, in the matter which this Stephanus will present to you (but you are able to do very much), then help him. For although we have been deceived in many ways up to now, I do not believe that we or our efforts, which we may spend on him, will be deceived by this person. He is miserable and in need of the labors of love to which you find your counts ready.

It seems advisable to us for your Elsa to come here for a few days to change the air she is used to. You will advise us in this matter at the same time, because we will gladly explain everything to your lovely wife and the simple and righteous woman.

3) The following is missing in Aurifaber and De Wette. From the same the question of the latter is settled: "Where was Stiefel at that time?"

4) Mrs. Dorothea Jörger.

5) Luther's son and wife.

1) The birth took place on December 10.

2) The *Amica exegesis*.

point out what can be useful to her in any way. Farewell. My Kätke has vomiting and nausea and is again ill, but (as I hope) with a good illness, namely of the head and (I don't know what kind of) vertigo; she sends her love to you and your Elsa. My little house is cheerful and strong, and a person who likes to eat and drink (*vorax et bibax*), thank God.

1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 10 82.

(Wittenberg.)

May 5, 1527.

To Andreas Kaugisdorf in Eilenburg.

Because of a dispute with an officemate.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* B, 24. n. Printed in De Wette, vol. III, p. 175 and in *Erlanger Briefwechsel*, vol. VI, p. 49.

To the highly venerable brother in Christ, Andreas Kaugisdorf, the faithful and loud preacher and pastor at Eilenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! The one who hands you this letter, 1) my dear Andrew, complains that he is driven out of the ministry of teaching by you. Therefore he asks that I intervene on his behalf. But I, who do not respect the word of one party, especially from afar, and at the same time know your love very well, do not know what discord there is among you. Therefore, if there is anything that my intercession for him must do for you, you will do what Christ taught you and which I promise to do for you. Grace be with you, Amen. Sunday after the Exaltation of the Cross [May 5] 1527.

Your M. L.

No. 10 83.

(Wittenberg.)

May 6, 1527.

To Johann Busmann in Königsberg.

On the printing of an interpretation of the Revelation of John sent by Brismann. About Luther's literary works.

The original is at Königsberg in the Wallenrodt Library. Printed by Voller, No. 5; in *Acta Borussia*, I, 801; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 118; by De Wette, Vol. III, p. 175 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 50.

1) The bearer of the letter was, as we see from Luther's letter to Kaugisdorf of Nov. 9, Juno, preacher at the church in front of the castle.

To the highly venerable man, Johann Brismann, the servant of Christ in Prussia, his brother.

Grace and peace! I can hardly believe you, as tested as your credibility is with me, my dear Brismann, I am surprised that you write that you have not received a letter from me in half a year. Far otherwise, if it does not deceive me, my memory tells me, but perhaps the letters are caught. The revelation [St. John's] that you sent,²⁾ is now being printed, because the one who brought it has only now asked for it.

The sacramentarian spirit rages without moderation, which Christ, as he is wont to do, meets with his weak strength. I have irritated them by my last booklet 3), for almost all of them attack me by name and challenge me. You pray for me that Christ', while we become disgraced, be glorified alone. That the great ones are outraged by my booklet of the men of war 4) I assume rightly, because also here with us it annoys outstanding people among us. But we have flesh, and it grieves us when our sense is touched. Farewell in Christ and greet all of our people. Pommer is seriously ill 5) and sends you his greetings, and wishes that you pray for him. On the sixth of May 1527.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 1084.

(Wittenberg.)

May 17, 1527.

To Amsdorf.

From a German translation of Luther's Commentary on the 5th Book of Moses. Warning against the Anabaptist Melchior Hofmann.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 78; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 177 (with the wrong date: May 18) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 51.

2) Luther wrote a preface to it, St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 178. There, see the details about it in the note.

3) "That these words: This is my body, still stand firm." St. Louis Old Edition, Vol. XX, 762, No. 20.

4) "Whether men of war can also be in a blessed state." St. Louis edition, Vol. X, 488.

5) He suffered from an ulcer in the ear. (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 866.)

Grace and peace! I have published my Deuteronomy in Latin, but I have not even seen it translated, so much is missing that I should have translated it myself. Again, I wish to know on what grounds you desire to know this from me. ¹⁾ If Melchior 2) the prophet from Liechtenstein should come, do not receive him in a friendly or confidential manner. I have had to suffer very serious letters because of my testimony, which I gave him as a foolish and deceived man. For, trusting in it, he has begun to despise even the preachers there and to be hopeful. The man and his spirit displeases me completely, since he wanders about without command and without profession and is nonsensical in whimsical things that are too high for him. If he should come, bid him wait for his profession, that is, furriery, and abstain from prophethood, and cease therefrom, until he be received into the church, interrogated and judged. Farewell and visit us at last, and show us your exceedingly dear face and let us communicate with each other. On Friday after Servatius [May 17] 1527, your Martin Luther.

No. 1085.

(Wittenberg.)

May 19, 1527.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther says thank you for the woodturning tools and other instruments sent to him. About the book with the pictures of the Pabstthum.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 333 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 178 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 52. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1039.

Grace and peace to your Lord! We have also received the woodturning set and the quadrant with the roller and the wooden clock, and we give thanks. But you omitted one thing, that you did not indicate how much money remained to be sent, for we consider that the two skilled

1) For the translation of Deuteronomy published in Strasbourg, see St. Louis Edition, Vol. III, 1370, note.

2) This is the furrier Melchior Hofmann. Amsdorf showed him the door and warned against him in your fierce print.

[guilders] are not sufficient. Otherwise, there are enough instruments for this time, unless you have some of a new kind that can turn alone when Wolfgang 3) snores or does not pay attention. For with regard to the clock, I am almost a perfect master, especially since the hours are to be indicated to my drunken Saxons, who prefer to look at the jugs rather than at the hours, and are not much troubled by an error either in the sun or in the clock or in its master. With us there is nothing new than your picture book about the Pabstthum,⁴⁾ in which I like my picture less sickle very well, since I am sa preannounced so many years ago as a biting and harsh man, but I bear Bedeuken to interpret the rose as my sign; 5) I would like to think that it also refers more to the office. The other pleases me now, if what you have published is true. Fare well in the Lord. May 19, 1527, Martin Luther.

Philip will recommend Veit Dietrich to you, just as I will do if there is any use for him.

No. 1086.

Of Mr. Leonhard Kaiser in Bavaria, burned for the sake of the Gospel, a blessed story.

The report about the martyrdom of Leonhard Kaiser (more correctly: Käser) first appeared before October 1527 under the title: "Histori oder dz warhasftig geschiehet, des leydens vnd sterbens Lienhart Keyzers seligen, etwa Pfarrers zu Weytzenkirchen, von des heylligen Euangelij vnd Gütlichen warheyt wegen zu Passaw verdeylet, vnd zu Scherding verbrandt, am Freytag nach Laurentij, im jar M.D. xxvij. Item eyn trostbrief Doctor Martini Luther, gemelten

3) Sieberger. It seems that Luther had the woodturning tools come mainly for this one.

4) See No. 1176.

5) In the 20th picture of that scripture, Osiander had put a monk in the place of the pope, who holds a rose in his right hand and a sickle in his left hand, and under it the words: "But so that one sees who the monk is, he stands there in his clothing and has his sign, the rose, in his hand, I think it is Luther. But because Isaiah saith, All flesh is as grass, he standeth there with a sickle, and cutteth it off, not grass, but flesh, and all that is carnal 2c. For against this he preaches, and when it is extinguished, he will strike again with the iron of fire the fire of Christian love, which is extinguished, and kindle it."

Lienhardt-Keyser blessed, sent in his gefencknus." 1-1/2^ sheets in quarto (in 4 different editions). Of this writing Luther says in the allsang of our report that some inaccuracies are contained in it. Therefore, on the basis of the notes made by Kaiser, which Michael Stiefel sent him, Luther organized another printing under the title: "Von Er Lenhard keiser ynn Beyern vmb des Euangelij willen verbrandt Eine selige geschicht. Mart. Luther. Wittenberg. M. D. XXVIII." At the end: "Printed at Wittenberg. by Hans Luftt."

Sheet in quarto. Another edition was published in 1528 at Nuremberg by Friederich Peypus. In the editions: in the Wittenberg (1553), vol. VI, p. 4056; in the Jena (1556), vol. III, p. 441b; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 780; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 577 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 173. Our writing is not found in the Erlangen edition, and in order to make up for this deficiency, the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 53, contains Luther's letter to Kaiser, which belongs to this writing, and *ibid.* p. 156 ff. Luther's preface and epilogue to this writing, which are in epistolary form. The Erlangen correspondence, however, has recognized just as little as Köstlin that the section immediately following the preface originates from Luther.

To all the dear people of Christ Martinus Luther. ¹⁾

Grace and peace in Christ! The story of Lenhard Keiser, who was burned in Bavaria for the sake of the Gospel, has been printed. And although the master of this booklet is inclined to the Gospel and meant it to be true, he has described some parts differently, as it happened, perhaps to the disgust of those who were against him, or he did not have a better report, so that the papists' mouths would be all the more open, so that they could boast about how ours deal with lies. Therefore, after I had diligently inquired into the matter until I had arrived at the certain truth, I let this story go out anew. For I believe that we, who want to be Christians, may not without sin keep silent about such a glorious confession of the truth, which this Lenhard Keiser has made by the great grace of God, and we owe it to God to thank Him for His abundant grace that He has strengthened our faith and doctrine with such a great and beautiful example, and that He has made it possible for us to live in peace.

1) The exact time of the publication of this writing cannot be determined; however, because the first edition is already marked with the year 1528, and Luther sent a finished copy to Spalatin on December 28, Christmas 1527 can be assumed. On the 2nd day of Christmas 1527 that Luther is mentioned in the sermon of Leonhard Kaiser. (Buchwald, Andr. Poach's Unprinted Sermons of Luther, p. XXIX.).

comfort at this evil time, when so many abominations and troubles rage and rage against the salvific Word of God. O Lord God, the most beautiful articles are those for which the pious emperor shed his blood and gave his life, condemned on earth as a heretic, but glorified in heaven as a true martyr. O dear Lord Jesus Christ, help us by your Spirit (according to such an example) to confess you and your word with constant faith before this blind and naughty world, and forgive the wretched tyrants together with their multitude such their sin, and enlighten all erroneous and deceived hearts with the light of your graces, and be with us poor, that you protect us and keep us pure and blameless for your future. To you be praise and glory with the Father and Holy Spirit forever and ever, Amen.

Mr. Leonhard Keiser was born of honest, famous friendship at Rab (Nabb), four miles from Passau, in the district of Schärding in Bavaria, and has led an honorable, chaste life for his person as a special pious priest, held dear and valuable by everyone.

But when he was vicar of Watzenkirchen for seven years (there Doctor Perger, canon of Passau, was pastor), and he, by the grace of God, showed the people the truth of the Gospel, his pastor, the above-mentioned Doctor Perger, became unfavorable to him, 'as if his parish would decrease in money through him. Finally, he was brought before the bishop of Passau, summoned, and imprisoned by the official of Passau, kept there until the third day, and told that he should never adhere to such teachings as Lutheran or Protestant, according to a long original that the priests of Regensburg had provided.

After this, he returned to Watzenkirchen and did not stay longer than half a year in the parish 2c.

But when his conscience weighed heavily on him, he set out and went to Wittenberg 2) and elsewhere, where he found remembrance of his life.

2) He is immatriculated at Wittenberg on June 7, 1525.

2c., and failed to do so for two years.

After that, when a letter came to him from his brothers and friends, saying that his father was in mortal danger and that he wanted to see his father alive, he came out and, out of the love of his father and brothers, resigned himself and went to Rab, where he found his father alive within two hours. After that, he stayed at Rab with his mother and brothers, and he also became weak, so he stayed there for five weeks. In such a state he was reported by the parish priest there at Rab, and the parish priest reported his future to the abbot of Süben and the bishop of Passau by letters and persons.

After this, the prince of Passau sent a letter to the judge at Rab, asking him to have Lenhard imprisoned. The judge had Lenhard read this document himself, and the judge imprisoned him. Then he was kept in their court on the third day, then delivered for the court to the district court of Schärding on the 10th day of March Anno 27, and led to Schärding. On the other morning, as on the 11th day of March, he was led to Passau on the water, then imprisoned in the Oberhaus or castle, and examined several times in the presence of Doctor Ramelsbach, preacher at Passau, and Officials, parish priest at St. Paul and canon, Doctor Rosin, canon, and Doctor Fröschel, canon 2c.

The prince has also spoken to him personally, but his answer has always been: according to divine Scripture he wants to be reprimanded, otherwise with nothing, even with revenge, he should be sent to some cities of the empire, such as Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm and the like, at his and his friends' expense, and there present the alleged crime. If he is found to be in the wrong, he shall pay for it without any mercy, but if he is not due, 1) nor overcome with holy scripture, he shall not be charged further. But as they questioned and examined him

nirt, and what his answer has been, we will best hear from his own handwriting, which has come to me,²⁾ and reads thus:

Grace through Christ.

Friendly, dear brothers in Christ! I let you know that on the day of Pentecost 3) I was required to be interrogated, and there I was asked to answer briefly and to give my opinion on all the articles that were rejected by Doctor Martinum, and which are strictly contrary to God's Word, and are not yet founded in the Holy Scriptures.

But now you can well notice that this wolf's presumption is nothing else but a thirst to muffle divine word and to condemn innocent blood, also no love to instruct the erring one, as me or one of my equals, according to their eighth, only inclined to condemn outright and cunning, also not to let any saying of the Scripture remain with his right mind, but must be violated and desecrated as devilish, heretical, Lutheran doctrine.

Who would consider it Christian, brotherly love that a weak, sick person should be put into a heavy prison for a while, and then hurriedly, unawares, begin to respond to such excellent articles concerning the salvation of the soul? Since even high authorities in such respectable matters and necessary articles would not be allowed eight days, but half a year or a whole year, to which I would not be able to untie the laces with my intellect, you may understand what tyranny is used to search the consciences of men and to reform them according to their head, which is God's doing and work alone.

Now I would like to show you the articles to which I have had to answer, but I must say that a good part of them has fallen away from me, but nevertheless, according to my simple mind, and in accordance with the word of God, I have answered them, because you have good knowledge, since God's word is accused of heretical, diabolical, seductive, Lutheran doctrine among them, I also, who am accused by them of being a heretic, diabolical, seductive, Lutheran doctrine.

2) This passage seems to us to be full proof that everything preceding (not only the letter "to all Christians", as Köstlin, M. Luther, p. 643 ad p. 113 states) was written by Luther.

3) Here the Jena edition has the marginal gloss: "This is Dornstag. - According to the document that immediately follows Leonhard Kaiser's handwriting, "a legal day has been set for July 11," which was a Thursday. This letter is therefore written soon after July 11.

1) "due" guilty. (Dietz.)

I have been taken for an erring, deceived man, blinded with false doctrine; also where already writings have been denounced, unseemly and utterly rejected by them, also not allowed to listen, to speak out my distress.

One article or six other examinations have been held up to me by them, which in part have fallen away from me, as first of all: what I think of the Conciliis; what of the primacy or supremacy of the pope; what of his statutes and the like? 2c.

(1) But the first article, now held up to me this time, was whether faith alone, without works, makes one justified? Answer: Yes. [I have shown Scripture from the Old and New Testaments, but [it is] denied by them, and it has not been given me leave to argue.

(2) Secondly, concerning works, what are they, if faith alone justifies? I answered: that faith alone acts before God, but works are signs of my faith; these must be left down with the neighbor, to serve him with them, and not to lead him over himself before God. One must separate faith and works as far as heaven and earth, angels and devils. Only do nothing before God with works, but leave the glory to Christ alone, that he has bought us with his blood and has done more than too much for all men's sins, and believe this, rely on it completely and die on it: faith is enough before God and makes us children of God, heirs to his kingdom, co-heirs with Christ, and partakers of all his goods. But now you know well what the goods of Christ are, of which it is unnecessary to write.

3. thirdly, the sacrament of the altar or mass? Answered, as if it were a testament or memorial of the united sacrifice of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, made on the cross for us poor sinners. Is it not a sacrifice? Answer: No, because he was sacrificed once. Whether it is not service for the departed? Answered: No. Whether it should be offered to the laity under one or under both forms? To which I answered: Where the gospel is not preached, it is necessary to wait a while, for the sake of the weak, to give it in one form. But if the gospel is preached, and the words of the institution of the body and blood of Christ are taught, one should proceed to present both forms to the male. One must first build, then destroy, but whoever stinks afterwards, let him stink and go to the devil.

4. what the great and small canon and what I think of it? Answer: because they both say only about sacrifice, and the will is a gift and not a sacrifice, so I do not think anything of it 2c.

5th Item, fifth, about the confession? Answer: There are three kinds of confession. The first of faith, which is necessary daily, Ps. 32:5: "I said, I will confess," 2c. The other of love, and is, if I have offended my neighbor, [that] I reconcile myself with him, of which Matth. 5, 23. f. and 18, 18. The third of counsel, and not to be despised. For where I know to fetch God's promise, I should not despise it, but lament my distress, there receive God's word, and rejoice in my request, and believe that I will be helped 2c.

(6) Item, repentance and atonement? Answer: I know of no other atonement than that of Christ, that is, His blood, suffering and death given for us.

(7) What then are repentance, confession, fasting, prayer, and the like? Answer: In all these there is neither satisfaction nor payment, but are signs of thanksgiving to those who are redeemed by Christ's shedding of innocent blood, suffering and death.

8. item, about the sacrament of the last rites? Said: that for this reason no scripture is sufficient for me, that it should be a sacrament, but that it was the custom of the Jews to visit the sick and there to pour delicious ointment or water on them to help their weak, sick bodies and to give them refreshment, which is what Christ, the Lord, Magdalene did; so Marcus should also be understood.

9 Item, about the confirmation? I said, as before, that no scripture pleased me.

10 Item, of the ordination of the priests? I said it was not a sacrament, but drawn from the Old Testament, just as Mosi was commanded to ordain and clothe his brother Aaron, as we have in the Book of the Exodus of the Israelites. So also the bishops have taken the same scriptures for themselves to consecrate our priests, but therefore no word nor command.

(11) Item, baptism? I have said that it is a sacrament instituted by Christ, and not to be missed; and if any man be not baptized, let him desire to be baptized still, and a sign of faith 2c. For this also not man's work, but God's work, by which the old man is drowned and a new man is born, and the old man dies and lives anew. Also a sign that faith is not only in the heart,

but must be made known to everyone by the sign, and to me. Then follows the cross and temptation of the Christians who confess him.

12. item, of the marriage state, whether it is a sacrament? No, but instituted and created by God. For this reason man and wife were created, and his word was given to multiply them, and no one was to walk outside the estate, unless he was blessed by God. There was much talk about this, but I had to be their liar with open scripture, as Matth. 19 reports. [I said that it is not proper in any case to leave one's wife and marry another, unless one has betrayed the other's faith, which then separates itself. But a Christian man knows how to keep himself in this case. If once 1) divorced and again sought mercy, further to avoid should be left, and then a new marriage.

13. item, whether it is also proper for a priest to be free about his vows? Answer: Yes. The vow made cannot or may not dampen God's word. It is not our doing to vow chastity, but God's grace must give it first, for the word is strong against it: "Grow and multiply."

Item 14: What is Christian freedom? Answer: Christian freedom is that we are free from all laws, that no law has anything to do with any Christian, as Paul says [1 Tim. 1, 9Z: "No law is given to the righteous". He wants and strives to live according to the law without being forced to do so. He is sorry that he stumbles at times, he is also sorry for sins and would gladly be without them; the struggle remains until our pit. Now in such a case, the Christian man is like-minded toward God: God hates sin, and so does a Christian man, even if he feels sin, even if he falls into it.

On the other hand, God wants us not to sin. A Christian man also wants to be free of sins. He writhes here, he turns there; as he does, he finds two laws in him, as Paul did to Romans 2c. Also he is a lord over all goods of God, all creatures free to use, but that through freedom he does not give place to the flesh, as Paul says Gal. 5, 13.

15 Item, what about free will? Did I say that to obtain external things, man may well have free will to a certain extent?

will, but in the things to do God's will, or to leave that which is contrary to God's will, we still have no free will. God gives me much, but I am such a fellow, and leave His commandment. Nor do I find in all my powers, even me, that I can do and leave what he gives or bequeaths. There is a great difference between owing something and having something. I owe a lot and I don't have it. Lord, give what you give, and do what you will.

16 Item: What do I think about purgatory? Answer: I have not yet heard or read a saying in the holy Scriptures that has completely satisfied my conscience, from which one could or would want to try that there should be a purgatory, although we have all in one heap bent and rhymed the saying and the like, namely as Matth. 5, 25. f.: "Be at peace with your adversary" 2c. "Thou shalt not come forth from thence till thou hast paid the last farthing." "So long" 2c. is spoken as much as eternally; so I understand it this time, and will not err.

Item, 1 Cor. 3, 11, the same saying also bent there. "No one can lay a foundation other than the one that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. But if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stone, wood," 2c. has another mind. But I cannot or may not allow that there be a purgatory, because all the works of God are perfect, and none of His works are wholly imperfect. [He] forgives man his faults, or nothing at all. It is not necessary to divide God into pieces, so that here he forgives a part of the sins, and in that world also a part that is called venial, especially because it is an article of faith, since we believe that here is forgiveness of sins.

Now it is known in the day that one cannot believe in that world, when sea and body separate, because faith and hope end with the death of man. If then faith alone receives forgiveness of sins, misery must half follow, because the deceased do not have faith nor hope for forgiveness of sins, do not receive forgiveness of sins, venial or whatever one may call them, because we confess that here and not there is forgiveness of sins.

(17) Item, the difference of days? Answer: That to Christians there is no difference of days, but one is like another. On this Marci 2, 27. f. is indicated: "that the Sabbath was created because of man, not man because of the Sabbath. That also the child of man is

1) "once" put by us instead of "oneest" in the Wittenberg and "one" in the Jena. - Immediately following we have put instead of "further": "Weiteres".

a Lord of the Sabbath", but it is good, right and proper (but not a commandment) to keep [one day] in the week, as it is now Sunday, so that the common man, who is burdened with his work all week, may come together to hear God's word, prayer and supplication for all the needs at hand.

18. item, from the choice or difference to keep the food half? Answer: in the food there is no difference to be kept; [I have] drawn scriptures; Matth. 15, 11. Christ says: "What enters the mouth" 2c.

19. Item, about the invocation of the saints, whether they are also to be invoked or honored, whether they may also be our intercessors? Answer: That only God is to be called, worshipped and honored, in the Book of the Exodus of the Children of Israel, Cap. 20, 3. that we have no other mediator than Jesus Christ, who is given to us by God as a unique mediator, Hebr. 4, 15: "For we do not have a high priest who cannot have compassion on our weakness." And 1 John 2:1 f.: "Beloved, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not. But if any man sin, we have an Advocate before God, Christ Jesus, who is our propitiation for our sin, and not for our sin only, but for the sin of the whole world."

To this end, I have said that in the saints we see the greatness of God, and His unspeakable goodness, so that the Almighty God graced the dear saints, and especially gave them great faith and strength, so that they overcame principedom, kings, and all that was mighty before the world, through the power and might of faith. Therefore God in His saints, and not the saints, are to be praised and glorified. [For this reason they are presented to us, so that we may see and perceive in them their great faith and steadfastness in all adversity. This is the greatest honor, so we may prove to them that we are caused by them to magnify God and praise His good deeds, proven to them.]

20. Item, what about the Mother of God? Answer: she is a high, great, worthy person, highly graced by God, and indeed, before the foundation of the world, provided to become a mother of His most beloved Son, and yet by grace without merit. Luc. 1, 30. the angel says: "You have found grace with God" 2c. Doctor Rosin: Does the Christian church sing: For you have deserved to bear 2c. To this I answered that she had not deserved it, not even in her

In her praise song Magnificat, she indicated something else, because she wanted to praise and extol the mightiness, goodness and mercy of God, thereby promising comforting help and support to her and all those who are thus reduced and think nothing of them, 2c. because she says: "For he has considered the nothingness of his servant. For he hath shewed me great things, who is mighty, and hath exalted them that think not of them. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich," the arrogant and the work-saintly, as a glorifier, "he hath left empty."

21. item, whether the pope may condemn someone? I do not know how the official raised the question. I think he said, as he said: whether the pope has the power to condemn? Does the pope have the power to condemn? I said: No, because it belongs to God alone to condemn. Let it be known how the ban is to be used: not to condemn, but to force and shame the unruly and recalcitrant, so that they confess their sin and suffer for it, so that they are separated from the community and thereby caused to desire to be received back into the community, as Matt. 18:15: "If your brother sins against you," 2c. Just as Paul commanded the one who had taken his stepmother as a wife, 1 Cor. 5:1, in the absence of his person, but still with the spirit in the church, that he should not be tolerated any longer, but should be set apart for the corruption of the flesh, that is, that he would be disgraced and thus despised, so that he later desired and asked to be taken back into the church.

22. Item, what would I think of the fourth line or clan number of the friendship of the blood? Whether it was proper to marry in the same clan numbers? I do not know what my answer would have been about this, or whether another question would have intervened; I am even in doubt about what I have said.

Item, another question comes to my mind, and that is: what do I think or believe to be under the two forms of wine and bread? Answer: that under the two forms is understood the true body of the Lord, and that under the form of bread, but under the form of wine the precious blood of our Lord 2c.

(23) Whether the whole body and blood of the Lord are comprehended in the figure of bread? Then I answered, that I believe with simplicity, as the words of the author, that is, of Christ, who says, "Take and eat, this is my body, which is given for you," and again, "Drink ye all of it."

Whether among the two figures permanent, or transformations? 2c. Then I said, "It is not for me to argue about these things; I leave it to the wise. It is enough for me that I remain firm in the words of our Savior; whether it remains bread or is transformed, it is none of my business. Item, another question of my time of day 1) half: whether I pray them? Answer: I have not prayed much in a year. Says the official: yes, perhaps much longer; Lutherans do not usually like to pray much. I just kept quiet and thought to myself: you might have guessed it (from the times of day).

To these and other questions more, if a good part has undoubtedly fallen away from me, to which my simple answer (as you will find such responsibility in this), I am condemned by them and through them a far astray man and almost far from the path of blessedness and divine truth, in addition to which these articles are all condemned in the next Concilio, and condemned as heretical long before. And should the Christian church have erred so long ago, as twelve hundred years, and this accursed heretic be right [against] so many holy fathers and so much Concilio?

And I do not know how this speech escaped me, that I spoke: I believed that Germany has never had the gospel nor heard it rightly. The point is also written out for me along with others, although the prophet speaks [Ps. 19:5]: "Into all the earth" 2c. This is also how one usually speaks when one sends a messenger: I sent a messenger to Vienna, whether he was still on his way and had not reached the end. So I left for my hole, where I have enough mice and stink; God grant patience 2c.

Hereupon, dear friends, all with one another, I want you to send my confession to the Christian man Philippo Gundelio, to see my responsibility, whether any of them have erred, and whether they have not been answered by me according to God's word, [hoping that he] will report this to me in silence, [and that he,] out of Christian love, will not refuse my faithful request. But if he does not, he will send it to my Christian brother Micheln Süffel gen Tollet, Wolfgang Georgerin Caplan, 2) to discuss it, to give me further help, advice of the writings on all my articles in a small summa, so that I am strengthened,

1) Daytime == *horae canonicae*.

2) Michael Stiefel, Chaplain to Mrs. Dorothea Jörger, the widow of the knight Wolfgang Jörger, at Tolleth, which is only about four miles from Schärding.

and whether I will be touched further, that I will then take care to protect myself. I hereby command God. Have given me my simple 2c.

The letter of Mr. Leonhard Kaiser, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, written to Michel Stifel from prison. March 9, 1527.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 245, in the other editions at the locations indicated at the beginning of this paper.

Grace and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ! Rejoice with me, my most beloved brother in Christ, that the eternal, almighty God, the Father of mercy and God of all comfort, considers me, His unworthy servant and great sinner, worthy of a blessed profession, that I should confess His holy, sweet and blessed name before the wicked world. Praised be He for ever and ever, Amen.

The same God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has begun his work in me, may he also accomplish it, strengthen and direct my heart, all my senses, and what I intend to do, in the way of salvation; may he also rule my lips, mouth and tongue, according to the good pleasure of his fatherly will, that they may utter his praise and glory as long as I can stir them up, so that through me, his weak, ineffectual vessel, his holy, pure and loud gospel, which I have heard so often and long, may not be reviled nor blasphemed, ah! God wanted, with fruit, to the glory and honor of His holy name.

That I may now be granted this request of mine, and that I may obtain it, then sit down earnestly with me with your fervent, heartfelt prayer, and let your Leonhard Keiser be commanded to you in this. Also, diligently admonish your people to pray to our dear God in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in right faith and confidence for me, a poor sinner, according to the glorious, comforting promise of Christ: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and why they ask, it shall not be denied them, but shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven."

Let my Ulrich be commanded to you. Greet the honorable and godly woman, Wolfgang Görgerin, and Fuchshuber, the faithful servant of God, and all our brothers. The grace of God be with me and with all of you, amen. From my prison, on the Saturday before Invocavit [March 9] Anno 1527.

On August 16 of the same year he was burned to death in constant confession of Christ and his holy word, as can be seen in the following history.

**Another writing by Ern Leonhard Kaiser
[to an unnamed person] written in prison
before Aug. 16, 1527,**

thus saying:

Grace and peace through Christ! I am in no doubt that you have heard my confession in response to the questions posed by Official and Rosin in the presence of 1) Notarii Hugl, in a similar [letter]. [I] consider it, as much as I know, [that it] should be so uniformly written [by me] in the pen, without which the question article would have fallen off me, there would be some doubts. Because you now see my simple responsibility, 2) I am undoubted, you will find out for yourselves by God's word (given to you by His word and His Spirit) whether divine truth should have been admitted in my responsibility, too little, or more than known.

Therefore, to you, as lovers of divine truth, who let me examine the ends and quietly receive an answer, to pacify my conscience, and also, with the help and comfort of divine scriptures, not to refrain from making an effort on my responsibility, if necessary, as I have to be careful to protect myself from the wolves and enemies, to lay God's word, and to have reason and scripture to answer for their unrhymed sayings and sayings with [the] hair pulled to it. For this reason, I now also need much to expose and to read over, especially the booklet of the Babylonian prison,³⁾ in which D. Martinus instituted [teaches] two sacraments of Christ, pushing the others to the ground.

Now, dear God, I feel as if I had dreamed of it in my sleep, as I had read it at one time, but the reason and cause have mostly slipped my mind. Therefore, for my benefit, I would like to have the treatise put together, or else, because I want to be uncertain and careful when dealing with these books, I would like to have some sayings of such reproach 4) put into a summa; [it] will concern little or not much writing or writings, because on the others it would truly be my duty to overlook much.

Almighty GOD, give grace, do not let your holy divine Word perish. The Word is

1) That is: present.

2) According to this, it seems that the above-mentioned Philip Gundelius is the unnamed recipient of this letter. Compare Col. 952.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 5.

4) "Fürwerfung" == Template, draft; namely "Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft".

thine, handle thy word; thou must do it! I am far too simple and too weak for him, nor do I find it in all my power to accomplish anything, to receive your word, honor and praise, unless you first give and grant it to me; I am nothing but a poor instrument.

Therefore, dear friends and all my dearest kind benefactors, be mindful that I am helped in these matters, that my confession is inspected by those who may give me helpful and quiet comfort in turn. I am now lacking several little books, which I need to discuss several points. Item, of the booklets one of which I have now brought out, one can be found with the N., as he himself indicates. Item, a Latin Psalter, covered with white leather, has the N., [of which] I would need to comfort myself with a Psalm at times. Item, a written Christianity 5) has also seen the N. well, also read in the upper room in my presence; I would also like to overlook one.

Item, if Ulrich is not yet native, but still at Tollet, my suggestion and good opinion would be that he stick to the boys and teach them as before; [I] do not think that one should follow him. Item, I have not been approached because of him. I have not been asked whether I have Lutheran books or not. [Nor did I like it that he gave flight. What do they want to do to him? He is a free and unmarried man, therefore no one is disgusted or annoyed by him. That he be given all necessities is my wish. I also ask him to write only once in a friendly manner, and also to remind Mr. Michael in Tollet to write to me, especially if the articles and my responsibility should be delivered to him. Greetings to the wife 6) together with all her loved ones, [they] have commanded me in their prayers, the same, God willing, I will do again. Dear friend, let all things be commanded, God help me, that I have good hope, I will keep it unforgotten all my life 2c.

Among others, two questions come to my mind. The first: whether all Christians are priests? Answer: Yes, from the saying 1 Petr. 2, 9: "You are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood" 2c., because one can or may pray for the other and carry his matter before God.

5) In addition, the Jena edition brings as a marginal gloss: "Catechism".

6) In the editions: "Frawen", which is probably not to be fast as plural, but it will be the Mrs. Dorothea Jörger to understand under it.

To prove counsel and help through God's word. Also, all men who are Christians are kings, that is, lords over all the goods of Christ; for all the goods that are Christ's, the same goods are also at the same time all Christian men, and are all partakers of the same with Him through faith, that through Him they are lords over sin, death, the devil, and hell; these [have] no more to rule nor to command against a Christian 2c.

Item, secondly: what do I think of the laying on of hands? Answer: It would be a common custom of the Jews, if they wanted to signify a person worthy of honor and dignity, that they then used to signify such persons, who were worthy of an office or suitable for it, with the laying on of hands. I did not respond formally, as I later thought. Now, however, because it is not formally asked and not quite clearly, as I also encounter much in other matters, it must immediately pass away, and at the same time go with other heretical articles, as they then condemn me. Where one remains, the others also remain 2c.

End of his handwriting.

1) Item, between and in the time his friends have made a great and high effort for the prisoner's release, with a great offer, request and desire, and supplication, also many lords have raised to ask and prescribe for the prisoner, namely the von Traun, 2) the counts of Schaumburg, the von Schwarzenburg, margrave Casimirus, the von Starheilig and other many of the nobility, and a diligent interpellation from the prince and duke Johansen of Saxony, to which, however, he gave no answer 2c. Also, with much offer of friendship, he sometimes asked the prince to send the prisoner's friendship crimes and misdeeds in writing, or to let the friendship remain with him, so that they might the more nobly expel him from what he had done wrong. But all this and more, everything was refused, and nothing helped at all. 2c.

After this and all the other actions, a legal day was set for him on the 11th day of the month of July. But he, the bishop, only let the friendship know this on the 10th day of the hay month before, after noon. The

The prince pretended that he had allowed friendship to go up to the prisoner in one part by special grace, and to cleanse him of his wrongdoing. But the friendship of one part went up to the castle, namely those: Friedrich Baumeister, Hans Reichenberger, Hans Schmid Krämer, the brothers-in-law; Erasmus Keiser his cousin, Thomas Keiser his brother, and Hans Greiner, Baumeister's servant, and Master Vincenz as procurator.

So the friendship with him was left in the presence of Doctor Eck of Ingolstadt and the Abbot of Allersbach, so that nothing secret would be said or done 2c. After this [Eck] has a long sermon and a long speech, ordered him by the prince, how his F. G. out of special grace has granted the friendship to Mr. Leonhard, also allowed him a procurator, not by right, but out of grace and inclination 2c.

And on the friendship's manifold requests Eck wanted to read the articles to Mr. Leonhard, Mr. Leonhard raised and said: it would be necessary for him to do a preface, because he was weak, pressed, therefore he was clumsy 2c. But that would still be the opinion: it would be knowing how they dealt with him, let him lie for ten weeks before they asked him what he had done wrong 2c., then hurriedly touched him, and he as a weak man would have to answer many and large articles; after which he would be put in prison again, then pulled out again unawares, in again, out again, he himself would not know how. And in such a case he would have answered, but he would not know how all his responsibilities were put together. According to what he overhastily or according to divine word did not decide, he wanted to have reserved for him to change such, therefore he had long desired to send him his responsibility.

After such Doctor Eck began to read out his [Emperor's] articles and proceedings, namely the [following], but what his responsibility was on it, would now be too long, but almost on the opinion, as reported above in his handwriting, understood 2c. In the shortest possible way the articles were read out once, that he then confessed everything as it was prescribed 2c.

1. Faith alone justifies before God, without works.

2. he holds two sacraments, baptism, body and blood of Christ.

The mass is not a sacrifice, useless to the living and the dead.

4. he did not say mass in two years.

1) What follows now is the history of Leonhard Kaiser's martyrdom sent to Luther by Michael Stiefel, which Luther mentions in his letters to Stiefel on October 8 and 22, 1527.

2) In the Jena edition: "Trawn"; in the Wittenberg edition: "Trawm".

5. he took the sacrament at Wittenberg in two forms.

6. the gospel [is] not preached properly in German lands.

7. penance [is] not a sacrament.

The Scriptures do not satisfy him about the five sacraments.

9. ear confession [is] not commanded, only a counsel.

10. Christ alone is the satisfaction for sin.

Marriage is not a sacrament.

12. praising chastity does not bind.

13. clanship is to be kept according to the Scriptures.

14. no cause to divorce, because of adultery.

15 Confirmation and Holy Communion are not sacraments.

16. he did not have scripture from purgatory.

The good works here do not help the dead there.

18. All days [are] equal before God.

19. the dead saints [are] not intercessors.

20. through Christ [are] the Christians free.

21 Man has no free will in divine matters.

In the reading and disputation of such articles, Doctor Eck spoke many unseemly words. Mr. Leonhard brought writing, but Eck tinkered with a mallet 2c. He brought little goods, as he is a heavy merchant. After this, the friendship had its procurator say that the action was difficult for the layman to understand 2c. Therefore, Mr. Leonhard requested the day that is now set for the right, even for her, the friendship, to hurry. Therefore their request to extend the day to a month, also that the friendship may assist him, and also to allow Mr. Leonhard a procurator to the right, who has a free safe conduct from and back to his custody, to communicate clauses and articles according to his need 2c.

Also, Mr. Leonhard should be sent a copy of half of his articles, the same of friendship, so that one may deliberate or let others of the realm judge about it 2c. Also that Mr. Leonhard be allowed one or two who please him to speak of the articles in the dungeon. Also, if the prince is in trouble, if he receives a postponement of the day of justice, the friendship will extend such trouble and reimburse it with its money.

Said Eck and the Abbot of Allersbach, they have no power. Therefore, the friendship of the two deputies, now reported, diligently requested that they be

So let them be good-willed and make an effort to request the prince, and indicate such their request, desire and approval of friendship 2c.

When this happened, friendship was required before the princes and prelates, as they sat afterwards in the morning at the shrine, where Mr. Leonhard had been desecrated, and there the officials began a long speech, and our request, as mentioned above, was denied from piece to piece, and all of them were rejected, without only that the writings and articles should be delivered to Mr. Leonhard in the dungeon today (today). But this was not done, as it would have to be proven with his prelates that they did not have the writings delivered to him, as we learned from Mr. Leonhard himself this morning. The prince let speak through the official: he put it home to the friends, whether it is honest [that one should do] some assistance to such a one as Mr. Leonhard 2c.

In the morning he was bound and captured with great splendor. The prince demanded much from the country, with armed hand in the armor almost cleaned, which then the prince lent. So they brought him and another priest with him, who was an evil-doer, who spoke strange words. He confessed the innocence of Leonhard; he, the priest, said: "I am not worthy to walk beside you; you are a righteous man, I am well to blame for death, I shall have my due. [He scolded the prince, calling him a bloodhound; he talked a lot and shouted loudly; Leonhard punished him, telling him to keep quiet. So the two were led bound together. First in front of his mother's house, the master builder. [He took a heartfelt leave from her and comforted her, and she had to kiss him or kill him. This was done in order to frighten his friends. In the middle of the market, his friends came to him and comforted him, for there was no one among them who would have wanted him to step away from the truth.

So the two were led into the chapter house on the Pfaffenhof, where the wardrobe was possessed under heaven. The citizens of Passau also ordered some of their citizens and sons of citizens to wear armor by order of the prince. There the bishop of Passau sat in his own person as a judge; the suffragan bishop of Regensburg, the suffragan bishop of Passau, the abbot of Allersbach, provost of Suben, provost of Osterhofen, provost of St. Nicolai near Passau, provost of St. Salvator, Doctor Eck of Ingolstadt, Magister Antonius, dean of Ingolstadt, Doctor Ludwig Frösche, cathedral prince, Doctor Tho

mas Ramelsbach, preacher and canon, Johannes Schönbürger von Schönbürg, canon, Hieronymus Metting, doctor and official, three notarii: Erasmus Kolb, Nicolaus Hugenreuter, Wolfgangus Krieger. Item, Master Hans Teberesch as a notary of the prison, who has announced and signed the summons, Master Christoffel Kirchbuler, Fiscalis 2c. First of all, it should be noted that this act, which they have spoken, is spoken in Latin, but Mr. Leonhard almost stopped: one should speak German; but it would not be.

Beginning of the act.

If the official started and spoke to the one from Passau, how a captured Lutheran priest was present, that one led him into the barns; the lord of Passau gave an accessory to bring forward 2c. Then Mr. Leonhard was brought forward, the official released him from the bonds. After that, the official spoke publicly to all the world how the lord of Passau must do so out of obligation of his oath to the See of Rome, and other things 2c. so that the heretical sect would be eradicated. [The named official has also promised Mr. Leonhard that if he wants to revoke, then Passau will show him mercy. Mr. Leonhard answered through his procurator, who was admitted to him by grace alone and not by justice, that he could not and might not revoke anything that was founded in Scripture; but what was not founded should now be contradicted.

After that, the fiscal came forth, and pulled out a large citation, credenced it, and gave it to a notary to read out publicly; the notary wept over it. Another came forward, read it out with great pleasure. [Mr. Leonhard has shown himself humbly on the claim 2c. After that the Fiscalis was there, and pulled out a large libell, several leaves written in Latin, read out in Latin. Mr. Leonhard requested that it be read in German for the sake of the bystanders; but he was not granted this.

So now the libell has been read out in the community with all points, namely of the bull of Leonis of the pope, of the edict of Worms, also the Regensburg statute, and that Mr. Leonhard was prescribed a time, so [he] was first imprisoned, under oath, to express himself of such doctrine, and [he had] not kept this. Mr. Leonhard's procurator has made a number of preliminary statements, and has also made and reproached a protective plea, namely, to set time for a copy of the complaint,

1) and to consult with impartial persons in the whole realm, to ask his friends for instruction; [it] is not to be hurried in this trade, because it touches the consciences 2c.

But that none is admitted, but only away the Fiscal has stopped that Mr. Leonhard shall personally answer from article to article and the complaint: Yes or no. [More [of] Mr. Leonhard's procurator has requested that one speak German; [it] has not been granted, however, but the articles have been read in Latin. But Mr. Leonhard gave the summa of the articles and his answer in German, with great spirit and understanding; much writing fell to him, because of which he was courageous, would not have been senseless the whole day.

But the official talks to him a lot, of the opinion: Mr. Leonhard, how do you do, do you want to preach? 2c. So he confessed the truth before God and men, with much compassion of the circumstance. The article, now read out, is just the opinion, as I mentioned before, since the friendship has been on the castle; this time it is not necessary to indicate more. His responsibility is placed on the opinion, as evidenced by his handwriting 2c.

After Mr. Leonhard had answered the articles, his procurator repeated the due exceptions, but could not obtain anything, but to the final judgment a common resolution of the matter has been passed, with deduction of further submissions.

Then the one from Passau read a verdict in his own person from a note and gave to degrade Mr. Leonhard and to answer secular supremacy about. [Mr. Leonhard made a speech to mitigate the prince, but had no standing; also his procurator repeated and protested his necessity, and besides appealed to a free concilio, because such action had been heard in the whole realm and had not yet been carried out, 2) but no admission had been made 2c., 3) consecrated garments were put on Mr. Leonhard and taken off again by the suffragan bishop of Passau with special gestures and collections, from the highest to the lowest. He was clothed in a gown, put on a black cut beret, and handed over to the city judge as a layman. And before that [the] bishop of Passau and the bishop of Regensburg have requested for the said emperor that

1) Here we have erased "to give".

2) "enträgen" otherwise means: to carry away, to steal (Dietz); here probably as much as: done.

3) Here we have deleted "in".

they do not deal with him for the blood, so that they do not lack 1) their priesthood 2c.

After that, the city judge took him and led him bound back to the castle into prison, where he lay from the 11th day of July until the 13th day of August. After that, he was led through the city of Passau on a horse, bound with chains, together with several guards, also on foot. His spirit was fearless and greeted all people. Under the gate, his friends took leave of him and publicly asked him not to depart from the truth through life or death. Therefore, he drank with an eager heart, with his face lifted up: "This is for me in my Christ's name.

So he came to Schärding. He said, "Christ, my God, how wonderful are you in your works that I should come back to my old home. There he lay until the fourth day. [The friends came to him in the miners' room, comforted him, and also said to him: "Mr. Lenhard, you must burn. He [spoke]: It would be better to have another message, but God's will be done; but I hope that they will not kill me without any judgment.

The friendship also came to Munich with a prayer from the young and old Count of Schaunburg, but they did not achieve anything, but Duke Wilhelm wrote seriously to the district judge in Schärding that he should have Mr. Lenharden judged without all judgment and justice with the fire.

The country judge used a strange handle. [He thought he could turn the friends away, so that no one would be at his [the emperor's] end. He would also have liked to do it secretly, because the plan was to let the executioners out at night so that the grate would be prepared, and he, Mr. Leonhard, would be judged early in the morning. The people of Schärding did not open their gates, nor did they take any pleasure in it. It was brought to the friends, they should ask, he, Mr. Leonhard, would surrender to them to the sword. Answer: They do not want to ask, God would do it well 2c.

In such a state the henchmen rode before the office, and the two executioners and their servant went into the office. The executioner asked: What is your name? Answer: My name is Leonhard. The executioner said: "I can't tell you much nor teach you much; you know how to behave yourself, I have to behave myself according to the order of my lord.

hold. Mr. Leonhard [said]: Dear friends, I do not need your teaching, do what you are commanded. [He offered his hands, bound hard. The executioners [have] cursed, for the ropes had 2) become tangled. Mr. Leonhard said: Dear brothers, do not curse. Let yourselves go, I will not escape you. You do me no covenant or move, it will have Christ, my Lord, you are only an instrument, ordained by God 2c. After that he was led out. But what shall I write, I have not seen such earnestness and fervor from any man. He lifted his face above him, his chest up. His mouth spoke Latin psalms so quickly that one word could hardly escape from the other. This is what he drove out through the city.

A priest came next to Mr. Leonhard; he wanted to talk to him and leave. [One of them took him by the armpit and said, "Priest, you have nothing to do there. Mr. Leonhard's servant came, took leave full of weeping, and kissed Mr. Leonhard's hands. Mr. Leonhard grimaced and said, "What is the flesh doing? One of them began to comfort him in the Lord. He began to speak in German with a fierce spirit, his head swaying from side to side, saying, "Christ, you must suffer with me, Christ, you must go under me, you must carry me; with me it is in vain and lost. Then they came to the watery place called the Inn; on the watery place by the gallows the grate was prepared, and the people stood. He started and said: there would be harvest, there should be harvest in the harvest. Ask the father of the house of the reaper to send reapers into his harvest; and much other speech 2c.

So an arm of the great water runs around the gravel. [Then they put Mr. Leonhard on a chariot, and the executioners with him drove over the arm of the water. So Mr. Leonhard was brought forth, and he made his speech in the ring thus: to all those who had brought him hence he forgave them from the heart, therefore God would also forgive him. [He] exhorted the people to help him diligently for all his adversaries. He also asked, if he offended a man with his life or example, as he did not preach rightly before 3), to forgive him, and to pray for him, that he die in a firm Christian faith; and prayed for those who were not yet enlightened.

1) "lack" == cause a flaw.

2) "themselves" put by us instead of "they" in the issues.

3) Marginal gloss of the Jena edition: "im Pabstthum".

The judge would not let him speak, and said to the executioner, "Finish, you know what you are ordered to do. So Mr. Leonhard was quick with his undressing, and soon he went up to the pyre in his vestments, 1) in his shirt, and lay down in a groove of the pyre; then he was bound long on the pyre. Then he asked (because he was bound) the people to sing: Come, Holy Spirit. A papal priest, whom we had put away before, was with him again and told him that if he had erred in any article, he should ask God for mercy. Mr. Leonhard gave no answer, but the priest asked Mr. Leonhard if he wanted to die as a devout Christian. Answer: Yes; and the priest admonished him of baptism and gave the heretic the suffering of Christ; it was strange to me 2c. But the same priest said afterwards, I do not know what else he said, if one had spoken rightly to him, that he had converted; and such words 2c.

In it the fire was lit; in it he made several loud cries: Jesus, I am yours, make me blessed! After this, his hands and feet and head were burned off. When the fire was extinguished, the executioner took a stick, rolled out the body, and then put more wood on the fire. After that, the executioner hewed a hole in the body, pierced it with a sword, then stuck a rod into it, and again he burned with the rod on the grate; thus burned 2c.

After that the executioner said to the judge: whether he has been judged rightly, as his Lord's command? and did not ask how right and judgment is given. So Leonhardus ended his life according to the word of the Lord, his spirit and sacrificed himself on the 16th day of August, on the day of Rochus, between 8 and 9, to strengthen him and all Christian people in the Lord Jesus Christ. May God grant this to all people, Amen.

Another of Mr. Leonhard Kaiser's writings, written from prison to one of his friends.

Grace through Christ.

Friendly dear N.! Since I have heard of your presence, I have been greatly pleased in my heart, and if you were all well in spiritual and temporal gifts from God, I would not hear anything better.

Dear N., you know my accident on account of the old Adam, who is tormented in the cave 2) and is very disgusted with him, and often rises up in impatience to grumble against God, as if great injustice were being done to him; yet the spirit is present (although weak), and comforts him again. Oh how poor and feeble he is, I complain to God and to you, my dear N. Ask God for me that he may be strengthened.

I heard the other day from the faithful brother in Christ, N., that you have a sweet and kind heart towards me, and that I rejoiced greatly in my heart that God had given me such a friend, who might also put himself in danger of death for my sake. Now, dearest N., you are well aware that my life is in danger of death, yet in the hand of God. For, as I have been told by the pious N. and others who have visited me in silence, the prince will, if I do not renounce heresy and convert, [put me] on trial, and let happen to me what the law gives. O God from the heaven of justice, look into it, save and defend your word, save me, your poor instrument, from these bloodthirsty dogs and enemies of those who confess God's word.

I have decided with myself, as Paul says Rom. 8, 38. f., that neither death nor life, neither angel nor power shall turn me away from the love of God and His holy word: but there are twelve hours in the day, and it is not up to anyone to will or to run, but up to God's mercy, as he says Cap. 9,16. Therefore it is pure grace if I remain steadfast, and not at all up to my own doing; whether a man stands or falls, he stands or falls by God 2c.

Therefore, dear N., I am truly too foolish and childish for your suggestion and friendly Christian offer, and do not know what to leave or do in this case. You should therefore ask the Christian N. brother what should or should not be done in this matter. I will also let it happen that you make an effort and work diligently on my behalf, but I will nevertheless, above all things, place my cause in the hands of God. He has thrown me into the hole, even though the old Adam often strives against it and says: You would have been idle in this misfortune, you have been warned often enough, you should beware 2c. But because Christ Matth. 10, 29. [says]: "Does one not buy two sparrows for a penny?" and [v. 30.]: "The hairs of your heads are all

1) By "kölblin" is probably to be understood the above-mentioned "cut beret".

2) "hole" == hole, prison. With Walch: "hell".

and none shall fall from the head without the will of your Father," Adam must ever stand still here and say that it is God's will, Isa. 2.¹⁾ Why does man murmur against me, saying that neither good nor evil comes from God?

If the bishop now pursues the matter against me with his dogs, the enemies of the divine word, I believe that he will deal with me abruptly, as he did with Oberhaimer, although I believe that he will soon end it with me. Let it now be as the merciful God wills, but he must have his will and his eyes open, otherwise he will not be able to do anything with me. Since everything is in his power, we want to put the matter in his hands and command him, request and ask of him that his holy name not be reviled by me, but that his will, and not mine, be done for me. Nevertheless, we do not want to omit good means and counsel, considered with God's will, but rather cultivate them, and yet we want to give God the prosperity and the honor.

Dear N., I can well consider that I have completely outraged and angered the devil, the spiritual holy people; in that I have placed the question articles and my responsibility in the kingdom to examine, and do not wait with them. Which the prince also heard, since I spoke such words and others with the priest, and he himself had me examined by the priest for this reason. Because I have now offered, at my cost, through the travels of my friends, brothers-in-law and brothers, that I would gladly turn away from impartial people, where I have answered informally, and be guided by well-founded writing, should not D. Ramelsbach jump before Grimmen, where he heard such contempt? The like also the others, Doctor Rosin, Official, Fröschel, Perger and the same bunch? Well, the boy must die, their hearts will be against the poor sheep. But God is above them and mocks them in their accusations and says: "You do not have to do anything to him, I want you to. Oh, if my heart were firm and could believe that this is so, how blessed I would close my days in this way.

I also believe, dear N., that the bishop already had my responsibility at Ingolstadt, and had the enemies of God examine it. If this is true, then I have already lost, and may God have mercy on me and save me from their judgment. Oh, dear God, how might or could the race

but act more cruelly than it does! If one does not answer, they stretch and stretch him, 2) as they did to the one in the Free City who recanted on Palm Day. Item, now they let a priest throw his corpse out of the church in Weidhofen, because he took his cook in marriage in secret, and made a will on his death for her benefit, and dressed her as his wife before God. But a whore would be well off if she inherited all the goods of her whore husband, and the friends would not receive a penny 2c.

Thus, dear N., the holy generation acts. May God have mercy on those who do so out of ignorance, but God has blinded them like Pharaoh.

Oh, my dear N., be well, all of you; comfort my dear mother, my brothers-in-law, my friends and my brothers, that they command God to do this and other things that are unpleasant for them. God wants to try us, who will grant us patience and constancy in all troubles and distresses.

I also take great care of the boys and Ulrich, who are now also orphaned and abandoned. I do not know 3) whether Ulrich has food or not; that he be given food. I would like them to be brotherly with each other and not forget Ulrich, as I have often ordered them.

Item, if something is sent to me from Wittenberg, decree that it be delivered to me in [silence].

Greet your pious housewife, if you come to her with joy, that I have good hope.

Be at peace with your brothers-in-law and sister-in-law and with everyone.

Oh, think how this is a rich, great treasure, for which one can never thank God enough when a person is free and not imprisoned. But we do not remember these and other gifts of God before we feel and sense the contradiction.

Let my cause be commanded to you in the best and according to God's will; do not deal with it carelessly or unadvisedly.

May God Almighty grant all of you, my dear brothers and sisters, His knowledge to proceed in this and other things according to His divine will. God be with us all, amen.

Lenhard Keiser.

It is dark, and must write sheer after the handle.

1) So the editions, but not fitting. About Jes. 45.7. Amos 3, 6.

2) on torture.

3) "not" is missing from the outputs.

D[ocor] M[artin] Luther.

I have therefore had this letter printed so that it may be seen how Christ fought in the dungeon over the old man Leonhard, and how he conquered death in him before he was conquered in court and in the fire.

He Leonhard Keiser's will.

In Homilie Domini, Amen.

After God, out of pure goodness and mercy, has required me from the misery of this world to His mercy and has summoned me through His instrument to give up my spirit of ungodly truth tomorrow after the date, I want to ask you, my dearest brothers, by God's will to handle this last will of mine and to do it according to the best execution.

First of all, keep brotherly and friendly relations among yourselves. To be obedient to the authorities in all respects. Act kindly with the mother, decreeing that she be instructed in the right Christian faith above all things, for which God is to be diligently asked.

Item, secondly, that you know my abandoned property, given by God, as won, act kindly and brotherly and share it among yourselves, do not quarrel nor surrender to each other in displeasure. Let the poor people be your command and show your service to them by deed. Finally, believe that God will feed you forever and ever, so do not be anxious or stingy about what is condemned. If we have food and cover, be content with it.

Item, the servitude of the villein shall be cancelled in the payment or solution of the farmer, and the farmer's future servitude shall be released by God's will.

Item, consider Ulrich as an equal co-heir to my estate, provided that he is granted to stay in the ends and the boys are kept in education. But where the tyranny is so great, and [he] will not tolerate it, let your one be astonished, and dwell in the ends, since the word of God is clearly preached to him louder, receive Ulrich together with the boys, and act completely brotherly with him, as God is dear to you.

Item, live with your wives in all unity, loving them as your own bodies, helping one another bear burdens, meaning that our lives are like the shade and like the flowers of the field.

The other concerns temporal good, which we leave pending here.

[Letter of the Elector John of Saxony to the Bishop of Passau. May 24, 1527].

Duke John of Saxony, Elector 2c.

Our kind service and what we are able to love and do good at all times before. Venerable, highborn prince, friendly dear cousin! Although until now little has happened that we have had cause to write to your love as our dear cousin, it now happens that we have received a request from Mr. Leonhard Keiser, whom E. L., when we are reported, as having acted against the imperial majesty, our most gracious lord, by mandate of his doctrine, we have not known how to refrain from writing to E. L., and we also hope that E. L. will not take unkind note of it from us.

And if the poor imprisoned man would have the form that he would not negotiate anything, but only be subject to divine doctrine and the holy Gospel, and should therefore be further burdened with imprisonment or in other ways without being overcome, it would be a special accident and pity for us. And for this reason, our most friendly request to His Holiness is that His Holiness graciously relieve the aforementioned emperor of the burden of imprisonment with which he is afflicted and let him enjoy this kindly of our intercession.

If he does not want to tolerate or suffer E.L. in her territories, we want to make sure that, if he is released from prison, he will gladly leave E.L.'s territories and pen, and turn to other places, and also keep and show himself unrepentant in what is due to him before God Almighty. This we do not have to tell to E. L., and E. L. as our dear N., we are kindly inclined to show him again our willing and friendly services. Date Torgau, Friday after the Sunday Cantate [May 24] Anno Domini 1527.

To the Bishop of Passau.

Letter of comfort from D. Martin Luther, sent to him by Leonhard Keiser in his prison.

Dated May 20, 1527.

In addition to the locations given at the beginning of this paper, this letter is also found in Spalatin's Annalen, p. 99 and in the Trostschriften, Jena, Bl. Qijj^b. The original is at the Frankfurt City Library. - Although the letter was originally written in Latin, we have not re-translated it because the old translation is accurate and irreproachable, perhaps even coming from Luther himself.

To the worthy and dear brother in Christ, the faithful and dear servant and prisoner of Christ, Leonhard Keisek.

Grace, strength and peace in Christ! That your old man, dear Leonhard, was caught, is the will and calling of Christ your Savior, who also gave his new man for you and your sin into the hands of the ungodly, so that he redeemed you with his blood as a brother and co-heir of eternal life.

We are sorry for you, and we also pray diligently that you may be set free, not for your own sake, but that you may be useful to many for the glory of God, if it is His will. But if it be the will in heaven that thou shouldest not be made free, yet thou art free in spirit. Only see that you are strong and constantly overcome the weakness of the flesh, or even patiently bear it through the power of Christ. He who is with you in prison will also be with you in all distress, as he so faithfully and kindly promises in Ps 91:15: "I am with him in distress" 2c.

Therefore it is necessary that you cry out to him in prayer with all your confidence, and with psalms of comfort refresh and sustain yourself in this fierce anger of Satan, so that you may be strengthened in the Lord and not speak too little or too softly to the teeth of Behemoth, as if you had overcome and feared his arrogance. Faithfully call upon Christ, who is everywhere present and powerful, then defy Satan and mock his rage and arrogance, for you are sure that he cannot harm you, and so much the less, so much the more he rages. St. Paul says Rom. 8, 31: "If God is for us, who can be against us?" Ps. 8, 7: "All things are put under His feet." He can and will help all who are challenged, "who also has been tempted in every way" [Heb. 4:15].

So, my dearest brothers, strengthen yourself in the Lord and be confident in his mighty power, so that you may recognize, support, love and praise the fatherly will of God out of a good heart, whether you become free or not. But that you may be able to do this in honor of his holy gospel, may the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ work in you according to the riches of his glorious grace, which is a

Father is of mercy and a God of all comfort, amen. In this you will have mercy, and also pray for us. Given at Wittenberg, on Monday after Cantate [May 20] in the year 1527.

Martin Luther. ¹⁾

Martinus Luther.

So far I have let this legend and story go without my word, as I have obtained it from many honest writings and especially from Mr. Lenhard's own manuscripts, so that no one can say that we have been telling lies. For my own handwriting, 2) which I sent to him in prison, has come back to me together with his handwriting, broken and read, that this is my testimony certainly and truly enough. Therefore I kindly ask all pious Christians to thank and praise God through Jesus Christ, who gives us such comfort through his dear servant and martyr Lenhard. Oh Lord God, that I had been or would still be worthy of such confession and death! What am I? What do I do? How ashamed I am, when I read this story, that I have not long since been worthy of suffering the same (although ten times more deserving before the world). Well, my God, should it be so, so be it, your will be done!

But I want to warn you tyrants and angry papists faithfully and ask you to be careful, for your own good, and if you do not want to believe with us, that you do not so wretchedly condemn yourselves in innocent blood'. You see and hear that God nevertheless attacks your one part even now (which I will not name). The pope, your idol, is almost leading with half a cart, and has lost his common prayer; see, God warns you manifoldly and calls you to repentance. And even if you rage, our doctrine is the gospel, as you yourselves know, that we preach Christ the Savior, thus praising worldly authority and restoring it to its right and honor, as it was not before. For you yourselves know that until now worldly rulers have been

1) The signature is missing in the German editions.

2) The previous letter.

Papists is almost trampled underfoot. What are you raging about? Why do you shed innocent blood without any cause or need, when we serve you with our doctrine for soul, body and good in the highest and most diligent way?

If you want to be angry and fight unbelief, dear, do it! You have the Turk. You should try it cheaper, if you would be willing to control unbelief, although I don't rush anyone to get it. But if you want to fight, and the knife is so loose, or the skin itches, then I would be satisfied that you go for those who can win honor and prize, and prove their manhood and armor, and not for the wretched innocents who live among us in peace and quiet, and serve us to the highest degree, especially with teachings. They are ugly, hostile animals, which strangle themselves among themselves, as wolves do when they have a wedding and a bridal run. But it is much more hostile when one member eats and corrupts the other, as we are unfortunately doing now.

And even if you want to be stubborn, you will gain nothing but greater condemnation. It is God's word that will remain, as Isaiah [Cap. 40:8] and Peter [1 Ep. 1:25] say. And we also will remain, all those who cling to it and believe, even though we must fail and go into the sleep of death. You yourselves could not deny that it is written in the Scriptures as we teach, but that it is not written in your decrees and in the doctrines of men. But what can we do about it? Our scripture is confirmed by heaven, your decree has not yet done any miracles, nor is it confirmed by heaven. Oh Lord God, it is an unequal fight when the old pots want to fight with the rocks, for it goes over the pots as it will: if they fall on the rocks, they bump into each other and break; but if the rocks fall on them, they smash and crush the pots, so that it would be advisable for the pots to remain pots as they are, in the kitchen, and not to go out into the field and fight against the rocks and mountains.

Christ himself also says [Matth. 21, 44]: "Whoever falls on this stone will be broken, but on whom it falls it will be crushed.

You are an earthly and fragile vessel, like a pot or a jar. But, beloved, do not rub against me; let me be the rock, and be not sworn with me. If not, verily I say unto you, I am a stone, and will not fear that the pots have great bellies, and are puffed up, as though they would terrify me with their wrath and their dread. The bigger bellies they have and the wider they are inflated, the easier they break and the better they are to hit. Similarly, I do not care that they have wide mouths and holes at the top, that they can shout and blaspheme against me as if no one could fill them. For this is the least of all things, and they are easily broken, so that neither belly nor hole remains, but, as Isaiah says [Cap. 30:14], there is scarcely a shard left to carry a coal in.

For so the other psalm also declared [v. 9.], "Thou shalt break them as the vessel of a potter." Beware then, dear lords, dear friends, dear enemies! For it is serious in the sight of God, and we do not begrudge you anything bad, but would gladly have you recognize yourselves and come to your senses; for we have no pleasure nor joy in your damnation, God knows that! would rather have you be blessed with us, and gladly forgive from the bottom of our hearts all the bloodshed that you practice on us, for you do not hinder our cause with it, but only further it the more, to yourselves to great horrible destruction. Do not fail yourselves, and do not let us offer you peace and forgiveness in vain and ask for you; it will truly be smelled all too badly in the torment, which (oh Lord God!) has no end.

When I was at Worms before the emperor, I gave this advice to the bishop of Trier: one should leave these things to God, because they concern the soul, and [it] would not be too close to anyone's body and goods. If it were of men, it would soon perish; if it were of God, no one could dampen it; which counsel Gamaliel also gave to the Jews. And such advice is not mine, but of the Holy Spirit, who has confirmed it through St. Lucas, Apost. 5,38. f. But it would not sound. Well, as it also worked afterwards and still works, ask the whole of German

Land around. Be careful, dear sirs! It is for you from now on, it was for us until now. May God make you know what you are doing and what He would rather have you do. Amen.

and believe his story, and serve him with his own. Zwingli's letter 2) was not at hand; it is floating around somewhere with friends, I don't know with which ones, but you will receive it. Fare well in the Lord. May 20, 1527. Martin Luther.

No 1087.

(Wittenberg.)

May 20, 1527.

To Spalatin.

Luther excuses a husband who has been deceived with his wife to his relatives. From Zwingli's letter.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv (with the inscription Spalatin: *Pro G. Fabro pistore Laurentii pastoris frater [sic]*). Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 257. Printed in Buddeus, p. 55; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 180 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 55. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1041.

To his dearest Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at Altenburg, the man to be highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I commend this Georg, 1) a worker in the local mill, to you, my dear Spalatin, so that you may give him a good report to his relatives through this manuscript of mine. For it is annoying to them that he married here, and in a lawful manner, that nun (if she was otherwise a nun) Dorothea, who afterwards left him as a whore and secretly fled from here, taking all his goods and money with her. The mother of this whore knew about this infamy and the escape and participated in it. She stayed here for a while and, under a splendid pretense of godliness, played a deception on all of us and presented the daughter as recommendable, even worthy of this marriage. Therefore, let his relatives refrain from taking offense; through no fault of his, he suffers this dishonor and damage as well as we this exceedingly great and frightening annoyance. God will repay the harlot mother and the harlot what they deserve, since they abuse the favor shown to them because of the Gospel to their deceit and wickedness, to the shame of all of us. This is true; therefore I pray that you will give him

No. 1088.

(Wittenberg.)

May 20, 1527.

To Friedrich Pistorius, Abbot in Nuremberg.

Luther, at his request, pledges his friendship to him.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 334; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 181 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 56. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1040.

Yours sincerely, Frederick, Father of the Aegidien Monastery in Nuremberg.

Grace and peace! I will indeed be exceedingly glad to be united by common and mutual friendship, man to be revered in Christ; indeed, I should have sought this, which you desire to happen, from you with the most fervent supplications, since I, who am very much plagued both by sins and by Satan himself, have need of many friends before God, who assist me, who am burdened with such a great trade, with their prayers. But I am very glad that it is given to you that the truth of the Gospel pleases you in this corrupt and evil world, where people who sincerely hold fast are rare. Christ, who began the good work in you, may he also complete it [Phil. 1, 6]. In him you are well. May 20, 1527, Martin Luther.

No. 1089.

(Wittenberg.)

May 31, 1527.

To Spalatin.

Luther sends Zwingli's letter. Among other things, he reports the murder of the preacher Georg Winkler of Halle.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* V, No. 194 and in *Cod. 36^a*. a, fol. 212. Printed by Buddeus p. 55; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 182 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 57. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1042.

1) According to Spalatin's inscription, he is a brother of Laurentius Fabri, pastor in Crouswitz, mentioned in No. 991.

2) Compare No. 1078.

To his exceedingly dear brother in Christ, Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at Altenburg.

Grace and peace! I have taken in Johann Pachmann, my dear Spalatin, as I was able. He will return and bring you Zwingli's letter addressed to me, so that you may see that impetuous Swiss who thinks that the cause of Christ is being pursued with Swiss impetuosity. I know nothing new, except that they say that M. Thomas Spieß should be dissolved and dismissed. One accuses the pope at Mainz of having killed the preacher at Halle, whom he had appointed to himself 1); God knows it. Certainly the preacher, a very good man, was killed. Cain wants to corrupt Abel anew by deceit, and does not realize that he will be corrupted in this way. Pray for us and be well in the Lord. 1527 on the last of May 1527. 2) Martin Luther.

No. 1090 .

(Strasbourg.)

(End of May 1527.)

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

About the impression that Luther's writing against the swarm spirits had made in Strasbourg, and the hostility of the Strasbourg people against Luther.

Handwritten in *Thes. Baum*, III, 39, at Strasbourg. Printed in Kolde, Vol. VI, p. 58. p. 87 and in Erl. Briefw.,

Your letter, which I wished for with such great hope and expectation, dearest Luther, has been given to me by Secerius, a letter full of comfort and faith and all the more pleasant to me because I see that you persevere in your duty and in your commitment with such great constancy. For those who are with us have almost all left me, or if there are still some who remain steadfast, they are of course the very few who are neither cold nor warm. They want people to believe many things about them, but they themselves believe nothing but what is mean and contemptible. I hate such friends and consider that they are the

They are unworthy of friendship. After your writing against the swarm spirits 3) came here, various judgments arose. Hedio exclaimed before an assembly: you are not very divided, one should read the second Quatern, there one can find the seeds of unity; Luther, Zwingli and Oecolampad are men of God; the writings of those have often been helpful to him; one must read your writings, one must also read the writings of those, but with good judgment. Another, on the other hand, said: in your book there is nothing that has the spirit of Paul; everything is interspersed with invectives and sharp speeches. Oecolampad said: it is not a book, but invective. Bucer, as he has a mind without falsity, showed with great indignation to some great men a passage of your confession, where you confess that even an ungodly man eats the body of the Lord, as a blasphemous thing in the highest degree. See, there you have what you prophesy in the letter written to me. In short, they are blinded by hopefulness, hatred and obstinacy. Let them go. I am exceedingly sorry for the poor people, for I see that many more bitter things are coming. I wish you to remember one thing carefully. Since ours endeavored to make the people suspicious of your teaching and to turn them away from your opinion, Bucer, if I am not mistaken, asserted before an assembly that you taught repugnant things about the holy supper: this 4) passage: "The flesh is of no use," is to be understood of the flesh of Christ, but the opposite in the books published against Zwingli. After my special love for you, I began to be concerned and to think that they might have falsified the passage, as is their way. I run through all the bookstores to see if I could find the Wittenberg book somewhere. After I finally obtained it, the words stand as we wrote out on the enclosed slip of paper. He took up this passage 5) and attracted a good part of the most honest citizens to his opinion on this occasion. You will undoubtedly recognize what cunning, what deceit, what futile pretense this exceedingly wicked and completely unbelieving Satan uses.

3) *Antischwermerus tuus*. This results in the Date of this letter.

4) Here is a gap in the manuscript which we have filled by *hunc* - Immediately following the Erl. Briefw. *Quo* instead of *Caro*.

5) "This passage" will have to be looked for in Luther's writing: "Daß diese Worte 2c. noch feststehen" 2c., St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 830, § 168 ff.

1) Georg Winkler was called to Aschaffenburg by the archbishop, but was graciously dismissed. On the return journey he was murdered two miles from Aschaffenburg in Spessart on April 23. See Luther's Consolation to the Christians at Halle, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1960.

2) In the original, the year is twice.

Who now, after your princes have prepared war troops against the bishops, is a marvelous silence; no mention is made of the Lord's Supper. Perhaps they will be mindful of their prophecy, for earlier they said that it would happen that they would suffer the same thing that once the enemies of Arius suffered. For they think to be people like Chrysostom, like Hilarius and I don't know what kind of people, but you are Arius, and who else. Praise be to God, who has taught you to generously despise this pestilence, this stupidity, this arrogance.

This Christopher, 1) a righteous man, who has a fine, good head and an unusual eloquence, I ask you to let him be dear to you also for my sake. Even the enemies of the gospel have helped him with their money for no other reason than because he has made the best progress in both the sacred and humanistic sciences with incredible integrity.

Farewell and pray to God for me that He will keep me unharmed under so many adversities. To Johann Pommer, the most godly man, greet him a thousand times in my name.

No. 1091.

(Wittenberg.)

June 10, 1527.

To Elisabeth Agricola in Eisleben.

Consolation letter because of Kleinmuth in illness.

This letter is found handwritten in *Cod. Jen. B*, fol. 162 and in *Cod. Ratzenb*. Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 415; in the Altenburger, vol. III, p. 756; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 498; in Walch, vol. X, 2121; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 182 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 403. As "to an unnamed person" with the wrong date: "den 21. May 1537" in the Wittenberg (1559), vol. XII, p. 168 b; in the Jena (1568), vol. VI, p. 495b; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1099; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 332; in Walch, vol. X, 2100; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 64; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 55, p. 179; and in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1790.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1808.

1) Christoph Lasius, actually Rauch, born July 6, 1504 in Strasbourg, matriculated in Wittenberg on October 19, 1522, Baccalaureus on May 22, 1525, returned to Strasbourg, joined Gerbel in particular, and went to Wittenberg again in 1527. After an eventful life, in which he suffered many hardships and persecutions, he died at Senftenberg near Großenhain on Aug. 25, 1572.

No. 1092.

Wittenberg.

June 12, 1527.

To Spalatin.

Luther's writing against the sacramentarians "and the intended abolition of the monastery in Altenburg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A, No. 192 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 211. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 331 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 174 (datirt: "im Mai") and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 62. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1052 f.

To his brother Georg Spalatin, the faithful servant of Christ at Altenburg, who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! It is dear and pleasant to me that you liked my little book against the Sacramentarians, my dear Spalatin, but I wonder how it comes that the copies are brought to you so late, since I think that Paul Knodt 2) is your procurator, otherwise I would have sent it myself. I do not doubt that I have upset the Sacramentarians very much, for it also seems to me, although the book makes many words and is of little scholarship, that I have met them. Bucer, however, has already written a very poisonous letter against me to unfern Jonas. 3) Luther is completely a Satan with those people, what do you think they will do after they have been provoked by this booklet? But Christ lives and reigns, amen.

Your Bethaven, I think, must be left to its own devices until the visitation, because it would also be prevented by the wedding of the prince⁴⁾ if I wrote and asked for something in the meantime; but after the unrest of the wedding is over, I will be forced of my own accord to insist in every way on the visitation of the parishes. For the bathers Simons I have sent

2) Paul Knodt from Ezer, formerly an Augustinian monk in Altenburg, inscribed in Wittenberg on July 4, 1518, later lived in Wittenberg and was, together with Christoph Blanck, administrator of the Wittenberg monastery, which had been confiscated for the benefit of the university. In Tentzel's Hist. report, vol. II, p. 376 erroneously: "Paulus Kurth".

3) This letter is missing.

4) The marriage of the Churprinzen Johann Friedrich with Sibylle von Eleve had taken place on June 2.

5) Compare No. 1054.

occasionally written as you asked. You are well and greet the rest of us and pray for me. Wittenberg, Quatember Wednesday 1) 1527. Martin Luther.

No. 1093 .

(Wittenberg.)

June 14, 1527.

To the Mayor and City Council of Coburg.

Recommendation of M. Philipp Eberbach as a school teacher.

The original is at the Coburg fortress. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 118 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 63.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Coburg, my favorable lords and friends.

Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! Here comes M. Philippus Eberbach, 2) whom M. Philippus Melancthon has appointed and assigned to you as schoolmaster, as E. W. requested, the other day through your mayor and council friends. Please, accept him, because I am sure he should be righteous, as I have the testimony of Magister Philippo Melancthon, who understands himself highly and well. For I and Philipp are inclined to serve you and yours. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after Pentecost [June 14, 1527.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1094

(Wittenberg.)

June 16, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for his relative Heinz Luther concerning a farm.

The original is in Weimar, N, fol. 108. 41 (facsimilirt for the Möhra Luther Festival 1883). Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 48; in Walch, vol. XXI, 169; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 183 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 404.

1) *feria 4. majore*. This can be only the 12th of June, because to the *ksria* majorss belong among other things the Quatembertage, which alone here can come into question. Of these only Wednesday after Pentecost can be meant, since the feast of the Beilager was not yet over. (Burkhardt, p. 117.)

2) Previously Rector in Joachimsthal, where he also preached the Gospel since 1521. He died as Rector at Coburg on Oct. 18, 1529.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Johann, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Here my dear father's brother and my cousin, Heinz Luther von More, 3) has come to me out of special confidence to intercede for E. C. F. G. on behalf of a farm, located near Eisenach, how E. C. F. G. may hear his request and desire from this supplication. Although I do not like to trouble E. C. F. G. with such things, I also fear that I ask too much and often; but nevertheless, considering that I owe it to my friends to serve me, and that the good man has come such a long way to me, I cannot let his confidence be lacking: I therefore humbly ask where his request is fair, and E. C. F. G. for his intercession. C. F. G. to do, let him have a gracious good answer. I cannot blame the man, he seeks to divinely nourish himself and his children with his work, and desires nothing in vain, but wants to do what is due from the same court, and even more, if it pleases C.F.G.. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday after Pentecost [June 16] 1527.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 1095 .

(Wittenberg.)

June 16, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for his relative Werner Berg regarding withheld interest.

The original is in Weimar, *Reg. N*, fol. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 48; in Walch, vol. XXI, 169; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 184 and in the Erlangen Ausg. vol. 53, p. 405.

To the noble, high-born. Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my! most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord!

3) This is Möhra.

I bring another intercession here on behalf of my brother-in-law, Werner Bergk zu Satzungen, whose interest in the land of Henneberg is hindered for the sake of some purchased bell food, and I do not want to help him in any way with his request for justice and goodness. I therefore humbly ask E. C. F. G. not to suffer the example that foreign rule in E. C. F. G.'s sovereignty, and E. C. F. G.'s subjects to punish without E. C. F. G.'s knowledge and will; for there patience is to be kept, because it concerns E. C. F. G.'s office and duty to protect the subjects. His complaint and petition, however, will be well heard by C.F.G. from his supplication, and he will graciously show himself against him. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. 1527, the Sunday after Pentecost [June 16].

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1096 .

(Wittenberg.)

June 18, 1527.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

Luther asks him to be patient with a preacher for a while.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth. X*, 1048, fol. 5. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 334 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 185 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 65. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1043.

The man to be revered in the Lord, Friedrich Mecum, the faithful evangelist at Gotha.

Grace and peace! This Paul Salfeld, the bearer of the letter, complained to me, my dear Frederick, that they were planning to remove him from the parish of Golzbach, as if he were too unskilled and I don't know what else. But I, who believe that I have tested your loyalty and integrity, could hardly believe that you would do anything improper against anyone, even an enemy; nevertheless, I advised him, so that it would not seem as if he had complained in vain, that he should postpone the matter until the time of the visitation, which likewise you (if you had done something), as I easily believe, will do, and I promised him without any doubt. You therefore do this, I beg of you, that you may judge this man's righteousness or unrighteousness by i

Your goodness and gentleness will overcome, as I am most certainly convinced of you. Fare well in the Lord, my dearest [friend]. Tuesday after Trinity [June 18] 1527.
Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1097.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early) July 1527.

To Johann Agricola.

Luther tells him that he has taken in his wife Elisabeth and that she is not sick in body or soul.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* Printed in the *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* 1872, 348 and in the *Erlanger Briefw.*

To Johann Agricola, the servant of Christ at Eisleben, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I have gladly taken in your Elsa, my dear Agricola, who, as you can see, is more ill in spirit than in body. I comfort her as much as I can and know how to do. You can do the same, except that in this case a woman believes someone else more than her husband, since she thinks that everything that is said to her is said to her by her husband more out of love than according to true knowledge. Summa, her illness is not a disease for the apothecaries (as one is wont to say), nor even to be ordered to the ointments of Hippocrates, but to the strong plasters of the Scriptures and the Word of God. How do conscience and Hippocrates agree? Therefore, I advise against a medicine for the body, and exhort to the power of the Word of God. But our wives are like that, they think that the word does not belong to them, but to us, their husbands, as their defenders and protectors. Therefore, whether you are absent or present, do not refrain from inculcating in her that she learn that it is her business when the word of God is taught. For in this struggle I stand continually also with my daughter, lest, when at last the custom of the word has come, they realize to their detriment that they then lacked it. Everything else stands well. Fare well in the Lord. On Monday after July 3, 1) 1527.
Martin Luther.

1) The date *feria 2. post III. Julii* is in any case incorrect, probably through the fault of the copyist.

No. 109 8.

(Wittenberg.)

July 5, 1527.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Congratulations on the birth of a baby daughter. Luther promises to send books to a poor friend.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 342; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 186 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 67. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1044.

Grace and peace! I wish you happiness with your daughter Margaretha, who has been given to you by God as a gift, which I have awaited with great desire, so that you too may experience xxxxxxxx xxx xxxxxx xx xxxxx [the natural love for children]. See how suddenly I have become a foreign Greek (*Barbarogracus*). By the way, we received the woodturning tools with the quadrant and the clock, and I will make an effort that you get an idea of my cup; it could not have happened so quickly. Give my best regards to Nicolaus Endrissus 1) and tell him that he should be so bold as to demand copies of any books from us. For we are also very poor in money, but I would like to have a certain, albeit small right against the book printers, that I, since I receive nothing from them for my various work, occasionally take a copy if it pleases me. I believe that this is owed to me, since other writers, even the translators, receive a gold ninety for a quatern. Therefore, I have given my Wolfgang the order that he should provide poor Endrissns with all the copies he ever desires as soon as possible; may he firmly believe this. Fare well with all yours. The melons or arrows grow and are anxious to occupy immense spaces, likewise the pumpkins and citrullus,²⁾ so that you do not think that the seeds were sent in vain. Be well again. 1527 July 5. Marti" Luther.

No. 1099.

(Wittenberg.)

July 10, 1527.

All Spalatin.

Of a severe attack of illness Luther had on July 6. See the report about it in the following number.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 213. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 56; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 186 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 67. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1045.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant at Altenburg, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It is written and said here that you are suffering from illness, my dear Spalatin. If this is so, I beseech the Lord Jesus that he may restore thee and keep thee by his divine power in honor of his word. In the meantime, patiently bear his gracious hand, as you have been taught, not only to know it, but also to teach it to others. For the Lord will make an end of temptation [1 Cor. 10:13]. Three days ago I also had a sudden attack of fainting and was seized by it so much that I despaired completely and thought I would die under the hands of my wife and friends, so much was I suddenly deprived of all strength. But the Lord had mercy on me and restored me quickly. Therefore pray for me, I beseech thee; beseech the Lord that he will not forsake his sinner. Be well in the Lord. There is a rumor that the plague is with us, but it is unfounded and false; by Christ's grace all is well and quiet. July 10, 1527.

Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1100.

Report of D. Bugenhagen and D. Justus Jonas on Luther's high spiritual and bodily challenges on July 6, 1527.

This report is found in the old editions under the inscription: "Kurze Historia, durch beide Herren D. Johan. Bugenhagen and D. Justum Jonam, how the blessed man of God D. M. L. surrendered to God's will to live and die in great trials, both spiritual and physical. To all pious hearts, which certainly have their fears

1) According to the Album, p. 58, *Fr. Nicolaus Enderisch, Carmelita ex conventu Nurnbergen. was immatriculiert on Sept. 1, 1515.*

2) Walch gives as explanation: "little pickles".

and suffering also have, useful and comforting to read." In the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 239; in the Jena edition (1556), vol. III, p. 458; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 772; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 498 and in Walch, vol. XXI, Appendix, No. IX, Col. 158*. Latin in Aurifaber's collection of letters, vol. II, p. 335. - We let this report follow here in connection with the previous letter.

To the venerable Johann Bugenhagen Pommer,
our pastor, dearest friend and brother in the
Lord.

It seems to me that this quick weakness of our dear father D. Martini and other cases that have occurred are warnings by which God reminds us that we should not heap wrath upon ourselves, Rom. 2, 5. For this reason I have taken the serious speeches that the doctor spoke out of a fervent heart yesterday in his severe confrontation and great fear, so that they would not be forgotten.

I think I have summarized them all in fresh memory in a fine and orderly way, as he said it, and with possible diligence I have recorded them here on paper, as I heard it from him. I have written these down for you, as my dearest friend and brother. And please, where you intend to rewrite them, that you send me my handwriting again, because I have otherwise kept no copy of this writing.

If I am unwise (as some might think) in recording such speech, I am happy to do so. It seems to me that one should not ignore or despise such great events that occur. Be well in Christ. Do not share this new tale with anyone at this time, but keep it a secret. It is enough that we know it, otherwise they would get out too far. Anno 1527.

E. E. willing

Justus Jonas. ¹⁾

I.

Johannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus.

On the Saturday after 2) *Visitationis Mariae* [July 6], when the following Sunday the beautiful, comforting parables, Luc. 15, of the Lost Sheep and the Son are held up and explained to the Christian people in the sermon, D. Martinus Luther, our dear father, had a very severe spiritual challenge, like those which are often remembered in Psalms. He may have suffered more such challenges before, but never so severely.

than this time, as he confessed the following day to D. Jonā, D. Christiano and me. Jonah, Christiano and me, said that it was much harder and more dangerous than the painful weakness that had struck him on the same Saturday evening at five o'clock (which was so quick that we were afraid he would stay over it), although he let himself be heard the Sunday after that the same physical weakness was not natural, but perhaps such suffering as St. Paul suffered from Satan, who beat him with his fists 2c, 2 Cor. 12, 7. For he said that his weakness and suffering had first begun in his left ear and had not affected him in any other way, but as if it roared with great impetuosity in front of his left ear and the whole of his left cheek like rushing waves of the sea, but not yet inwardly of the head, but outwardly.

Such (he said to D. Jonah, who was alone with him when such faintness came upon him) could not happen naturally, but would be such an unmistakable suffering and torture that, if it were not a short transition and lasted only a short time, man could not endure it, but would soon have to die, because the same whirring and roaring (like a strong wind), which he felt before (as said) only in front of his ear, would now have taken over his left ear inside and half of the main part.

Since I, D. Pomeranus, have begun to talk about this, I will first tell the story of the physical illness that struck him after noon. Suddenly he sank into such a deep unconsciousness that he knew nothing about himself, and his body became absolutely so cold that no color, no blood, no feeling, no voice, no sign of life, but only death could be seen and noticed in him. But when he was watered with fresh water, as he cried out to Jonah when he felt the faintness, he began to come to himself again, began to pray with great earnestness from a fervent heart, as Jonah, our dearest brother, has diligently recorded.

But I, who did not know at the time what the doctor's situation was, was called to him at six o'clock in the evening and found him lying in bed. There I heard him with clear words, now in Latin, then in German, now calling God the Father, then Christ the Lord. Above all, however, with great earnestness he commanded God the ministry of the holy Gospel, which He had entrusted to him until then.

I have not been worthy, he continued, to shed my blood for the sake of Christ, as many of my brethren have done for the confession of the holy gospel. But '

1) This signature is missing in the Wittenberg and Jena editions; we have added it according to Walch and Aurifaber.

2) In the editions "after" is missing. However, the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in 1527 was on a Tuesday.

This honor did not happen to St. John the Evangelist either, who wrote a much worse book (he needed such words) against the Pabstacy (which is the realm of the true Antichrist, who soon began to practice his craft in Paradise, as the Scripture says: "You will stab him in the heels"), the like of which I will never write nor can.

But when I was standing before him, very frightened by the fear of my heart, I spoke to him kindly like this: Dear Doctor, pray with us that you may stay longer with us, to comfort us wretched and many others. He answered: "For my own sake, dying would be my gain, but living longer in the flesh would be necessary for the sake of many. Dear God, your will be done!"

After that he turned to me and D. Jonas and said: "Because the world delights and delights in lying, many will say that I have revoked my teaching before my end, therefore I earnestly desire that you be witnesses of my confession of faith. I say with a clear conscience that I have taught rightly from God's Word, according to God's command, to which He has drawn and urged me even without my will. Yes, I say, I have taught rightly and wholesomely about faith, love, the cross, the sacraments and other articles of Christian doctrine.

Many blame me for being too harsh and vehement when I write against the papists and red spirits 2c. and punish their false doctrine, ungodly nature and hypocrisy. Yes, I have been fierce at times and have attacked my adversaries harshly, but in such a way that I have never repented. Whether I have been fierce or moderate, I have sought no one's harm, much less his soul's loss, but rather everyone's best and happiness, even that of my enemies. I had intended to act and write about the holy baptism of Christ, also against Zwingel and other sacrament enthusiasts, but as it can be seen, the dear God has decided something else about me.

Then he spoke to us with great earnestness (God always included: Ah God 2c.) against the devotees of the sacraments, and lamented with tears that now many sects and cults had arisen that falsified and perverted God's word, and would not spare His army, which He had acquired through His blood. He said, "To me, the unworthy, God has given many beautiful gifts, which he has not given to many thousands of other people, who I would like to use longer in his honor, and also for the benefit and comfort of the godly, if it were his will. But you will be unequal and too weak to so many enthusiasts who are now tearing down everywhere. But I console myself

that Christ is stronger than the wretched Satan (together with all his scales), yes, he is his Lord.

The will, however, which he made to his wife, who was pregnant, and to his little son, was as follows: My dearest God, I thank you from the bottom of my heart that you have willed that I should be poor and a beggar on earth, and therefore I cannot leave my house, my fields, my land, my money or my property to my wife and my sons after me; as you have given them to me, so I give them to you again, you rich, faithful God; feed them, teach them, keep them, as you have fed me until now 2c. O Father of the fatherless and Judge of widows. D. Jonas has diligently distinguished what are more of the speeches.

However, while he was talking like this, Augustine 1) made every effort to warm up his body, which (as I said) was freezing cold, with many cloths, pillows and clothes, which were always made warm over a charcoal fire and laid out for him, and to bring it back into shape, especially his chest and feet. After that, we, D. Jonas, D. Augustin Schurs, the physician, and I, go down from him into the hall to take supper, as much as we can in such suffering and sorrow, so that he may rest the better. Meanwhile, however, D. Augustin goes up again to see how the sick man is doing, comes back and says that the doctor has been sweating a lot, and that there is therefore good hope that he will have no more trouble this time. Since we were thus suspended between hope and fear, we also visited our patient, greeted him and wished him a blessed night, and went home.

When we visited him again the following morning, it turned out that the doctor had judged correctly, only that the sick man was still in bed on Sunday and said that he was not yet completely free of the terrible roaring and rushing in his head. On the evening of the same day, however, he got up, had supper with us, and all things, praise and thanks be to Christ, were restored. Thus the Lord led into hell and out again, not only him, but also us together with him, so that we would not put our trust in ourselves.

Now that I come back to the point I started with: if this weakness that struck him after noon was so great and dangerous, as we have said so far, the spiritual challenge he endured and endured in the morning will have been much more severe and horrible, which he said had affected him much more severely than the bodily weakness after noon, which he himself

1) Prospecting.

indicated that [it] would not have been a natural weakness, but a stroke of Satan's neck.

Now that the same spiritual challenge of Saturday morning was over, the pious Job worried that where the hand of God would come again so strongly, he would not be able to bear it, perhaps he also had a concern that it would now be time for our Lord Jesus Christ to call him from hence, therefore he sent his servant Wolf to me at 8 o'clock before noon, and had him tell me that I wanted to come to him in a hurry. Since he said "hurriedly", I was a little shocked about it, but found the doctor in his usual form standing with his housewife, as he could then with a quiet, collected mind give everything home to God and command it. For he was not in the habit of complaining to people who could not help him or to whom he could not be useful with his complaints, but he was in the habit of standing against people as they desired to have him, who sought comfort from him. If he sometimes does too much over the table with cheerfulness, he has no pleasure in it himself, and this cannot displease any godly man, much less annoy him, because he is an affable man and is hostile to all mendacity and hypocrisy.

But so that I would continue, I asked the doctor why he had summoned me? He answered: "For the sake of no evil. When we had gone out and stood aside in a special place, he ordered himself and all that he had with great earnestness, began to confess and confess his sin, and the master desired from the disciple comfort from the divine word, item, an absolution and release from all his sins; also admonished me that I should pray diligently for him, which I likewise desired from him.

Furthermore, he asked me to allow him to receive the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ on the following Sunday, because he hoped to preach on the same Sunday, was not concerned (as far as I could tell) about the accident that happened to him after noon, as I said, and yet said: "If the Lord will call me now, let his will be done! I was appalled by this and other speeches. But when I saw that evening that he was so fatally ill, I had no other thought that he would die, for I knew how earnestly he had sent himself to the end of this life in the morning.

But this piece, which is well worth knowing, I must not forget. Since he had confessed and then talked about the spiritual challenge, which he experienced the same morning with such terror and

When he felt that he could not talk it out, he continued: "Many think, because I am sometimes cheerful in my outward conduct, that I am walking on vain roses; but God knows how I am for the rest of my life. I have often intended to be of service to the world in a more serious and holy way (I don't know what to call it), but God has not given me this to do.

The world, in praise of God, finds no vice in me, which it could impute to me with truth, nevertheless it is annoyed by me. Perhaps God wants to make the blind, ungrateful world a fool over me, so that it will be corrupted by its contempt and not be worthy of seeing the beautiful gifts that He otherwise denies to many thousands of people, so that He has graced me to serve those whom He knows well, so that, because the world does not think highly of the word of salvation that God offers it through me, its weak, small vessel, it will find in me that it is offended and falls. What God means by such His judgment, I return to Him. I pray and call upon Him daily with earnestness that He may grant me mercy, that through my sin I may not give anyone cause to take offense at me. - I have heard this from him with great pleasure.

Since I was acting alone with him, it was almost time to have lunch. And because we had been summoned by some of the nobility to eat with them, I reminded him that he wanted to please the guests and not stay outside. But he refused. Then I admonished his wife that she wanted him to come and not stay at home alone. She hoped it would be good for him to be with people and talk to them about all sorts of things. 2c.

Then he came to the meal, ate and drank, but very little, which I noticed among all at the table alone. Nevertheless, as is his way, he was in good spirits with the guests, made them happy, as much as he wanted to suffer, because he had not yet forgotten what a great journey he had been on shortly before. At the twelfth hour, however, he got up from the table, went into D. Jonas's garden behind his house, and left. Jonas's garden behind his house. But I, because I had to preach at vespers, went home.

After this time, everything happened with the weakness of D. M., as I have told it above, of which everything, neatly written in a document, our dear brother D. Jonas has made a good report and sent it to me (especially the speeches which he heard from D. Martins, partly alone, partly I together with him at the same time). For he knew well that he had sent me

It would do me a great favor if he would send it to me in writing, so that I could have such speeches before my eyes, remember them often, and also have an example to follow when I am challenged.

II.

Follows D. Justi Jona directory.

The following section is found (with the exception of the last three paragraphs) in a Latin translation different from Aurifaber's in Bindseil's *colloquia*, tom. In Cordatus, numbers 1186 to 1192 contain the main facts that are reported in our entire writing. See St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1936, no. 1186.

On the Saturday after the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, in the evening half an hour before six, Luther's, our dear father's, weakness happened as follows: Since he had had a severe spiritual challenge that same morning, as he himself confessed, and yet had fairly come back to himself, and had been asked to be a guest by some of the nobility, namely Marx von Wallefels, Hans Löser 2c, he went to Paul Schulte's inn. After the meal, he went into my garden to beat his melancholy and sadness and to refresh himself a bit, sat there, talked with me about various things, for two hours. When he left my house, he told me and my wife that we should dine with him in the evening. When it was five o'clock, we went up to the monastery. Then the doctor said that he had gone to bed, that he would like to rest and recover, because he had come home weak, and asked [me], however, that I should not let the time be long, and if it would be a little delayed, I should put it down to his weakness.

When I had rested for a while, the doctor got up from bed, thinking that he wanted to have supper with us, but complained of a large, annoying, unusual roaring and ringing in his left ear (which, as doctors say, tends to precede fainting). But because this ringing and buzzing grew larger and larger, he said that he could not stay at the table with us because of his weakness, so he went back to his bedroom and lay down in bed again. I alone soon followed him on foot, I do not know what the doctor ordered the maids at the bottom of the stairs before she came (although she did not delay long). When he stepped over the threshold of the bedchamber, he fainted, and hastily said to me: "O Doctor Jonah, I feel sick, bring me water or what you have, or I will perish. So I caught

almost frightened and nimbly a pot with cold water; I poured it partly under his face, partly in his back, as I could.

Then he began to pray: My dearest God, if you want this to be the hour that you have provided for me, may your gracious will be done. Further he prayed (lifted up his eyes) with great fervor of his heart the Lord's Prayer and the sixth Psalm. In this the doctor also came up. When she saw that he was so frail and almost dead, she was very frightened and called loudly to the maids. The doctor then asked that his pants be taken off soon. I did so quickly and threw him there. As he was lying on his back, he would have liked to rest, but he complained that he was very weak and felt no more strength. We rubbed and cooled him, gave him refreshments and did what we could until the doctor came.

Shortly thereafter he began to pray again and said: "Lord, my most beloved God, how gladly I would have shed my blood for the sake of your word, you know that, but perhaps I am not worth it. Thy will be done! If you want it so, I will gladly die, only that your holy name may be praised and glorified, be it through my life or death. But if it were possible, dear God, I would gladly live longer for the sake of your blessed or chosen ones. But when the hour has come, do it as you please; you are the Lord over life and death.

My dearest God, you have led me into this matter, you know that it is your word and the truth; do not exalt nor please your enemies, lest they boast: Where is now their God? but declare your holy name contrary and to the chagrin of the enemies of your blessed, salvific word.

My dearest Lord Jesus Christ, you have graciously given me the knowledge of your holy name, you know that I believe in you, together with Father and Holy Spirit, one and true God, and comfort me that you are our mediator and savior, who shed your precious blood for us sinners: stand by me in this hour and comfort me with your Holy Spirit. Again he said: "You know, Lord, that many of them to whom you have given it have shed their blood for the sake of confessing your gospel. I hoped that it would also come to me that I should also have shed my blood for the sake of your holy name, but I am not worthy; your will be done!

You know, Lord, that Satan has stalked me in many ways, that he has made me bodily

by tyrants, kings, princes, 2c., and spiritually by his fiery darts and terrible, devilish temptations. But thou hast hitherto preserved me marvelously against all their raging and raging; preserve me further, thou faithful Lord, it is thy will.

He also remembered the physical doctor and asked if D. Augustin would come soon? Yes, we said, and he came not long after. He put warm pillows, cloths and other things on him, comforted him and gave him hope that, God willing, there would be no need for this time. In the meantime, D. Pomeranus, pastor of the church in Wittenberg, to whom the doctor had confessed early that day, arrived. There he spoke to us, as he spoke to me, Jonah, and to the women who stood before him, when the faintness subsided a little: Dear ones, pray diligently for me. We again exhorted him that he would earnestly beseech the Lord Christ not to take him, the faithful minister of his holy word, from us. He answered: "My dear priest, I confessed to you today and you gave me absolution, which is dear to me.

But as the faintness increased somewhat, he repeated in his prayer comforting words and sayings from the Holy Scriptures, which he spoke out of a fervent heart and firm faith and certain confidence in God's grace and mercy, shown to us in Jesus Christ: My most beloved GOD (he said), you are indeed a GOD of sinners and wretched people, who feel their anguish, distress and misery and heartily desire your grace, comfort and help, as you say: "Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will give you rest." O Lord, I come in response to your promise; I am in great anguish and distress; help me for the sake of your grace and faithfulness, amen.

Not long after that he said to his housewife: "My dearest Kätke, I beg you, will our dear God take me to Himself this time, so that you may surrender to His gracious will. You are my wife, you shall certainly keep it and have no doubt about it. Let the blind godless world say what it wants against it. If you follow God's word and hold fast to it, you will have a certain, constant comfort against the devil and all his blasphemers. Then he said to Doctor Pommer and to me: "I meant that I still wanted to have written about holy baptism. Item, against Zwingel and others who falsify and pervert the doctrine of the Sacrament, but God may not want it; his will be done!

Soon he began to pray again: O my dear Lord Jesus Christ, who said, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened to you," according to this promise of yours, give me, O Lord, who ask, not gold nor silver, but a strong, firm faith. Let me find, I who seek, not the pleasure or joy of the world, but comfort and refreshment through your blessed, healing word. Open to me who knock; I do not desire anything that the world esteems great and high, for I am not a hair's breadth better in your sight, but give me your Holy Spirit to enlighten my heart, to strengthen and comfort me in my anguish and distress, to keep me in right faith and trust in your grace until my end, amen.

He continued: "O my most beloved God and Father, you have given me many noble and precious gifts before many other thousands; if it were your will, I would gladly use them for the praise and glory of your holy name, for the benefit and comfort of your small army. But your divine, fatherly will be done. Only that your name be honored through me, whether I live or die, amen.

Then he further said: "Oh, how will the devotees, the sacrament abusers, the Anabaptists and other mobs wreak havoc after my death! But I take comfort in the fact that Christ is stronger than Satan and all his scales; indeed, he is their Lord. When he said this, he wept so loudly that tears flowed down his cheeks.

When warm cloths and pillows were laid on him to warm his cold body again, he asked his son: "Where is my dearest little girl? When the child was brought, it laughed at the father. Then he said, "Oh, you good, poor little child! Now, I entrust my dearest Kate and you, poor orphan, to my dear, pious, faithful God. You have nothing, but God, who is the father of orphans and the judge of widows, will feed and provide for you. Then he continued talking to his housewife about the silver cups. Except for these, he said, you know that we have nothing else.

At this and other speeches of her master, the doctor was greatly shocked and saddened, but she did not let herself realize that she had suffered so much that she should see her dear master lying there so miserably before her eyes, but stood confidently and said: "My dearest doctor, if it is God's will, I would rather have you with our Lord God than with me. It is not only for my sake and for the sake of my child, but

but for many pious Christian people who still thirst for my opinion. immediately exposed to all dangers with her. That is my opinion.

For my sake, my dearest Lord, do not worry; I entrust you to his divine will, I hope and trust in God, he will graciously preserve you.

So, while the doctor was rubbed with warm cloths and warm potions were placed on his chest and around his feet, he said: "I feel, praise God, improvement, the fainting subsides and my strength returns slowly. If I could only sweat, I hoped that by God's grace I would have no further trouble this time. Then D. Augustin said: We want to leave him alone, if he could sweat and rest. So we bid him good night and departed from him in God's name, calling those who stayed with him to be quiet. 2c.

May our dear Lord Jesus Christ keep this man alive for a long time, in honor of His holy name and for the comfort of His faithful, amen.

The next day the doctor said to me: "Jonah, I must remember yesterday, it was my turn to go to school and I sat in a hot sweat bath. The Lord leads into hell and out again. He went on to say that the spiritual trial he had endured in the morning would have been much greater and more severe than the physical one he would have faced in the evening. The Lord, he said, kills and makes alive, for he is the Lord of death and life. To him be praise, honor and glory forever and ever, amen.

No. 1101.

(Wittenberg.)

July 13, 1527.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

About a marriage case, the church visitation that had begun, the capture of Rome by the imperial troops, and Luther's bout of illness.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 33. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ns. 26, fol. 22d. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p.80; b'ei *Strobel-Ranner*, x. 118; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 187 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 68. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1367.

To the highly venerable and holy man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, pastor of the church at Zwickau, his superior in Christ.

Grace and peace! If this man's case stands as he tells it, my dear Nicolaus, I think he is justified in keeping this wife, since the former husband has left her for so long a time and has made himself

immediately exposed to all dangers with her. That is my opinion.

The visitation has begun to be fulfilled, because eight days ago the Lord Knight 1) and M. Philip left for this work. Christ guide them, amen.

Rome has been miserably devastated with the pope, because Christ reigns in such a way that the emperor, who persecutes Luther for the pope, is forced to destroy the pope for Luther. Namely, everything serves Christ for his own and against his adversaries.

Besides, there is nothing new.

Greetings from my Käthe and my little Hans. Farewell in Christ. I have suffered a severe fainting spell, so that my head is forced to abstain from reading and writing. On the day of Margaretha [July 13] 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1102.

Torgau.

July 22, 1527.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Because of occupation of the parish of Rodikau.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. LI*, p. 34. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 118 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 70.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! Our councillors have presented us with a letter you gave them from Erneiten Randwich, the old priest of Belzig (Belzk), who would like to have the priest of Rodikaw, who recently resigned; we have read it out. Now we don't know how the same priest is skilled and experienced in this at the time when the divine word is so brightly and apparently coming to light. But we request that you hear him (ime) in this; where you will then find that he is skilled and fit to preside over the common poor people with the proclamation of the divine word and the administration of the sacrament, and then deliver our presentation to him and thereby direct him to our office in Belzig. If, however, he would not be suitable, then you will know how to report this to us, and also how to send us the presentation again by chance. In your gracious opinion, we do not want to leave this unopened. Date Torgau, Monday of St. Mary Magdalene [July 22] 1527.

1) *Dominus Hero* == Knight Hans von Planitz. It is not to read Hieronymus, therefore also not to understand Schurs.

No. 1103.

(Wittenberg.)

July 26, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for Simon Funke.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. N.* fol. 108.41. Printed in De Wette, vol. III, p. 186 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 406.

To My Most Gracious Lord, Duke Johann, Elector of Saxony 2c. To his C. F. G. Hands.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! He Simon Funke has asked me for this intercession to E. C. F. G., so that his application will be the more respected, because of the house he wants to buy with E. C. F. G.'s favor and knowledge. Methinks the matter is simple, and E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously treat him, for I do not know how to deny him his request. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after Jacobi [July 26] 1527.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 1104.

(Wittenberg.)

2. August 1527.

To Melanchthon.

Luther recommends a Pole to him and reports on his bout of illness and the plague in Wittenberg.

From a Munich copy printed in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 189 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 71.

To the highly famous and highly venerable brother in Christ, M. Philippus, who serves Christ either in Jena 1) or close to it.

Grace and peace in Christ! This Pole Andrew, my dear Philip, who was recommended to us by our friends in Breslau, we also want to have recommended to you, since he has traveled such a long way to see you. He is a good man, learned and knowledgeable of many languages, and will please you, I know, after you have heard that he has secretly left Hanse for the sake of the opponents of the Gospel.

1) Because of the plague in Wittenberg, the university was moved to Jena. Melanchthon was still on the visitation journey and did not arrive in Jena until August 9. - "Zu Jena" is written in the original: xxxxx.

I believe that many things are reported and written about me by others. I have indeed been tossed about in death and hell for more than a whole week because of what I wrote the other day, so that I, wounded all over, am still trembling in my limbs. Having lost Christ almost completely, I was driven by floods and storms of despair and blasphemy against God. But God, moved by the prayers of the saints, began to have mercy on me and saved my soul from the depths of hell [Ps. 86:13]. You also do not cease to pray for me, just as I do for you. But I believe that my struggle concerns others as well. We are convinced that the plague is here and of a right kind, but we hope that it will be slow and mild, since we are Christ's, the small and despised host, who are sufficiently beaten by the public hatred of the whole world and our evils, not to mention the lack and other humiliations. I long to see you, in Christ, if I should be worthy of it. Hans Luft has been ill for the ninth day; yesterday he seemed to be absent-minded, but it is hoped that he will be restored. Fare well with all yours and ours, and remember us in your prayers as those who are dead, yet alive; as prisoners, yet free; 2) as those who suffer, yet safe [2 Cor. 6, 9. f.]. But Christ, the victor over death, the victor over hell, the victor over sin, the world, and the flesh, be and be strong in us and you with his Spirit, Amen. August 2, 1527.

M. L.

No. 1105.

Torgau.

August 10, 1527.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector asks Luther to move with his family to Jena because of the plague. - Luther, however, remained in Wittenberg; there is no reply from Luther to this letter.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O.* p. 144. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 119 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VI, p. 72.

2) Instead of *vivi*, we have assumed *liberi*, since the text is also otherwise (in De Wette) severely corrupted several times.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! Since you know without a doubt that we have allowed the persons of our university at Wittenberg to move to Jena at their submissive request and request for the sake of the mortal runs that are occurring, and we are told that you should be willing not to move from Wittenberg, we would not like to see you separate and isolate yourselves from the university at this time for many reasons, and for your own good, because you know what is happening daily for the sake of the divine word and the sacraments. Therefore, it is our gracious request that you direct your affairs accordingly, and also go there with your wife and child toward Jena, and if you are inclined to do so, as we provide, then you will give us beneficial notice of this, [so] we will arrange so that you may come there next with your wife and child. We do not want you to do this in our gracious opinion, and do us a favor. Date Torgau, on Saturday Laurentii [Aug. 10] Anno Domini 26.

No. 1106.

Wittenberg.

August 12, 1527.

To Justus Menius in Erfurt.

Luther thanks him for the comfort he has received, asks him to tell Valentin Jckelsamer that he forgives him, and informs him that Zwingli and Oecolampad have written against him.

Handwritten at Zurich in the Simmler Collection, vol. 19. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 342 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 190 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 73. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1046.

I wish you grace and peace in Christ Jesus! I thank you, my dear Justus, for praying to the Lord for me, and then also for comforting me, both of which are necessary for me at this time, so I ask you not to cease to pray courageously for me and to comfort me, because my struggle with suffering is beyond my strength. Christ has been a faithful sustainer for me up to now, and I have no doubt that he will continue to be so for eternity. I have not only been ill in body, but by far the most in spirit, so Satan with his angels is tormenting me out of the permission of God our Savior. Therefore, I entrust myself to your prayers and I am sure that the Lord will hear you and trample Satan under our feet, amen.

I would have written to Ickelsamer 1), but the weakness of the main does not allow me to deal with all kinds of requests, but you may tell him that I have forgiven him everything, even before he asked for it, as I also forgive all other enemies and have mercy on them, so that Christ and the righteous Father also forgive me and have mercy on me. I wonder what you write about his grammar 2) because nothing has been reported to me about these things, nor can I find out where it is or who prints it, so I cannot answer you about it.

Zwingli and Oecolampad have answered,³⁾ but I have not yet read it, nor can I read it until I am restored, for I am utterly inactive and walk idly as a dull Lazarus and sick of Christ. Fare well in the Lord and remember me as you do. Wittenberg, Monday after Laurentii [Aug. 12] 1527.

Martin Luther.

The people of our academy who are already in Jena 4), close to you, I recommend to you and all of us.

No. 1107.

Wittenberg.

August 19, 1527.

To Spalatin.

Of the visitation, and of the plague in Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 213. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 345 d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 191 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 75. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1050.

1) Valentin Ickelsamer, from Rothenburg an der Tauber, was a Latin schoolmaster there and a fanatical supporter of Carlstadt. He wrote a fierce personal attack against Luther because of his alleged injustice and tyranny against Carlstadt. After the suppression of the peasant revolt he had to leave Rothenburg. Now he seems to be reconciled with Luther.

2) As Veesenmeyer, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der deutschen Sprache*, St. 1. 2, indicates, Ickelsamer's "Teutsche Grammatika" 1527, quarto, 8 sheets, was the first attempt at a German grammar.

3) Zwingli with the writing: "That these words of Jesus Christ: This is my body, will eternally have the old unified meaning" 2c., which is printed in the St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1122. The title of Oecolampad's writing is given in the introduction there, p. 38a. On Aug. 21, Luther had not yet seen both writings.

4) The actual relocation of the university to Jena did not take place until August 15.

Grace and peace! I rejoice that you are restored and give thanks to Christ our Lord. Pray, I pray, for me, that I may also be completely restored to health, if it is the will of God the Savior. May the rumors of the visitation not worry you, too, because yesterday the Prince sent the acts of the visitation 1) to me, so that I could see and judge whether they were worthy of printing. Everything is fine, if only they would be executed as they are set, as you will see. Let the adversaries boast with lies, 2) as they are wont to do, they cannot console themselves with the truth.

The plague has started here, but it is quite merciful; but the fear and the fleeing of the people is extraordinary, that I have not seen such a monstrosity of Satan before; so much does he fear, even rejoice, to be able to make the hearts so despondent, namely so that he alone can scatter and destroy this academy, which he hates not without cause above all others. However, during the whole time of the plague until this day, there have been no more than 18 corpses, with the addition of those who were inside the city, maidens, children and all. In the fishermen's suburb it has raged more fiercely, in our part of town there is still no death, although everyone is buried there. Today we buried the wife of Tilo Dene 3), who almost died in my arms yesterday, and this is the first funeral in the middle of the city. Those 18 funerals have taken place around me "at the Elsterthor", among them was Barbara, the sister of your Eberhardin,⁴⁾ who was already an adult, which you will tell M. Eberhard; but also the daughter of Johannes Grüneberg has died. Hans Luft arose again and overcame the plague, and many others arise again when they use medicine; but many are so limited (*barbari*) that they despise the medicine and die without cause. The son of the

Justus Jonas, John, also died. He, with his household, has traveled to his fatherland 5). I remain, and this is necessary because of this tremendous fear among the people. Therefore we, Pommer and I, are alone here with the chaplains,⁶⁾ but Christ is there so that we are not alone, who will also triumph in us over the old serpent, the murderer and workmaster of sin, however much he may prick his heel. Pray for us and farewell. Wittenberg, on the Monday after the Assumption [Aug. 19] 1527.

Greetings M. Eberhard and all of ours and recommend us to them. The enthusiasts have written against me; I do not have the books yet. Zwingli's second letter 7) to me, however, which is even more defiant [than the first], I wanted to send, but it was not at hand.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1108.

(Wittenberg.)

August 20, 1527.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Of the writings of Zwingli and Oecolampad. About the plague in Wittenberg and the visitation.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 34. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscanum*, Ns. 26, fol. 23 b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 346b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 192 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 77. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1052.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ, who may command your fever to subside, amen. Dearest brother, I too have not yet seen the books of the Sacramentarians, and I am surprised that they are not brought, although Zwingli, in a letter sent to me, which is indeed quite defiant and threatening, indicates that he is sending the answer; but it has not been delivered with the letter. Those who read it say that these people are nonsensical, which I easily believe. Jonas is

1) That is, the visitation articles that Melanchthon had drawn up on behalf of the Elector.

2) It has been said that Melanchthon now teaches differently than Luther, or: both give in and crawl back.

3) Mayor in Wittenberg.

4) That is, the wife of Eberhard Brisinger.

5) namely Nordhausen.

6) The cavellans at that time were Johann Mantel and Georg Rörer.

7) This letter of Zwingli from June 20 is not available.

has gone away with his house to his fatherland, for fear of the plague. Although the plague is idle with us, Satan strikes the hearts of all with an incredible fear, so that I and Pommer are alone here; and yet we are not alone, for Christ is with us, who will protect us and make us victors in Himself against Satan, as we believe and hope. We are expecting Philip every day.

There is hope that the visitation will proceed easily, since a very beautiful order has already been written by the visitators, which the prince will have printed, so that we can easily come to an agreement and order what is necessary for the churches.

This I write to you for your comfort, and so that you may pray to Christ that he will graciously carry out the work you have begun. May you be well in Him, Amen. Tuesday after the Assumption of the Virgin Mary [Aug. 20] 1527.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1109.

(Wittenberg.)

August 21, 1527.

To Johann Agricola.

Luther complains about his high spiritual temptations.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* and in *Cod. Jen.* B. 24. n, fol. 160. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 347; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 193 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 78. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1053.

To his brother in Christ, Johann Agricola, the servant of God, the instructor of the youth at Eisleben.

Grace and peace in Christ! I thank you, my dear Agricola, for the consolation you have given me, since you write that your Church is concerned about me and prays for me; God also comforts you in tribulation. And I pray that you will not cease to comfort me and pray for me, for I am wretched and poor. Not that the Sacramentans move us, whose ravages I have not yet seen nor read, and I hope through Christ that I will be a despiser of this Satan and even his victor. Satan himself rages against me with all his power, and the Lord has set me as a sign for him, as it were as a second Job, and he looks at me.

with extraordinary weakness of spirit. But through the prayers of the saints, I am not left in his hands, even though the wounds of the heart that I have received are healed with difficulty. My hope is that this struggle of mine will affect many. Even though there is no evil that my sins do not deserve, this is my life, that I know and boast that I have taught the word of Christ purely and truthfully for the salvation of many. This grieves Satan, and he would like to overthrow and destroy me at the same time as the word. Thus it happens that I suffer nothing from the tyrants of the world, while others are killed, burned and perish for the sake of Christ, but I suffer all the more from the prince of the world himself in spirit. In all things praise be to GOD and the Father of our Lord JEsu Christ, who performs His holy and, O GOD, how hidden good and pleasing will in me, Amen. Johann Pommer greets you, who is here alone with me together with the chaplains. But we are not alone, Christ and your prayers and those of all the saints together with the holy angels are with us, invisible but effective. The grace of Christ be with you, Amen. August 21, 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1110 .

Wittenberg.

August 22, 1527.

To Elfe von Kanitz.

Luther invites her to come to Wittenberg and start a girls' school; he comforts her in temptations.

From the *Cod. Closs.* in De Wette, vol. III, p. 170 with the wrong date: "May 2" and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 401.

The honorable and virtuous maiden Elfen von Kanitz, now at the oak, 1) my dear in Christo friend.

G. u. F. in Christo JEsu. Honorable, virtuous virgin Elfe! I have written to your dear Muhme Hanna von Plausig,

1) "zu der Eiche", a church with Antonian monastery at Nanenhof, two miles from Leipzig, formerly a famous place of pilgrimage. In 1525 the monastery was abandoned by the monks, and Hans von Minkwitz bought it for 9000 gulden. The first Protestant pastor there was Johann Pfeffinger in 1530-1532.

that she would send you to me for a time; for I thought to use you to teach young maidens and to set an example to others through you. You shall be with me at home and at table, so that you shall have no journey nor worry, so I ask of you that you will not refuse me such. I also hear that the evil enemy is tormenting you with heavy thoughts. O dear virgin, do not let him frighten you; for he who suffers the devil here must not suffer there, it is a good sign. Christ also suffered all these things, and many holy prophets and apostles, as the Psalter well indicates. Therefore be of good cheer and gladly suffer such ruths from the Father; he will also help you from them in his time. When you come, I will tell you more about it. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, on the Thursday after Agap[iti] 1) [Aug. 22] 1527.

No. 1111.

Wittenberg.

August 23, 1527.

To Joachim von Weißbach in Reinersdorf (Ransdorf?).

Meaning about a divorce because of leprosy.

Manuscript in the Nuremberg City Library, *Cod.* 70, fol. 32b; at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Aug.* 20, 2, fol. 146 b; at Wittenberg in *Cod. Schleusner*, lob 49 and in the royal library at Vienna. Printed without the name of the recipient in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 415; in the Altenburger, vol. VIII, p. 970; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 437 and in Walch, vol. X, 963. Allegedly from the original, with the wrong address: "Johann Weißbach" and without date, in the Leipziger Supplement, p. 49, no. 60; in Walch, vol. XXI, 220; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 194 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 53, p. 406. With the correct address and date (as in the first three manuscripts mentioned) in Walch, vol. XXII, 1755, § 108 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 61, p. 242 f.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 811. There, the superscription should be corrected and instead of "B." read "Behem" in the text.

No. 1112.

(Wittenberg.)

August 26, 1527.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther asks him for his intercession because of his challenge.

Handwritten at Zurich in the Simlersche Sammlung, vol. 19. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 82; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 119; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 195 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 80 f. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1368.

To the highly venerable man of God, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of the Church at Zwickau.

Greetings in Christ, dearest and most esteemed Nicolaus! M. Stephan Roth is coming to you, from whom you will learn all our news. You know that this man is respected and loved by us and needs no recommendation from you. I ask you for Christ's sake to help me with your prayers against Satan and his angels, whom I have as enemies beyond measure, that Christ may not abandon me, whom he has chosen until now for the furtherance of his gospel, but may glorify his name in my weakness, whether through death or life. And this I do not ask in vain, for I need the prayer and help of the brethren, in whom I worship and adore my Christ. Fare well in this Jesus Christ, the most sweet Savior. Monday after Bartholomew [Aug. 26] 1527.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1113.

(Wittenberg.)

August 26, 1527.

To Johann Rühel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1980.

No. 1114.

(Strasbourg.)

August 29, 1527.

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

(Regest.)

Gerbel feels strengthened in his opinion by Luther's writing *Wider die Sacramentirer* (Against the Sacramentarians) and asks him to write against them again. After the Anabaptists who had broken into Strasbourg were driven out of the city by the city council, the people of Strasbourg again turned more against Luther. Recommendation of Christoph Lasius.

Handwritten in *Thes. Tree*, III, 56. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 89 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p.82.

1) *Agapitus* is August 18, not April 30, as De Wette assumed.

No 1115.

(Wittenberg.)

August 31, 1527.

To Johann Agricola. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2227.**No. 1116.**

(Wittenberg.)

2. September 1527.

To Gerhard Wilskamp in Herford.

Luther thanks the friends for their intercession and gives news from Wittenberg.

The original is in the royal library at Hannover. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 81; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 199; in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, VIII (1886), p. 295 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 85.

To the brother to be highly honored in the Lord Christ, Gerhard 1) of Xanten, the exceedingly faithful servant of God.

Grace and peace! Before I wrote to Montanus, not to you; now I am writing to you, not to Montanus, my dear Gerhard, since I see that you are One Heart and One Soul in the Lord. Therefore, show Montanus this letter and thank him for praying so earnestly for me; this prayer is also necessary for us, especially for me, and I am glad that godly people are so concerned about us. The interpretation of Zechariah, which is half finished, has been delayed so far by my state of health. The prophets who began to be translated into German have likewise hung up their harps through our dispersion 2) [Ps. 137, 2]. This you will say to Jacob for the sake of it, so that he may take care that the more urgent prayer be made for us, that the cry of our pestilence, for it is more true than the pestilence itself, may fall away through Christ as a physician, and that ours may again be gathered together to complete what is already in print. For Satan has aroused this fear and clamor to hinder the course of the Word, which he wants to

1) Gerhard *Wilskamp*, usually called *Viscampius*, was in the fraternity at Herford and had been won for the Gospel by Jakob Montanus. From 1528 until his death in 1542, he was the head of the house of friars.

2) Instead of *nostri dispersionem* at De Wette we have with the Erl. Briefw. *nostra dispersione*. - This refers to the relocation of the university to Jena.

Crush Christ under our feet through your prayers, Amen.

Our wives are very happy and thank you for your kindness and your gift. Philip's wife is with him, he is now away with the academy. Pommer with his own, and mine with me greet you kindly, and they promise that, God willing, they will do what you prescribe. You are also greeted by my son. Fare well in the Lord. On the second of September, 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1117.

(Wittenberg.)

2. September 1527.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Of Hausmann's recovery, of the visitation, and of the plague in Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 35. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 23. Printed by Schütze, Vol. II, p. 81; by De Wette, Vol. III, p. 200 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 87.

To his brother, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of the Church at Zwickau, who is highly esteemed in the Lord.

Grace and peace! With short words I greet you, my dear househusband, because there is nothing else I can write. And I thank the Lord JESu, who has restored you to us; praise be to him forever, amen. I hope that the visitors, when they have rested a little, will resume their service; 3) in the meantime, take comfort in patience. At the same time [I ask] that you pray for us, whether perhaps Christ would take away from us the plague and the clamor about the plague, and gather the dispersed to spread his name and word longer, Amen. Farewell in Christ. The second of September, 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1118.

(Wittenberg.)

September 10, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Request for salary for the preacher Zeiger at Belgern.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 235b; in the Jena edition (1556), vol. III, p. 425; in the

3) This did not happen until late 1528.

Altenburger, vol. III, p. 761; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p.552; in Walch, vol. XXI, 172; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 245, with the wrong date: "December 10," and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 414.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The council and congregation of Belgern have now asked several times for Mr. Balzer Zeiger, their preacher, who has now served them for four years, and the monk of Buch 1) has the parish goods inside, also does not wait for the office, nor is capable of administering them. Now it is unreasonable that a preacher should support himself, as he has done so far for the benefit of the people, and can never do so again, so that it is to be feared that God, greatly angered by this, might let a punishment go over it.

Now the man, Mr. Balzer, is almost well skilled, and [has] suffered much for the sake of the Gospel, that I am well inclined to forbid him to help elsewhere. But because I hope that E. C. F. G. will not suffer such displeasure, my humble request is that E. C. F. G. seriously decree that the above-mentioned Mr. Balzer be given a handout or tax from the parish goods until the visitation comes. For God cannot like it that another shall provide the parish without enjoyment and another shall use the goods without work, which has happened here for four years now. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Tuesday after Nativity of the Virgin Mary [10 Sept.] 2) An. 1527.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 1119.

Wittenberg.

September 13, 1527.

To Spalatin.

About the church visitation.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 212 and in *Cod. Dessav. A*, No. 195. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 351; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 204 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 88. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1055.

1) The Bernardine monastery Jngenthal at Buch, one hour from Leisnig, had the patronage right over the church at Belgern. The income of the parish there was drawn by a monk at Buch.

2) The wrong date in De Wette is due to the fact that he assumed *Nativitatis Mariae: Conceptionis Mariae*.

To his brother in Christ, Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of God at Altenburg.

Grace and peace! I am sending two copies here for you and Eberhard, so that you can see that our visitors are not being thanked in an appropriate manner by those who are so busy with them. I have deliberately not corrected certain things, so that it would not seem to be my little sin. If the adversaries seek to gain glory in these orders, their boast is a miserable one and will not last long. Yes, that is why we let them console themselves, blow themselves out, and boast with false hope and joy (as they used to do until now); I like this order quite well. For since up to now the same thing has not been kept everywhere, but each one has acted according to his own sense, added to it, taken away from it, no uniformity can be brought about unless something is added or taken away from it. But since no one can suffer his own to be changed in any part, what is it to be wondered at if complaints or such judgments arise against the visitors? who, out of necessity, have changed some things of those people, so that they might nevertheless order the highest principal things in the best way. Read and you will approve (as I hope), then beseech the Lord for me, I beg you, that he may tread Satan. Our pestilence is mild, so that it is hardly the tenth part of the rumor, yes, I hope that it will be stopped for the sake of Christ, amen. In him be well. Wittenberg, 1527, on the day before the Exaltation of the Cross [Sept. 13]. 3)

Martin Luther.

No. 1120.

(Wittenberg.)

September 16, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks that the Barefoot Monastery in Wittenberg be established as a hostel for the poor.

3) *Crucis* without addition is always *inventio crucis*, thus May 2. But this dating is impossible here because of the content, a proof that therefore also *Crucis* without appendix can be *exaltatio crucis* (Burkhardt, p. 120).

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 237d; in the Jena edition (1556), vol. III, p. 437; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 761; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 582; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 176, with the wrong date: "May 6," and likewise in the Erlangen edition,

Vol. 53, p. 402.

To My Most Gracious Lord, Duke John, Elector of Saxony 2c. To Sr. C. F. G. himself.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! E. C. F. G.. have recently donated the Barefoot Monastery there to the Council of Wittenberg for the sick; accordingly, we, the priest and I, together with the Council, have inspected it and found that Greger Bürger 1) has obtained from E. C. F. G. the best and most useful part, as well as the well, tubewells, bathrooms, brewery, and other common rooms and rooms, without which the other part of the monastery can be of little use. When we talked to him about it, he willingly offered to give it away for the benefit of the poor people, hoping that E. C. F. G. would pardon him with another one.

Because such a monastery, as an old princely burial place, is nowhere more cheaply used, after both Jews' and Gentiles' burial places are held in great honor, than that it be decreed for God's service and poor people, in whom Christ Himself is preached: for this reason, in addition to the council, my humble request is that E. C. F. G. may decree and give such a monastery, together with the room and building of Greger Bürgers, to our Lord Jesus Christ as a hostel and dwelling place for his poor members; for he says: "As you do it to the least of these, you do it to me" (Matth. 25,40.); and may also earnestly command the council to prepare it properly and without demolition, lest the claws of graspers fall on it and bite it down in time. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Monday after Crucis [16 Sept] Anno 1527.

E. C. F. G.

menial servant

D. Martinus Luther.

1) The locksmith at Wittenberg.

No. 1121 .

(Wittenberg.)

September 17, 1527.

To Johann Agricola.

From a Johann Mensarius and from Luther's writing to the Christians at Halle.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* Printed in the *Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie* 1872, 349 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 90.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother Johann Agricola, the wise educator of the youth at Eisleben.

Grace and peace in Christ! Of that Johannes Mensarius of whom you write, my dear Agricola, I do not know who and where he is, but wherever he is found, I will see to it that he is sent to you. For I did not want to hold out the messenger so long. I will write to those at Halle and refrain from mentioning the name of the bishop, but to conceal this is not honest, because the authorities, whoever they may be there, do not care, and let it go unavenged. The bishop may write, and one may believe that he is innocent, I allow that. But this murder is still not avenged, nor is the country cleansed of these blood debts (as the Scripture [Ps. 106, 38] speaks), but the blood still cries out to heaven [Gen. 4, 10]. He may have no knowledge of the deed, but the fact that it remained unpunished cannot be hidden from him. I pray that you and the church will not cease to pray for me, so that my Christ may tread Satan under my feet. On the day of Lamberti [Sept. 17] 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1122.

(Wittenberg.)

September 19, 1527.

To Johann Agricola.

About Johann Mensarius, whom Luther recommends as pastor in Hederleben. About the plague in Wittenberg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* Printed in *Aurifaber*, vol. II, p. 351 d; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 205 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 91. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1056.

Your brother Johann Agricola, teacher of the youth in Eisleben, who is highly esteemed in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! Behold, here comes that Johann Mensarius, about whom I answered you yesterday, and promised that I would send him; therefore, you will take pains that he be sent to those of Hedersleben. Besides, I have nothing to write about. The clamor about our plague is much greater than the plague itself, which comes from the flight and the outrageous fear of our people. This is how Satan plagues us: where he cannot rule sufficiently according to his pleasure through death, he rules through fear of death. Christ tread him under our feet, amen. Pray for us and be well in the Lord with Elsa and your children and all yours. Thursday after Lamberti [19 Sept.] 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1 123.

Jessen.

September 26, 1527.

Urban Sprecher, pastor at Jessen, to Luther.

About the occupation of the parish at Elster and the order of the income of the same by a contract between the old pastor Antonius Thome and the new one to be appointed, Wolfgang Schwan, which is to be secured by the Elector.

The village will fall back into the parish of the Elster. And because the above-mentioned priest is well by day, he Wolfgangus shall also curate the above-mentioned village of Ruesdorf for the rest of his life and provide it with sermons; so also, if possible, he Wolfgangus death would sooner depart, that the above-mentioned priest nevertheless keeps the village with the above-mentioned items and appendices If this can happen to him and is verified in writing, it shall all be in E. A. W.'s hands. A. W. hand. Herewith GOTte commanded. Pray God for me. From Jessen, Thursday after Mauritii [26 Sept.] in the 27th year.

The name of the priest [is] Antonius Thome. Urbanus Sprecher, parish priest at Jessen.

No. 1124.

(Zerbst.)

Sept. 29, 1527.

The Zerbst City Council to Luther.

(Regest.)

Since the preacher Niclas Pintzelt, whom Luther had sent to them (see No. 1055), does not want to remain in office any longer, but wants to leave at Michaelmas, and the pastor Johann Luckow has died, they ask Luther to send them another preacher.

Printed in Sintenis' *Denkschrift* zum 18. Febr. 1846, p. 28; in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 91 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 92.

No. 1125.

Wittenberg.

September 30, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks for confirmation of the contract between the outgoing and the incoming pastor at Elster.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, lieg. I^{VI}, p. 74, No. 59. 15. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 120 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 91.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, worthy Doctor! At present, Wolfgangus Schwan (Suän) of Niemeck (Nymigk) has been staying with me, and [has] indicated to E. A. W. Person that I should make an effort and make an effort with the pastor of Elster, so that he would be provided with the parish, as I did, and so far brought that said pastor in the village, located near Jessen, with the name Ruesdorf, and him attached desert brands, attracted, which all bears annually eight times and 2 bushels of grain. In addition, there remain 16 times of grain to the Elster and its adjoining villages and meadows, which he wants to leave with the parish, so E. A. W. by my most gracious lord wants to assure him in writing with letter and seal that [it] may be held on both parts; and after his death shall be given to the parish.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. LI*, p. 74, No. 59.15. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 121 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 94.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The matter of the Elster parish has been with me for a long time. Namely, because Antonius Thome, the current pastor of the Elster, is now almost incapable and unable, due to his age, to care for the parish, he has therefore negotiated with some that he wants to cede and concede to a more capable one, and in this he desires my counsel, whereupon I have myself admonished them among themselves to come to an agreement, as then, [when] E. C. F. G. from at the

1) will take place. Since they then desire all this my intercession, and I am inclined, where it is done so friendly among each other, to promote, so I ask, E. C. F. G. would confirm such their contract and assure with writings the two parts; because I respect the good man Wolfgang Swahn proficient enough, and has the most learned nun for wife, as is in the country, in Latin and otherwise, that if the man were not learned, his wife could well make him learned. E. C. F. G. will probably know how to keep to this, because this Wolfgang, like many others, has suffered great poverty so far, that he is well tempted with poverty. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Monday after Michaelmas [Sept. 30] 1527.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1126.

Torgau.

September 30, 1527.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector orders Luther and Bugenhagen to overlook the visitation articles discussed at Torgau; and especially to add a statement about the article on repentance and confession, so that the rejoicing of the papists can be countered.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji.* fol. 46, 4. 1527. 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 122 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 95.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! After you and the pastor of Wittenberg have recently been here on our council's letter and have overlooked and considered the trade concerning the visitation, along with others of our council and those we have received, and it was considered good at that time that the same trade, if it were to be rewritten, should be sent to you and Pomeran again, so that it could be further overlooked, we are therefore sending you such trade herewith. And it is our gracious request that you, in addition to the priest, read through and move it diligently once more, and what you will do about it or from it, that you will record and make known to us, [so] we will know how to show ourselves further, so that the trade will be promoted and then printed.

We also do not want to reassure you, in your gracious opinion, that it seems to us that the papists should

1) No. 1123.

2) Here we have deleted "to".

have some joy that this order of the visitation should go out in such a way as with titles of the repentance report. For they want to interpret this as if one now wants to fall back from previous teachings to their abuses. And even if the opinions under the titles mentioned do not compare with the abuses of the papists, which they have led up to now because of the report of repentance, we do not consider it unacceptable that you should have distinguished between the report of repentance and what is similar under a written title of the papists, and how this order speaks of it, with an explanation, so that their useless talk would be countered all the more with it 3) and that the same would be rejected, and that it would not compare with their opinion. You do us the favor of recognizing this with grace. Date Torgau, Monday after Michaelmas [September 30] Anno 1527.

No. 1127.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of September) 1527.

To the Christians of Halle.

See St. Louis ed. vol. X, 1960.

No. 1128.

(Wittenberg.)

(September?) 1527.

To Joh. Heß and the other preachers at Breslau.

See St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 2008.

No. 112S.

(Wittenberg.)

3. October 1527.

To Johann Agricola.

Luther asks him to take in the children of the apothecary Ignatius, whose wife, the sister of Agricola's wife, had died, during the time of the plague. Of his spiritual temptations.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzenb.* Printed in the *Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie* 1872, 349 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 99.

To his exceedingly dear brother in Christ, M. Johann Agricola, the faithful servant of God in the education of the souls of the youth at Eisleben.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus! This letter to you has caused me a somewhat sad distress.

3) "encountered" put by us instead of: "beanget".

I have forced you out of it. On my advice, Ignatius, your brother-in-law, comes to you and brings his children, so that they may be free of danger for a while, and he himself might not come under the bad reproach of being negligent as a stepfather. ¹⁾ For his wife Hanna, your sister-in-law, the sister of your Elsa, has gone to Christ through a good and holy end, as befits a woman who was well afflicted in this life to be called by Christ. You alone are the refuge for these poor, which God has prepared for these infants and orphans. And we will gladly assist you with advice and deed, when the bequeathed property is to be dealt with the Senate and the debts. In the meantime, I beg you, keep and care for [the children] until this little plague passes and they can return. The LORD will give thee as thou knowest thou art able, and even abundantly. Yea, thou shalt give thanks that thou art counted worthy by Christ to serve him in these arms. Comfort your Elsa with the very good and salutary death of her sister, as you will hear all from Ignatius himself. I have to deal with the evil spirits under heaven, who, if they cannot do it by force, hope to ruin by constant persistence and impiety. But our prayers and those of the brethren will accomplish what they accomplish by Christ's grace, amen. Fare well in the Lord. My Käthe greets you and your Elsa. Thursday after Michaelmas [Oct. 3] 1527.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1130.

(Wittenberg.) October 6, 1527.

To Severinus, an Austrian monk.

Luther admonishes him to give up the monastic life.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 351 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 207 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 100. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1057.

To the Austrian Severinus.

God's grace and peace through Christ! Here, my dearest Severinus, you must truly see for yourself what you do; for what better counselor could you call upon in such a great matter than your own conscience? This will tell you everything in your ear: first, how highly you should regard Jerome's opinion of the monastic life in the letter to Heliodorus,³⁾ then your weakness, then your old and helpless father; second, how highly you should regard it, even if the mob, after its sacrilege, should say that you have thrown off the garment pleasing to God; Finally, what is a right profession, and again, whether it is not to be considered the greatest danger that you, against your conscience, so often say mass in such an ungodly manner, yes, crucify your God, Christ? For what do you want to pretend here, wretched man? then, why do you not rather consider it an ungodliness, if you stay longer in this Babylon, than a presumption, if you go out? For, if you want to hear me speak more expansively to you: first of all, in this matter I give nothing at all to Jerome, since I see, although he is a great man in many other things, that here, however, he has had absolutely no Christian judgment in regard to the monastic life and the celibate state. For he who dared to compare the monastic life with baptism was completely nonsensical and also lacked common sense, so that one would like to say that it was rather a clod than a *beast who had* gossiped about such things. How, then, will you believe Jerome, who speaks such ungodly things against God, who commands that parents be held in the highest honor immediately after him? And wilt thou rather hear Jerome, who so often errs, who so often lacks, in short, a man, than God Himself? Therefore, go now and hold for it, as Jerome writes, that one must trample parents underfoot in order to break out into the. To break out into the desert. Thus

3) Hieran. ep. 14. in Misgne, Patrol. lat. XXII, 348. The passages attracted by Luther are § 2: *Recordare tyrocinii tui diem, quo Christo in baptisate consepultus, in sarcamenti verba iurasti: pro nomine ejus non te matri parcuturum esse, non patri; unċ per calcatum perge patrem.*

1) The pharmacist Ignatius had married his wife as the widow of the town clerk of Wittenberg, M. Andreas Meinhard, who died in 1524.
2) In the manuscript there is an illegible word here. We have assumed *libenter*.

then there will also be no weakness in this piece that it could be considered against the Lord. For thus says the Lord to Paul in the Epistles to the Corinthians [2 Cor. 12:9], "My power is mighty in the weak." But so that even your helpless father is not to be esteemed higher than God's honor, you know the word of Christ in Matthew and Lucas [Matth. 10, 37. Luc. 14, 26.], that he who loves his parents more is not worthy of him, he cannot be his disciple. Moreover, if some have unseemly cast off the garment, let them see for themselves. But if you kept yours,¹⁾ since perhaps God's word is not so unknown to you, what would that be other than that you nevertheless wanted to keep up hypocrisy longer with these larvae? For if everything does not deceive me, then even if the whole world contradicts you in this, only your conscience will retain the victory against the judgment of the whole world. I can be deceived, but God, who searches the hearts, never ever.

But as far as the calling is concerned, I would also advise you to wait for the will of the Lord; for this was that I did not want you to be called, but rather to be called out in this way, unless by the will of God, by the people calling, whom you should serve in the office of the Word. But now, does not what you oppose, already by yourself, whether you want it or not, reveal that you remain in the monastic life with a not so good conscience after the gospel has been revealed? For how? then you will say mass longer, and meanwhile, if it pleases GOtte, you refuse to be a preacher of the divine word? What, I ask you, can you say here with a sure conscience? Hereafter you see what presumption it could be considered, if you take off the monk, who is never commanded by God, never appointed, never indicated, never described. Read Isaiah, cap. 29 [v. 13.], Matth. 15 [v. 8. f.], Marc. 7 [v. 6. f.], for there you will see how high human statutes are to be held, and yet we are still in such filthy muck.

1) Instead of: *Tuum vero* we have: *Tuam vero, si retineres*. It is obvious that a supplement is necessary.

Here, therefore, I wish that Christ would be completely gracious to you and make clear to you everything that is still in darkness there, for I hope that something of the splendor and the will and the goodness of God has enlightened you. In short, this is my opinion: Above all, God must be called upon so that you can completely surrender to His words and will, for in this way you will counsel yourself and your father through faith. For thou knowest the passage in the Acts of the Apostles [Cap. 16, 30. f.], that Paul said to the jailer, who asked him the way to salvation, "Believe on the LORD JESum, for so shalt thou and all thy house be saved." For what wilt thou fear, that either thou or thy father shall die of hunger, that believeth on GOD? You will sooner see heaven fall than believers should lack food, for you know the exceedingly rich promise of Christ, Matt. 6:33: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." What now the Lord has given me so far, I will plead [for you], that he deliver you as soon as possible from this monastic life, from the quite proper, all-deceptive larva of hypocrisy. For what shall I flatter here? what shall I say pleasant things? did not Christ command, Matt. 24:15 f., "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, that it shall stand in the holy place, then let them which are in the land of Judaea flee unto the mountains"? Do we not already see that abomination of desolation? and yet you would still have misgivings about fleeing from there? But nevertheless consult the Lord seriously before you leave the monastic life. For if thou believest not Christ, who, as thou knowest, saith [John 14:6], "I am the way, and the truth, and the life," more than the whole world, I would (as they say) wash a brick, though I wrote much more. Fare well in the Lord and pray for us. In haste. On the Sunday after Remigius [Oct. 6] 1527. 2) Yours, Martin Luther.

2) Here Aurifaber and De Wette still have the addition: "1. Octobris", the date of Remigiusstag. This does not come from Luther.

(Wittenberg.)

October 8, 1527.

To Michael Stiesel in Tolleth.

Of the history of Leonhard Kaiser sent to Luther (see No. 1086) and the writings of Erasmus, Zwingli and Oecolampad. He sends him the Latin translation of the *Octonarius* (119th Psalm).

Manuscript at Copenhagen in the old royal library, 1393, fol. 128 and at Dresden in *Cod. Solger*, C 351, fol. 35 b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 353; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 209 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 103. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1060, - The Erl. Briefw., that this letter is found in the Wittenberg edition, vol. IX, p. 243 d, is erroneous; this proof should rather have been placed with the letter to Stiefel of Oct. 22, where it is missing.

Grace and peace! My dear Michael, I received your letter together with Leonhard Kaiser's history. Although another one, which has been printed elsewhere, has preceded it, one will nevertheless make an effort that yours will also be printed again, as much as we think good. The Erasmus viper has concocted two hyperaspistes 1) or rather hyperaspides against me, which are truly viper-poisonous and over-viper-poisonous; then Zwingli and Oecolampad do not stop either; I will see what Christ will give against them. But since you write that my booklet has been snatched from you, I will not send it, but I wonder who has caught the one I sent to you; but I will send the octonary 2) of David. For I have been suffering almost three months, not so much in body as in spirit, so that I have written nothing or little; so Satan has shaken me in his sieve. Please pray to the Lord for me, that He may uphold me, as He does. My K the sends you her love. You may send many greetings to your mistress from us. Farewell in Christ. October 8, 1527.

Martin Luther.

1) The second book of the *Hyperaspistes diatribae* appeared in September 1527, after the first part had already been published in 1526. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 67.

2) That is, the 119th Psalm. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. V, 1252, note.

Wittenberg.

October 9, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks for the employment of Stephan Gratz as pastor at Schwanbeck.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, p. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, 48; in Walch, vol. XXI, 217; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 210 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 408.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The castle owner of Beltitz 3) has asked me to prescribe this letter pointer, Stephan Gretz,⁴⁾ , so that he may obtain the vacated parish of Schwanbeck, as his letter herewith indicates. Because he has been the chaplain at Beltitz, where he is a fine priest, I believe he will not have an unfit chaplain. And because the people themselves ask for him, even though he is close to Beltitz, I think it should go well: therefore I ask, as I am asked, that E. C. F. G. would graciously command him such a parish, so that the people no longer remain without a pastor. It is a poor parish and a little house should have come from it, which E. C. F. G. could also order, and what more justice belongs to it, to bring back to it. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Wednesday Dionysius [Oct. 9] 1527.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

(Wittenberg.)

October 12, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2185.

3) On October 2, Nicolaus Luterot, the Belzig castle owner, wrote to Luther in the name of the judges and the community of the village of "Schwaneburg" and asked for Stephan Gratz as pastor.

4) In the album: *Steffanus de Aschersleben*, immatriculiert on Nov. 16, 1518.

No. 1134.

(Wittenberg.)

October 19, 1527.

To Justus Jonas in Nordhausen. ¹⁾

From Erasmus' Hyperaspistes. Luther's state of health is not yet satisfactory. About the plague in Wittenberg.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 353 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 212 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 105. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1061.

Grace and peace through Christ! I wish you luck, best Jonas, because of your retraction, in which you finally paint that Erasmus of yours with his right colors, the adder, full of deadly spines, rightly recognize, whom you praised before in many respects. 2) I am glad that you have profited so much by reading the One Hyperaspistes and have changed your judgment about him. And when I read this part of your letter to my wife, she immediately said: "Has not theur man become a toad? Behold!" She is also pleased that you agree with me about Erasmus. You realize, my dear Jonas, that those who prescribed that no one should be praised before his end were certainly right. But enough of that.

The Lord has not yet completely restored me to my former health, indeed, according to the counsel of His good will, He leaves me in the hands of Satan's angel to be beaten and attacked; but in the meantime the helping and protecting Lord does not elude me. In addition, two days ago I had a severe pain in my gums (as it seems), which troubled me very much in the beginning, but now I have it to a lesser extent; therefore, do not stop praying to the Lord for us. Hear this about our plague; in the hospital, during the whole time of the plague, not more than fifteen died, while in total about a hundred were brought there. Then, out of 40 people who were treated by M. Bohemus, no more than

1) Jonas had gone to his hometown Nordhausen, where he stayed because of the plague from mid-August 1527 until the end of January 1528. As Jonas wrote to Lang on Oct. 17, Luther had already written two letters to him there; they are lost.

2) Earlier, Jonas had been a great admirer of Erasmus, and in 1519 had even gone from Erfurt to Antwerp to see him, had also often praised him against Luther (cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 415, § 6), but now he changed his judgment.

Only six of them died. Thus, even in the midst of death, the Lord is with us as Savior and Salvation. We pray with all our heart and mind to God and the Father of mercies to take away this plague from us for the glory of His name, so that our enemies will not rejoice over us. And also dll not cease to pray, especially since you see these fruits of prayer, that out of such a large! Number of disease cases so few die. Fare well. You will greet the child 3) with many kisses instead of me and my little house, who today has learned to poop alone with bent knees in every corner, yes, he has indeed pooped with extraordinary busyness in every corner. He would have told me more about you if he had had time, because he was soon bathed and went to sleep. Don't be surprised that I write about pooping, another time I will write about other things. My Käthe sends you her love and asks that you pray for her, since she will soon be in childbirth. ⁴⁾ Christ be with her. One thing I want is that it not be hidden from you, that you see that our prayers are not in vain. Bohemus lost only eight patients out of 48; there were only 15 deaths in the hospital during the whole plague period, although over a hundred who were brought in and came in were lying there, so that you can see that Christ hears those who pray. This is certain and true. Joh. Weber has been speechless and without hope for five days now, but his Dorothea, who lay down with him with little hope for life, is beginning to revive and will live. Greetings to your Käthe and all. On Saturday after Lucas [Oct. 19] 1527.
Martin Luther.

No. 1135

(Wittenberg.)

October 22, 1527.

To Michael Stiefel in Tollest.

Luther informs him that in addition to the history of Kaiser sent by Stiefel, he has also received Kaiser's own manuscripts through his relative, which will be published shortly. Luther complains about his temptations and praises Leonhard Kaiser.

3) In the text: *tuum Dictative*, which Walch gave in this way; we do not know any better.

4) This did not occur until December 10.

Manuscript at Copenhagen in the old royal library, 1393, fol. 129 and at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod.*

Aug. 11. 10, fol. 235d. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 354d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 213 s. and in Er, *langer Briefwechsel*, vol. VI, p. 107. German in the Wittenberg edition, vol. IX, p. 243d; in the Jena (1556), vol. III, p. 455; in Walch, vol. XXI, 211 and (duplicate) Col. 1063, and in the *Historie von Kaisers Märtyrertod* in the Altenburger, vol. III, p. 780 and in the Leipziger, vol. XIX, p. 577. - All references to the locations in the German editions are missing from the Erl. Briefw., with the exception of "Walch, XXI, 1063."

Grace and peace! I have, my dear Michael, received your histories from Leonhard Kaiser, but in the meantime also from his uncle all manuscripts of Leonhard himself. I will now publish them soon, Christ grant his grace. By the way, pray for me, who am being beaten hard with fists by Satan's angel, that Christ may not abandon me. Oh, over me wretched, who am so unlike Leonhard: I am an eloquent preacher, he a mighty doer of the word. Who will make me worthy to overcome Satan and depart from this life not with a twofold spirit, but only with half of his spirit? Praise be to God, who has shown us unworthy ones, among so many abominations, at least this One glorious sound play of His grace, so that it may not seem as if He had abandoned us altogether. Pray for me, Brother Michael, Christ grant that we too may follow Leonhard. He is not only called a king, but rightly an emperor (Caesar), because he defeated him whose power is not equal to any other on earth. He is not only a priest, but also a high priest and a right priest, because he gave his body to God for such a pleasing, living and holy sacrifice (Rom. 12,1.). Yes, he is also rightly called Leonhard, which is lion strength; certainly he was a strong and undaunted lion; all names point to his fortune. He first consecrated and fulfilled his family name.

My almost stammering Hänschen thanks your mistress and sends her greetings; I and my Käthe also pray for her that she will be well in Christ together with her children. Pommer loves you very much and sends you his greetings. Fare well in Christ. Tuesday after Lucä [Oct. 22] 1527.

Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1136.

October 27, 1527.

To Melanchthon in Jena.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2630, annex, no. 121.

No. 1137.

27 October 1) 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther recommends M. Augustin Himmel as preacher in Neustadt a. O.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, LI, pag. 161, No. 114. 1. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 124 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 142.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Magister Philippus has written to me from Jena that I should take pains to notify E. C. F. G. of a preacher in the new town, and he himself calls Magister Augustinus Himmel (Hymel) and considers him capable there. If he pleases E. C. F. G., then I ask that E. C. F. G. will appoint him there, and have the writing or letters brought forth with this messenger, or otherwise, because he is a fine, quiet, sedate, learned, pious man, and is well tried and known with us in Wittenberg, and now provides the preaching ministry at the castle there. I would have sent him to Torgau myself, but he is currently under arrest and cannot leave because his wife is ill. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday after Crispini [Oct. 27] 1527.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1137.

November 1, 1527.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther reported that his house was full of sick people.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 344b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 216 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. III. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1047.

1) Crispinus is October 25, therefore the Sunday after it is October 27. Burkhardt and the Erlangen correspondence have the date: "December 1". The latter later recognized this error and corrected it, Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VIII, p. 347, note 1.

Grace and peace! As it pleases the Lord, so it happens, my dear Amsdorf, that I, who used to comfort everyone, am in need of all comfort myself. This one thing I ask, and you will ask it with me, that my Christ do with me what pleases him, only may he protect me so that I do not become ungrateful and an enemy of him whom I have so far preached and worshipped with such great zeal and fervor, even though I have meanwhile offended him 1) with many and great sins. Satan desires that Job be given to him anew [Job, Cap. 2], and to sift Peter together with the brethren (Luc. 22, 31.); but Christ deigns to say to him [Job 2, 6.], "Spare his life," and to say to me [Ps. 35, 3.], "I am thy help," as I still hope that he will not be eternally angry at my sins. I wish to answer the Sacramentarians, but if I do not become stronger in spirit, I will not be able to do anything, I will keep your copy, but I will return it in its time.

In my house it has begun to be a hospital. Hanna, Augustin's 2) wife, has had the plague internally, but is getting better. Margaretha Mochin 3) has frightened us with a suspicious ulcer and other signs, although she is also getting better. I fear very much for my Kätke, who is close to giving birth, because my little son has also been ill for three days, does not eat anything, and is in a bad way. They say it is the eruption of the teeth, and it is believed that both are in great danger. For the wife of Capellan Georg,⁴⁾ who is also close to childbirth, has been seized by the plague, and they are now trying to find a way to save the child. May the Lord Jesus mercifully help her. So there are internal struggles, internal fears, and even hard ones, Christ is haunting us. It is a consolation that we oppose the raging Satan, namely, that we at least have the

1) The reading *non sine* is so offensive to us that we have adopted *sane* instead. Even to your old translator it did not seem right.

2) Augustin Schurs, professor of medicine in Wittenberg.

3) Margaretha von Mochau from Segrehn, probably a sister of Carlstadt's wife.

4) Rörer. His wife, Bugenhagen's sister, died on Nov. 2.

Word of God to preserve the souls of those who believe, however much he may devour the bodies. Therefore, may you commend us to the brethren and to yourself, that you pray for us, that we may suffer the hand of the LORD valiantly, and overcome Satan's power and wiles, whether by death or by life, amen. Wittenberg, on the Day of All Saints [Nov. 1], in the tenth year after the indulgence came to ground, in memory of which we drink at this hour, comforted on both sides. 1527.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1138.

(Wittenberg.)

4. November 1527.

To Justus Jonas in Nordhausen.

News about the dead and sick in Wittenberg.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 356 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 217 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 113. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1065.

To Doctor Justus Jonas, who is in hiding in Nordhausen.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I really have nothing to write about, my dear Jonas, I who can hardly breathe because of restlessness and pusillanimity of spirit. I was almost lost on Saturday, when the wife of Capellan George had a miscarriage, and she herself immediately followed the child and died, and that of a twofold death, first through the pain of childbirth, then poisoned to the utmost by the poison of the plague; and Christ heard neither our tears nor our prayers for her preservation at that time. But this gave some comfort that she went to Christ in a very good end, that is, full of faith and spirit. Since everyone was moved by terror, I took the priest and his family to my home. My Kätke is still strong in faith and healthy in body. My little house has been ill for eight days with a doubtful illness (as I almost suspect [of the illness] of this time), but they say it is the eruption of the teeth, and so they believe. According to the Capellan's wife, no death occurred yesterday or today.

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Christ grant that this may be the end of the plague. In the fishermen's suburb the plague has already ceased, and there the weddings are beginning anew, and they are resuming their amusements, but nothing certain can be promised. For eight days ago the plague had almost ceased in the city, so that there was hardly a death every day, but suddenly, as the air changed, within two days there were twelve deaths in one day, although most of them were children. Augustin's wife lay eight days and longer with an internal ulcer, and nothing other than the plague can be suspected, but she is recovering. In the same way, Margaretha Mochin is lying down with me; they say it is a disease of her rule, but they fear it is the plague. So, if you look at the suspicion, I am in the midst of the plague in my house, but if you look at the matter, it is life and salvation, albeit a contested one. I will have 1) commended us to your prayers. Dorothea's husband 2) has died, she is in any case out of danger, although an ulcer remains stubbornly unresolved, neither receding nor ripening. My Kätke sends you her regards and explains why you did not come to visit us, since there is peace within our borders. Greetings from Pommer, who today took a purgative to purify his body (*cacator purgandus factus*). Christ be with us, Amen. 1527 on Monday after All Saints' Day (Nov. 4). Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1139.

(Wittenberg.)

November 7, 1527.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

About the visitation and Luther's situation in Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 36. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 23. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 357; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 219 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VI, p. 114. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1066 f.

1) In the Erlangen Briefw. (due to a printing error) *non* instead of *nos*.
2) Johann Weber; see No. 1134.

To the highly venerable man in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful bishop of the church in Zwickau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! The visitation that has begun will not be abandoned, my dear Nicolaus, as far as I have understood, so let us have good hope, even though the adversaries may say whatever they want. We hope that the plague will end here, although it plagues us in many ways: sometimes it rages, sometimes it is mild. We are in various fears: I, through my own affliction, then through the care of my wife, who is about to give birth; you pray for us. I have had the plague in my house three times. My son has been ill for more than eight days, that he has not eaten anything and has been nourished by drinks alone, so that I despaired; now he is beginning to feel better. I have been troubled for many months now by restlessness and faintheartedness of spirit, since Christ wills it so; you pray that my faith may not cease [Luc. 22, 32]. My Kätke sends I don't know what money to buy linen for it; I didn't want to burden you with this effort. Pommer, who lives with me, sends you his best regards, not for his sake but for mine, even though the plague has taken the wife of the chaplain in the parish, so that he may be the comrade of my loneliness. My Kätke also sends you her greetings and commends herself to your prayers in Christ Jesus. Farewell, dearest brother. Thursday after All Saints' Day [November 7] 1527. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1140.

(Wittenberg.)

November 9, 1527.

To Andreas Kaugisdorf in Eilenburg.

Luther admonishes him to be compatible with his fellow officers.

Handwritten in *Cod Jen.* B 24. u. Printed in De Wette, vol. III, L 219 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 115.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have also written to you before, 3) my dear An

3) No. 1082.

dreas, about the question between you and the preacher Juno at the church in front of the castle, so that peace and love among you would be strengthened. Now I am compelled to write again because it has been reported to me that you are not on good terms with M. Aegidius either, and that complaints have arisen among you, especially against you, as if you were acting in a less than friendly and brotherly manner with him, charging him with I do not know what kind of spitefulness. But you, my dear brother, who know the thoughts of Satan, since he seeks to arouse infinite evil from small causes, and breaks in by seeking whom he may devour, do not despise the weaker brethren's complaints or offence, but rather see to it for Christ's sake, Rather, for the sake of Christ, see to it that you surpass them in kindness and love and thereby overcome them if there is any weakness or offense in them, so that I will not be so compelled to hear complaints against you, as you know and can know from the holy Scriptures through the grace of Christ even without me. I already have enough to complain about, so that your disagreements do not plague me as well. Do so, my dear brother, that we may rather rejoice over you in Christ, who is with you with his peace, amen. On the Saturday after St. Leonard [Nov. 9] 1527.

Your M. L.

No. 1141.

(Wittenberg.) (November 11, 1527, or shortly thereafter.)

To Justus Jonas in Nordhausen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2645, annex, no. 130.

No 1142.

(Wittenberg.) November 12, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Request for employment of a displaced person as a pastor.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, N 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 48, No. 58; in Walch, vol. XXI, 218; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 223, with the wrong date: "November 19," and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 410.

To My Most Gracious Lord, Duke John, Elector of Saxony 2c. To Sr. C. F. G. Handen.

Suppl. Mart. Luth.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Here He Werner Stechau, a fine man, who had recently been granted the parish of Lüttau by E. C. F. G., has agreed with He Peter Ehlen, so that he ceded the previous parish of Buchholz and Ludersdorf, and until E. C. F. G.'s order grant him and leave it. Now, however, the aforementioned Werner has been driven out of the market for the sake of the Gospel, and has had to leave everything to his own people in a somewhat respectable manner, as a canon of Brandenburg, and thus live in misery and poverty: my humble request is that E. C. F. G. would pardon him with the same parish; for who knows what he would still be useful for? He would be worth much better, but because nothing else is available, he must suffer hardship until [it] becomes better. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Tuesday after Martinmas [Nov. 12] 1527.

E. C. F.G.
subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1143.

(Wittenberg.) , November 17, 1527.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther gives thanks for comfort received.

Handwritten at Zurich in Simler's collection, vol. 19. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 357 f.; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 222 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 119. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1068.

Grace and peace in Christ! So may our Christ comfort you again, my dear Nicolaus, as you comfort me. I, who am a sinner, give thanks to my Lord that he has not yet allowed Satan to fulfill his will on me, no matter how much he has sought to do so with strange and great power and cunning. You pray that Christ may prevail in me to the end against his attempt. Indeed, I suspect that not some common devil, but the chief of the devils himself has risen against me, so great is his power.

is his power and wisdom, which is exceedingly armed with Scripture, so that if I do not hang on the words of another, my knowledge of the Scriptures is not sufficient. I say this so that you may pray for me all the more, and when the fall comes, you may know the depth of Satan (as they say) [Revelation 2:24]. My Kätke began to feel contractions today; Christ help the woman in childbirth, amen. On the Sunday after Martinmas [Nov. 17] 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1144.

(Wittenberg.)

November 21, 1527.

To Friedrich Pistorius, Abbot in Nuremberg.

About a certain Joh. Hofmann, against whom Luther, on Pistorius' recommendation, declared himself willing to do all favors.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 358; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 224 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 120. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1069.

Grace and peace in Christ JEsu! You make my little one too great against you, my dear father; God would that I could do something worthy of your so great gratitude and love. Hofmann 1) did not come to me, but stayed in Jena and sent me a letter. Therefore, I do not quite understand what you have instructed him to do; but if he will come and talk to me, it shall be done. For I too will do nothing better than to serve you and men like you in Christ, if I am worthy and able to do so, not only out of reverence for my Christ and who reigns in you, but also because of my need, so that through your prayers and your faith I may be helped in my trials. Therefore, I commend myself to your holy prayers and those of your brethren. This recently; the hurry of the carriage compels me to break off, at other times, God willing, more. Thursday after Elizabeth [Nov. 21] 1527.

Martin Luther.

1) Brother Johann Hofmann from Nuremberg, an Augustinian, was first immatriculated in Wittenberg in Nov. 1520 and came to Schwabach as a pastor in 1524. With the support of Pistorius, he went to Wittenberg again to continue his studies, where he became a master on Sept. 15, 1528.

No. 1145.

(Wittenberg.)

November 22, 1527.

All Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Of Luther's books to be sent, of his literary works, and of the plague.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 3585; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 224 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 121. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1069.

Grace and peace! Behold, I break silence, my dearest Wenceslaus, and what is it to wonder if I remain silent? By the mercy of God, I am quite well in what I live according to the body, but what I am or do according to the spirit, I myself do not know for sure. What the world does, the pope, the emperor, the kings, I care little for; I sigh for Christ and his grace to blessedness. I have certainly ordered my Wolfgang to send to Endrissus 2) and to you the books that you wanted; and if that does not prevent this letter from being delivered at the very hour in which I received yours, I have again ordered him to have them ready. But I mean to have sent thee anew the whole of Genesis 3), and I am almost certain but I send it again altogether, or will send it. The Zechariah I have almost finished. 4) I answer the enthusiasts once again with the confession of my faith. 5) Satan is bent on it and would like me to write nothing more, but to go with him to hell; Christ tread him down, amen. You also pray for me, my dear brother. There would be no pestilence among us if the rumor that we are suffering from the pestilence did not give us a bad name; so kindly does Christ deal with us in a wonderful way. About 15 have died in the hospital, while more than 100 sick people have been brought in; most of the patients have died.

2) See. No. 1098 - Aurifaber reads *Bidisso* instead of *Endrissus*.

3) St. Louis Edition, Vol. III, 1, the sermons on Genesis 1.

4) It came out at the end of Dec. 1527. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 1768.

5) Luther's so-called Great Confession of the Lord's Supper, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 894. It appeared in March 1528.

The people who died are children. My wife is near her delivery, pray for her. Fare well in your Lord with your own. Friday after Elizabeth [22 Nov] Anno 1527.

No. 1146.

(Wittenberg.)

November 27, 1527.

To Eberhard Brisger in Altenburg.

Luther gives thanks for the consolation he received, asks for further intercession in his temptations, and gives several messages.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Gud.* 214, fol. 635, and in two other incomplete copies. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 359; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 235, incomplete; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 225 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VI, p. 122. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1070 f.

Semem brother in Christo, M. Eberhard Brisger, the exceedingly faithful evangelist in Altenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ JESu! You comfort me through your letter, my dear Eberhard, for which I thank you. The Lord comfort you again in due time, but I add this one thing, that you may pray earnestly to the Lord for me, because I am weak, that I may not be forsaken full of Christ. I know that I need to be challenged so that I may be humbled and God may be glorified in me, but that I may not succumb. I truly believe that Satan is raging against me, for I have done and said and written many things against him, but this is my comfort, when I firmly believe that these very things have pleased the Lord and His anointed. So I am tossed about in the midst of these two vile princes and crushed quite miserably. But I still hope to please my Christ, even though I have done and do many things that are Satan's, for he is merciful and forgiving; but whatever I sin against Satan is done for Christ; I am not sorry, nor do I ask forgiveness, since he is a murderer and the father of lies.

Therefore, I command myself to your prayers and those of the brethren, all the more so since you yourself recognize that I am seriously desired by Satan, who rages with unbelievable anger and fury, which I am very much compelled to feel.

It is to be marveled at how he pretends to Christ Himself (2 Cor. 11,14.), yes, to God Himself (to say nothing of an angel of light), and uses all his powers against me to destroy me. But Christ has still faithfully preserved me, who will also preserve me to the end, so that the enemy will not boast of his power, amen. In Him, be at ease with your Margaretha. Bruno's son has also died. ¹⁾ A son Johannes was born to your father-in-law, and I have become his godfather. My Kätke is expecting her birth at any hour. Pray for us. Augustin's wife has recovered. Margaretha Mochin has barely escaped death. ²⁾ On Wednesday after Catharina [Nov. 27] 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1147.

Torgau.

November 28, 1527.

To Johann Brenz in Schwäbisch-Hall.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2632, annex, no. 122.

No. 1148.

(Wittenberg.)

November 29, 1527.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther asks him to return to Wittenberg and gives news from there.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 3595; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 241 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 126. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1072.

Grace and peace in the Lord! That you pray for me, my dear Jonas, and do this diligently, you are doing a thing that is necessary for me poor sacrifice of Christ [1 Cor. 4:13], again I pray for you from the bottom of my heart that Christ may have mercy on you, for I hear that you are again heavily afflicted with the stone. I would almost advise you to return to us in the near future, since our

¹⁾ This news makes the date of this letter doubtful, since Luther writes in the postscript to the letter of Nov. 29 to Jonas that Bruno's Sohnlein is dying. Perhaps this letter is also from the same date, and made from *Feria VI: Feria IV.*

²⁾ This sentence is only in two manuscripts. This passage seems to indicate that this letter is later than letter No. 1148.

The plague has been alleviated by Christ's grace, at least our inhabitants are resuming weddings and are beginning to be safe, as if the plague had been overcome. Then, after the death of Ignatius' wife and John, Dorothea's husband, your region has remained almost pure, as far as the parish and the market. May the Lord counsel you to do what pleases Him and is beneficial to you, amen. Give my best regards to your Kätke and little Justus. ¹⁾ Augustin's wife has come back. If Margaretha Mochin gets through, she will get through with difficulty, but we hope she will stay alive. She has been down for about 7 weeks, is deprived of hearing and talks with much difficulty. My Kätke is expecting her birth at any hour, Christ be merciful to her, amen. On the day before St. Andrew's Day [Nov. 29, 1527] Martin Luther.

2) We still have your house clean, as well as the whole Coswig area, therefore, since you are absent, I have put the wife of the other Capellan Johann 3) and her children in as your hostess, because this woman was extremely distraught about the departure of her lost collegium 4) so that she could not be comforted in any other way; but the Capellans themselves both remain in the parish and sleep there. Therefore, see to it that you interpret this necessary audacity of mine, which interferes with your affairs, for the best, but with the promise that if the plague should also affect any of them there, I will bring them back to the parish as soon as possible. So may Christ make you happy in Nordhausen with a Hanseatic League, while we enjoy yours here in this distress. Our Bruno's son will hardly survive today, the little child is fighting with death. Farewell in Christ.

1) Justus Jonas the Younger, born Dec. 3, 1525, beheaded in Copenhagen June 28, 1567 (cf. *Eberl. Calend.* 219. 385). (Erl. Briefw.)

2) The Erlangen correspondence assumes, because the date of No. 1146, which is attested by several manuscripts, seems more certain to him than that of this postscript, that Aurifaber arbitrarily added this postscript, which may have been a piece of an incomplete letter written on Nov. 26 or 27.

3) Joh. coat.

4) of Mrs. Rörers.

No. 1149.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of November 1527.)

To Carlstadt.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 324.

No. 1140.

(Wittenberg.)

2. December 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for a pastor imprisoned for wrong judgment in a matrimonial case.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 238; in the Jena edition (1556), vol. III, p. 438; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 808; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 553; in Walch, vol. XXI, 218; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 242 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 413.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn 2c. E. C. F. G. have had the priest of N. 5) sentenced to N. because of his judgment, which he rendered carelessly in a matrimonial matter. But because he confesses his guilt, as it is not well done, and thus humbly offers himself for correction, he is worthy of forgiveness and grace. So I humbly ask that E. C. F. G. be merciful to the poor man and release him, considering that he is a good and honest friend here in Wittenberg, for the sake of which reputation, admonished by such a serious punishment, he will doubtless take better care from now on. Satan has easily led a man into disgrace and dishonor, especially those who are to preside over others, as we well know every day. Therefore, it is no wonder that he has also hurried this good pastor with this matter and led him into disgrace. E. C. F. G. will, I hope, graciously stand against him. Hereby commanded to God, Amen. Monday after St. Andrew's [Dec. 2] Anno 1527.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

5) It seems to have been the priest in Düben, of whom *Manlius, loc. comm. Coll.*, p. 338, who was imprisoned at Torgau.

No 1 151.

Wittenberg.

December 5, 1527.

To the Zerbst City Council.

After the departure of Nicolaus Pintzelt, Luther promises to send another preacher. - This letter is the answer to No. 1124.

The original is in the Rathsarchiv at Zerbst. Printed in Sintenis' Denkschrift 1846, p. 30; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 83 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 172.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Zerbst, my favorable dear gentlemen and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable and wise dear lords and friends! I have heard that E. I have heard that E. W. has requested me through your skilful mayor and friend of the town council. Therefore, I am willing to serve E. W. and the common people of Zerbst 1) and to send, if I can, a preacher or pastor, who will teach and sit as much as possible. Please be patient for a short time. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Thursday after St. Andrew's [Dec. 5] 1527. Martinus Luther.

No. 1152.

Berlin.

December 7, 1527.

Margaretha Blankenfeld 2) to Luther.

She reported to Luther that her daughter Catharina, wife of Wolf Hornung, wished with all her heart to live together again with her husband, from whom she had been deprived by Joachim I, Elector of Brandenburg.

The original is in the State Archives at Marburg. Printed in Kolde, [^]nuleotu, p. 92 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 143.

- 1) Here we have deleted a superfluous "I".
- 2) Margaretha Blankenfeld was the widow of the mayor of Berlin, Thomas Blankenfeld, who died in 1504. Her daughter Catharina was married to Wolf Hornung, a respectable citizen of Cologne on the Spree, but lived with the Elector Joachim I in adulterous relations. During a dispute about this, Wolf stabbed his wife with a knife, therefore he had to swear an oath of secrecy and leave the territory of the Elector on March 22, 1525. He stayed for some time in Mansfeld and fed himself with his own work. Finally the conscience of the unfaithful woman stirred and she presented her case to Luther. The latter had Hornung summoned to Wittenberg, informed him of his wife's request for readmission, and persuaded him to write to his wife that God may lead her to the realization of her guilt; if she knows a means to get away from the tyrant,

To the highly esteemed, worthy and respectable Mr. Martino Luther, the divine Scripture Doctor, my favorable patron and sponsor.

My poor sinful prayer against God is your respectable dignity all the time before. Most honorable, worthy and respectable Lord! So you have written to me, I have noted the contents, and understand, praise God! not otherwise, than that the person 3) has put all her desires there, and asks God and lets ask, that God from heaven would let her come again to the place to her husband, so she is ordained by God. ⁴⁾ And will have asked E. A. W., so the one, 5) reported in E. If God from Heaven would give His divine grace, [that] the two persons would again be gathered in Christian order and love; and therefore [I] do not want to spare any effort to ask the Almighty besides the other people. God be commanded! Date Berlin, on the Saturday after Nicolai [Dec. 7] in the 27th. Margaretha,

widow Thomas Blanckfeld.

Worthy Lord! Let E. A. W. not be displeased with my answer, even if it is not formal, because I am once again, praise God, burdened with a new challenge in all things, for the sake of my son, the bishop,⁶⁾, as E. A. W. will probably learn. Therefore, God asks for patience on my behalf, for He sees all our works.

No. 1 153.

(Wittenberg.)

December 10, 1527.

To Justus Jonas at Nordhausen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2228.

No. 1154.

(Wittenberg.)

December 13, 1527.

To Spalatin.

About an intercession with the Elector; about a letter to be arranged, and news.

she should report it to Luther. Luther sent this letter to Hornung's mother-in-law. Our letter is the answer to it. An Actenfascikel in the state archives in Marburg contains a large number of documents that refer to this case.

- 3) her daughter.
- 4) "let", set by us, is meant in any case. Original: "made".
- 5) Wolf Hornung.
- 6) Her son John, Bishop of Riga, died of poison at Torquemada in Spain on Sept. 9.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 257. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 57; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 245 f. and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 149. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1075.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Bishop of Altenburg, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I write to the prince, my dear Spalatin, for this poor man, and hope that there will be no danger, that the prince will be reminded in this way (which I remind him of in the letter) how faithfully his great ones carry out his command when they are commanded to give something to such poor people.

But you answer me nothing at all, nor do you send me any answer about the letter, which I [handed over] to you at Torgau, 1) to send it to Mylen, and [asked,] to send the messenger back to me at my expense. For this is a wedding matter, that is, a very great matter. Therefore, it will be through your fault if the latter should lose the girl. For a suitor here in this place is urging me to hand over Penelope to him while Ulysses is absent. My Kätke gave birth to a little daughter Elisabeth in the tenth hour of the tenth of December, for it has pleased [us] to name her so after the mother of John. Thanks and praise be to God. We are all healthy, and the plague has completely stopped, so that not even one person is sick today, indeed, not in the whole week. My Kätke sends you and your Kätke many greetings. Farewell in Christ. On the day of Lucia [13 Dec.] 1527.

Martin Luther.

No. 1155.

Wittenberg.

December 13, 1527.

To the mayor and council of Zerbst.

Luther sends Johann Pfeffinger as pastor.

The original is in the state archives at Zerbst. Printed by Sintems, *Denkschrift*, p. 31; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 173 and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 83.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Zerbst, my favorable dear lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! As I wrote to E. W. the next day to provide you with a pastor, so here comes Johann Pfeffinger, formerly pastor of Sonnewald, whom we all consider capable, as he is learned and pious. To the same we also command E. W. as parish priest, as far as you both like each other. Hiemit GOD all commanded, who give you his grace to lead fruitfully in his word, Amen. At Wittenberg, Friday Luciae [13 Dec.] 1527. Martinus Luther.

(An inserted note.)

E. Wisdom have also let themselves be heard by the skilful mayor and have offered to pay the costs and fees that would go on the messenger's wages and the journey, in which you will know how to hold yourselves against John.

No. 1156.

(Wittenberg.)

December 14, 1527.

To Nic. Househusband.

Luther gives news of the birth of a daughter, of the easing of the plague, of his temptations and labors.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 24 d. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 362; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 246 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 150. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1076.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful bishop of Zwickau, his dearest [friend].

Grace and peace in the Lord! My Kätke thanks you, dear husband, for your effort and kindness in procuring the Chemnitz canvas for her. She gave birth to a little daughter, Elisabeth, on the tenth of December. To Christ be praise and honor.

Also the plague has completely stopped in our country. Praise be to God, the Father of mercy. Neither the physicians nor the chaplains have had anything to do with the sick this week, nor is anyone ill anywhere. At

1) In the original, the verbum is missing here.

In the hospital, the last two and the remaining ones also E. C. F. G. has previously prescribed this man, Simon recovered, because more than 14 used to lie there at the Mannewitz, who has been burdened by the Bishop of same time. And in the whole time of the plague, hardly Meissen and deprived of his paternal inheritance, as for 15 died in the hospital itself, although far more than at the sake of the Gospel, as he reports to me: I humbly hundred were brought in sick, and they were down in request that E. C. F. G. once again prescribe the poor such large numbers at the same time: so Christ had man, especially because his GMlin is under the mercy on us. Of course, I am not yet freed from my Wurzsche Strich in E. C. F. G.. C. F. G.'s land protection, affliction, nor do I wish to be freed, if it is for the glory of so that he would not be so unreasonably burdened and God, my sweetest Savior, amen. But do not cease to pray deprived of his possessions, but would receive his rights for me and to fight in this truly exceedingly fierce battle there through safe conduct. E. C. F. G. will know well how with Satan himself, the most powerful prince; for I have to keep graciously and Christianly in this matter 3). Hereby offended him with many books, that is the cause why he commanded by God. Monday after Luciä [Dec. 16] 1527. rages; but he may rage against Christ, who rather angers him through me, his exceedingly weak little vessel. Farewell, my dear brother in Christ, with all of us.

E. C. F. G.
subservient Mart. Luther.

The Lord will provide the church order 1) in the near future. I will publish Zechariah at this fair in Leipzig 2) and after that, at the Frankfurt fair, the other and last writing against the Sacramentarians. May Christ only help us, Amen. On the Saturday after St. Lucy's [14 Dec.] 1527.
Your Martin Luther.

No. 1158.

December 21, 1527.

(Wittenberg.)

To the composer Johann Walther in Torgau.

Luther sends him sheet music for the German Mass.

No. 1157.

Wittenberg.)

December 16, 1527.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for Simon Mannewitz, who was deprived of his property by the Bishop of Meissen for the sake of the Gospel.

From the original, in the possession of Otto von Schönberg, in De Wette - Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 713 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 152.

To the careful Johann Walther, composer, Musica zu Torgau, my good friend.

G. u. F. That I have written to your next letter, my Walther, you may well understand from these letters, for I would certainly like to prove help and advice to you. But the messenger should have received these letters early in the morning, as you write, because how can I know where the messengers hide in the evening, or let them run after them? They do this: when they give the letters to my servants, the wind takes them away and they do not come back. So I write another one, as you ask. Hiemit Gott befehlt, Amen. Saturday St. Thomas [21 Dec.] 1527.
Martin Luther.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, pag. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement. P. 49, No. 59; in Walch, vol. XXI, 219; in De Wette. Vol. III, p. 247 and in the Erlanger Ausg., Vol. 53, p. 415.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord,
Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.,
Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave in Meissen,
my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! It

1) The visitation order.

2) Meant is the Leipzig New Year's Fair. See St. Louis edition. Luther's great confession of the Lord's Supper appeared in March 1528, i.e., around the time of the Frankfurt Easter Fair.

3) Here we have deleted a superfluous "know" (which is in the original).

Supplement. 1)
To the Jutroit shall go a psalm, to the allerengste
composed, ut sit

I will praise the Lord in all time, being

Praise shall always be in my mouth.

Also, because German language is almost
monosyllabic, the final notes must have a special kind,
as you well know. The epistle notes would have to go
somehow in ootavo tono 3), but almost dogs.

M .. W E"" ,

88-888 k a 8

we frie - de with GOD by 2c.

Of the Gospel notes *Quinti toni* also dogs.

8888 8888^" 88
"" M "" "

In the night when JE-sus the - ra-then was,

1) On an enclosed small half sheet - Luther drew the lines
freehand and they are not all straight - the following is written:
(Seidemann.)
2) We dissolve the notes according to our present system and
write them with their letters over it. (Erl. Briefw.)
3) According to Walther's words in *Mich. Praetorius, syntagma
music.* I, 451, Luther himself assigned the chorale notes *octavi
toni* to the epistle and *sextum tonum* to the gospel, also made the
notes on the epistles, gospels and on the words of the institution
of Holy Communion himself, "sang them to me and wanted to
hear my concern about them. About the character of the above-
mentioned keys Luther spoke: "Christ is a friendly Lord and his
speeches are sweet, therefore we want to take *sextum tonum* to
the Gospel, and because St. Paul is a serious apostle, we want
to arrange *octavum tonum* to the Epistle." According to Vilsacker,
Lehre des röm. Choralges., 1842, p. 37, *octavus tonus* goes from
d to d with g in the middle as the center of gravity; *sextus tonus*
from c to c with f as the center of gravity; *quintus tonus* from f to
f with the center of gravity on the opening note, whose character
is joyful and jubilant.

8	8	8-d	8	888
---	---	-----	---	-----

M" .

took	he	the	Brod,	thanks	and	broke it and
------	----	-----	-------	--------	-----	--------------

8	8	6	66	4	6-44
---	---	---	----	---	------

" " , . W " W

gave it to his disciples and said: Take

<1	4	4	64	4	4	64	6
----	---	---	----	---	---	----	---

W

towar	and	it -	set,	the	is	my body,	the
-------	-----	------	------	-----	----	----------	-----

ds

6	6	4	6	6
---	---	---	---	---

6

is given for you.

Huuesitum . 4)

88866Ü6644

JE - sus said to be - new disciples: Do you know,

44444v44o

that over two days there is a star?

After that there is the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*, so
the mass is complete.

No. 1159 .

(Wittenberg.) December 24, 1527.

To the mayor and council of Zerbst.

Luther, since Pfeffinger was held back by his congregation,
sends Hieronymus Werner as pastor.

The original is in the municipal archive at Zerbst. Printed in
Sintenis, Denkschrift, p. 32; in the Erlangen edition, vol.56, p.
174 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 84.

To the honorable and wise, Mayor and Rathsmanne
of Zerbst, my favorable dear gentlemen and good
friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear
sirs! The closest is Lord

4) The *quaesitum* differs from the other ueeontus by the
peculiar ending; the prime example of this:
cccc c h c d
sic sig-num in-ter-ro-ga-ti-o-nis to sing.

Johann Pfeffinger came to you and accepted the parish with you through our request and prayers, so that he would also be moved. But the matter has gained an impetus. For, praise God, people are beginning to think that clever people want to become expensive, and both the council and the congregation of Sonnenwald, together with their overlord, Mr. Nickel voll Mynkewitz, have opposed it so strongly and have asked and written so humbly, Christianly, diligently, twice now, not to take such their pastor from them, and also do not want to let him do so for obvious reasons, which they indicate, so that they not only catch the pastor's conscience, but also ours, but also our conscience, because they also promised and bound themselves to take care of him in a respectable and honest way, so that we do not trust you to provide this Johann, because we do not like anything against conscience and force, hoping that you will grant us such, because it happened in the opinion that we did not know otherwise at that time, and also held in truth that Johann Pfeffinger was loose and could easily be demanded away.

But so that you may nevertheless feel that we are inclined to you and willing to serve, we hereby send you Hieronymus Werner, 1) letter pointer, whom you may hear this holiday and try how he pleases you; for he travels to you at our will, promised nothing, and, if he pleases you and you desire his, indicate to us in writing, so that we may talk further with him, to accept the office with you. But ask E. W. kindly to inform your citizens that skilled teachers and pastors are truly expensive now, and not as mean as the Terminarians 2) were in the past, and begin to discuss why a city now in evangelical times wants to be burdened to give a hundred guilders to an honest, pious pastor, when before it may have given three or four hundred guilders to a single pastor, who nevertheless preached nothing or ever preached no gospel. Such meagreness truly makes skilled preachers expensive now, and in time will again become a vain ass, or worse than a mule.

1) Werner was not accepted as a pastor in Zerbst.

2) Terminarians == wandering mendicant monks.

Donkeys, as the seducers are, bring to the parishes. For it is easy to find someone who would take twenty guilders and be a parish priest; but how the parish is supplied with it will be found out. I ask you to consider this and not let it be difficult for you to provide for an honest man honestly. Hereby commanded by God. On Christmas Eve [Dec. 24] 1527.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1160.

Wittenberg.
1527.

December 28,

To Spalatin.

Luther returns papers concerning the trade of the von Einsiedel family with his expert opinion. He encloses the interpretation of Zechariah and the history of Leonhard Kaiser (No. 1086).

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 258. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 57; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 248 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 160. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1078.

To his in Christ exceedingly dear brother, M. Georg Spalatin, the exceedingly faithful Bishop of Altenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! We return everything, my dear Spalatin, which the Einsiedeln have sent to us through you, by answering 3) what our conscience dictates. The misdeeds of this Amalek 4) are not yet full, but will become full in his time. I pity the noble and faithful young men, and ask Christ to be their protector and helper in the tribulation in due time, amen. I also send the Zechariah and the history of the Bavarian martyr Leonhard "Keysers". We have nothing new, only that it is said that the Anabaptists are multiplying and spreading in all places. God tread Satan under our feet in a short time [Rom. 16, 20.], Amen. My Käthe greets you, at the same time also Pomeranus. We hope for the return of our school. Farewell in Christ. Wittenberg, on Saturday [28 Dec.] 5) the day of the engagement of Hanna von Sala, 1527.

Martin Luther.

3) The following number.

4) That is, of Duke George of Saxony.

5) This date is derived from No. 1162.

No. 1161.

(Wittenberg.)

(December 28, 1527.) 1)

**Luther and Bugenhagen to the Lords of
Einsiedel.**

On Saturday after St. Lucy's Day (Dec. 14), Duke George had forbidden the 18 villages belonging to the Einsiedel brothers, Heinrich Hildebrand (b. 1497, d. 1557) and Heinrich Abraham (d. 1568 at the age of 64), were forbidden to do interest, pension, service and wages, because the Einsiedels should have a priest at Grandstein (located in the Chursächsischen area not far from Altenburg), who had a wife, likewise because they would have dropped the mass, and would not have had the bridal mass said at their sister's wedding (Spalatin *apud Menck...*, II, 2129). The Einsiedels then turned to Luther, who gave them his advice. On Jan. 9, 1528, the Einsiedels went to Dresden and, through Haug von Leißneck, Wolf von Schönburg and other friends, asked the duke to drop his disgrace and to abolish the hindrance of their interest and services. The success of these efforts is shown in the Wittenberg edition, Vol. IX, p. 246 d, in the document that precedes our letter: "Duke Georgm gave his farewell to those of Einsiedel 2) 2c. After much negotiation, this farewell is finally given by his F. G. on Friday after Erhardi [Jan. 10] 1528:

"Heinrich Hildebrand and Heinrich Abraham von Einsiedel, brothers, shall in all our fiefdoms and principalities, where they have authority, keep all Christian order, and drive out the heretical priests and appoint others in their place who are Christian priests, or request them from those who have to grant the fiefdoms. If they lack this from the same, they shall seek our help and counsel, which they shall not be denied.

"They themselves, in order that they may have acted contrary to the obedience of the Christian church, shall obtain absolution from the bishop, as the highest prelate, or elsewhere, where such absolution may be obtained. And they shall observe masses, hear sermons, confession and communion, as befits the order of Christian churches. Then we want to let go of what they consider to be disgraceful to them.

"But nevertheless, for the intercession of their lords and friends, and also for the sake that we may not be noted as seeking our benefit, but not their souls' salvation, we will leave them the goods, so that they may sell those between here and Bartholomew, and turn to the end, where their disobedience may be suffered 2c.

"Duke George wants to know clearly and without any doubt whether the von Einsiedel want to renounce the Lutheran doctrine, and to keep and show themselves with confession and reception of the reverend sacrament 2c." The von Einsiedel asked for and received 5 weeks to think about it, and are supposed to have given an answer again on Friday Valentini [Feb. 14] (Spal. I. c.; Kapp, Nachlese, Vol. I,

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 246b; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 3136; in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 369; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 662; in Walch, vol. XXI, 220; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 264; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 423.

To the Lords of Einsiedel.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus, amen. Strict, honorable, dear lords and friends! We are sorry for your misfortune and cross, which you have met through your tyrant. May Christ our Lord comfort and strengthen you in this and all distresses, and may He punish Satan in time and in the near future, amen.

At your request, if you seek our counsel, we find it no other way than: because you do not have preachers in the places that are in Duke George's fief who are against him, he therefore has no power nor right to punish you. If there are such preachers in the same places, you may in good conscience allow them to leave, and leave room for the tyrant of his will, in which he has power and authority 2c.

But because N. and N. and the like lie in the Electorate's territory and sovereignty, he has neither the right nor the power to punish what happens to your persons. Therefore, I think it is justified that E. Gestreng must let things go as they are in the Electorate and not have the power to change anything, as you have answered Mr. N.

If this does not help, it seems to me that the Elector should be called upon to intercede, in this opinion, that his C. F. G. Duke Georgen should be asked to intercede. Duke Georgen, because it would be divided principality, and treaty happen that each one in his principality should let believe as he likes: so his request would be that, as Duke Hans punishes none, in Duke Georgen land sat, at the goods, so nevertheless from the Elector go to the fief, so he also does not want to punish those, who sit in the Electorate 2c., even if they commit crimes in his fiefs; for such would be unjust and unequal. Such, I think, you will better consider together with good friends and tell, than we can write.

Above all, you must not let him urge you to drive out the priests or to bring back the old way of being.

1) There can hardly be any doubt that this letter is to be provided with this time provision, since it was sent with the above letter.

2 s Instead of the 'names set by us, the Wittenberg has "N." everywhere.

Nor confess that you have sinned at the bride's mass; but if anything is wrong in all or some of this, you shall suffer from the prince, to whom it is due, as the end overlord, what is to be suffered. Summa, if he wants to go out with his head, you must stand and confess what he wants to condemn and wrong. For there Christ stands, "Whosoever shall deny me, him will I deny again."

But if he is satisfied that his fiefdoms are in accordance with his will, you are excused, for you cannot resist force. The prince is obliged to defend as far as his territory extends. If he does not defend you, Christ will defend you, who says: "A hundredfold shall be restored to us that which we must leave undone for his sake. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. D. Martin Luther.

Mr. 1) Johann Pommer.

No. 1162.

Wittenberg.

December 29, 1527.

To Justus Jonas in Nordhausen.

Luther invites him to return to Wittenberg, since the plague is over.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 364d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 249 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 163. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1080.

Grace and peace! You have not yet returned, my dear Jonas, which I am surprised about, since the plague is so dead and buried, or dII should at least visit the afflicted, of course at our expense. Those who had fled are returning in droves, almost all the citizens, tomorrow the authorities will also be there, finally the academy will be there shortly, as Philip writes. God has had mercy on us in a marvelous and wonderful way, so that He may show that the prayers of our Gospel are very pleasing to Him, no matter how great sinners we may be. Margaretha Mochin is from death

1) We can only explain this "Lord" by the fact that Bugenhagen did not sign it himself, but added Luther's name.

She returned herself, as she was in despair, because she could no longer hear and was not in her right mind; she gave up her brother for herself in Segrehn. Finally, we are all well. My Kätthe and our little daughter Elisabeth are also well; she sends you her most affectionate greetings (*valdissime*), but she wishes even more that you and your entire family be here safely. We engaged Hanna of Sala yesterday; if you wish, you can be at the wedding in the evening on the day of the circumcision. She is marrying a certain Peter, a priest from Halle, from a good and honorable family, to which the priest in Dresden, Peter, 2) the enemy of the word, is also counted as a very close relative. I am healthy in body, in spirit, as much as Christ assists me, who hangs on me by a thin thread and I on him. But Satan hangs on me with mighty ropes, and even with ship's ropes,³⁾ and drags me into the deep, but the weak Christ, through your prayers [in me], still has the upper hand, or at least fights valiantly. Therefore, continue and by your prayers make the weak Christ [in me] strong, that by his powerlessness he may break the power, rather the defiance, of Satan. Avenge me by destroying his hope, who avenged you by revealing his wisdom and cunning, but all and all in Christ and from Christ. Be well in Christ. Greet your child 4) and all yours, and return soon and come. Wittenberg, on Sunday after the birth of Christ 1528 [Dec. 29, 1527]. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1163.

(Wittenberg.)

December 29, 1527.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

News, especially of Luther's affairs.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 365 d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 250 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 164. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1082.

2) Peter Eisenberg from Halle, since 1512 pastor in Dresden and Duke George's court preacher and confessor until his end.

3) *camelis*; xxxxxxxx == ship's rope, anchor rope.

4) Here we find again: *tuum Dictative* as in No. 1134.

Grace and peace in the Lord! The Lord has given me a little daughter and at the same time freed me from the worry I had for my pregnant wife, who I feared would be infected by the plague, as it tends to happen and has happened to many here. For the plague was with me within my walls, but the Lord prevented it and sent it into my sows. There is no news, except that it is said that the Turk will come forth with a very great armor. The LORD scatter them that love to war [Ps. 68:31.]. Amen, as I hope it shall come to pass. See that you do not cease to pray for me and to fight with me in my battle. The Lord will have mercy on you in his time. Greet Osiander and exhort him to be strong against the spirit of the Sacramentans. I, too, am now going against them for the second time and will provoke the Anabaptists by a letter 1) instead of a prelude; Christ will assist. The plague has stopped by God's grace, and when the academy will have returned, Christ will give other things to do. You will take care of more seeds in my garden, as many as you can, because if I stay alive, I will become a gardener. Farewell and kiss your little daughter, and embrace her mother, to spite Satan, who persecutes us. On the Sunday after the birth of Christ 1528 [Dec. 29, 1527].

Martin Luther.

No. 1164.

(Wittenberg.)

December 30, 1527.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

About Melchior Hofmann. News from letters of Joh. Heß 2c.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 364; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 251 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 166. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1078.

Grace and peace in Christ! Philip writes this letter to you, my dear Amsdorf, I believe, in order to purify himself towards you, I do not know because of which matter. That Melchior Hofmann 2) has written to me

1) On rebaptism, to two parish priests. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 2187 f.

2) See No. 1084.

the Qnaterne published by you, with glosses against you. But Marquard 3) gives written testimony about him in such a way that he is completely suspicious to me in many respects; he is also vain and will hardly rest until he brings misfortune upon himself. I will warn where I can that one should beware of him. I want you to read the exceedingly bad news in the letters of Hess; thus Satan rages, for certain proof that our word is God's word, by which his wrath is so provoked. It is said that the Turk is preparing to return to Hungary with a very large army to shed blood, including that of the Germans, as I fear. Send back the enclosed letter of Hess. Farewell and pray for me, a wretched vessel, that my faith may not cease, as I expect you to pray. Monday after the birth of Christ 1528 [Dec. 30, 1527].

Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1165.

(Wittenberg.)

December 30, 1527.

To Justus Jonas in Nordhausen.

Luther complains about his temptations and wishes for the return of his friends.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 321; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 251 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 167. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1016.

To his brother in Christ, Justus Jonas, the sincere servant of Christ, at Nordhausen.

Grace and peace in Christ! See that you do not cease to pray for me and to fight with me, my dear Jonas (for at times my temptation is eased, but at its hours it returns more fiercely), that Christ may not forsake me, and may not let it be a torture of the wicked, but of the children, so that my faith may not cease to the end. Would God that all of you were present here again. We have prayed to the Lord against the plague and seem to be heard, for there is no more plague, not even in the fishermen's suburb. 4)

3) See No. 938 Marquard Schuldorp.

4) Dr. Wette erroneously remarks here: "But she had not been there from the beginning. See No. 1138.

The air is pure and healthy above. You may also pray the same, that God may glorify His Word in us, which is exposed to danger and shame by our dispersion. And Satan rejoices with his own that we are so separated. Greet all of us, especially your Kätthe. Pommer sends you many greetings, also my Kätthe. Christ be with you and with us, Amen. On Monday after the birth of Christ 1528 [30 Dec. 1527].

The Schwärmer books are not yet seen here, so you will be doing the right thing if you send them back to us.

Martin Luther.

No. 11 66.

(Wittenberg.)

December 31, 1527.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Of the visitation; of Luther's writings Wider die Sacramentirer und die Wiedertäufer 2c.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ns. 26, fol. us. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 366ir; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 252 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 168. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1083.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace to your Lord! I hope that the visitation of ours will soon be handed over to the printer, after which Christ will give his blessing that it may be beneficial to many, amen. Pray for me, man in Christ, as you do, that I may be strong in faith against Satan and his servants. I am writing against the sacramentalists for the second and last time, and likewise against the Anabaptists for the first time. Satan rages in an unbelievable way, realizing that he has only little time. Christ tread him under our feet in a short time, amen.

There is nothing new here, only that it is said that the Turk returns to Hungary with a very big armor. May the Lord scatter the nations that love to war [Ps. 68,31], Amen. Our Pomeranus sends you his best regards, also my Kätthe. Fare well in Christ with all our people. On the day before the circumcision in 1528 [Dec. 31, 1527].

Martin Luther.

No. 1167.

(Wittenberg.)

December 31, 1527.

To Jakob Probst in Bremen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2237.

No. 1168.

(December 1527. ?)

Concerns about both shapes.

The weak in faith could still be given the Sacrament under One Form for a while, but the stubborn could not.

In M. J. E. Kappen's small Nachlese (Leipzig 1727), Vol. I, pp. 27-30, undivided from Spalatin's papers in the documents left by Heinrich von Einsiedel. Spalatin wrote in his own hand from the three quarto sheets that are not by Luther's hand: "1527. von einerley Gestalt den schwachen zureichenn D. M. Luther." This concern was then incorporated into the instruction of the visitors to the pastors of 1528. It is especially printed in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 87. The variants are irrelevant.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1653, § 49 from penultimate paragraph to Col. 1655, § 50 incl.

No. 1169.

(Wittenberg.)

(End 1527.)

To Paul Speratus.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 274 f.

No. 1170.

(Wittenberg.)

(1527?)

To Chancellor Brück, jointly with Jonas and Bugenhagen.

Request for the transfer of the bricks from the wall and the windows of the Kreuzkirchlein to the Kastenherren for the construction of the hospital. 1)

The original is at Dresden in *Cod. Seidel*. Printed by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 415 (without date and year) and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. L (with the arbitrarily placed year 1541).

Dear Lord Chancellor! The lords of the castles have asked us for intercession that they may have the bricks that are on the wall around the Holy Cross church, because they are

1) Since the construction of a hospital was already envisaged in 1527 (see No. 1120), this letter, which the Erlangen edition places in 1541, can already belong to that year.

otherwise cannot get bricks for the hospital; because such bricks cannot be laid any better, we ask, E. A., to be conducive to this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen.
Martin Luther.

J. Jonas.

They also ask for the windows of the same church, which would otherwise perish and be knocked out and stolen, and would be necessary and useful for the hospital.

Joannes Bugenhagen. Pomer.

No. 1171.

(Wittenberg.)January

1. January 1528.

To Gerhard Wilskamp in Herford.

Luther gives thanks for the comfort given to him in his temptations.

Handwritten in Gotha, *cod.* 451 and *cod.* 185. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 84; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 254 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 173.

Grace and peace! I received, my dear Gerhard, your last letter of consolation with great joy and gratitude; Christ reward you for this service. It is true that this challenge is by far the most severe, and it is also not unknown to me from my youth, but I did not expect it to increase so much now. However, Christ has triumphed so far, but he keeps me upright by a very thin thread 1). I commend myself to your and the brothers' prayers. I have made others well and cannot make myself well. Praise be to my Christ, even in the midst of despair, death and blasphemy, who gives that we may see one another in that kingdom of his. But in the meantime we are sure that what we build is in his word and work, but in this we are not justified, rather we are useless servants, only that this is our glory, that we have nevertheless also lived according to Christ in the world and have forgotten our former very evil life; it only remains that Christ is our life and our righteousness (oh, how difficult and unknown to the flesh!), always hidden in God [Col. 3, 3]. I rejoice that I now (like you

1) Instead of *facto* we have assumed *filo* according to No. 1162.

understand Peter that the same sufferings that befall the brethren in the world are upon us, but these sufferings are very bitter now at the end of the world. Greet our Montanus and all the brothers. On the day of circumcision [Jan. 1] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1172.

Nordhausen.

January 2, 1528. 2)

Justus Jonas to Luther.

This letter crossed with Luther's letters of Dec. 29 and 30, 1527. Jonas hoped to return to Wittenberg soon. He regrets the dispute between Melanchthon and Agricola. Judgment on Oekolampad and comrades. He congratulates Luther on the birth of his daughter. About the illness of D. Meienburg. Jonas sends a gift for Hans Luther.

The original is in the Hamburg City Library. Printed in Kolde's *Analecta*, p. 94; in Kawerau, *Jonasbriefe*, vol. I, p. 112 and in Erl. Briefw. Vol. VI, p. 175 (with the incorrectly resolved date: "January 3").

To the exceedingly high man, D. Martin Luther, the apostle of JEsu Christ, his exceedingly dear father.

Salvation and grace in Christ our Lord! I envy this letter of mine, my most dear father in the Lord, who will be granted to reach you sooner than I myself. For I had firmly resolved to finally put an end to my long desire [for you] and to see you within eight days, but very necessary business held me back, since I was already prepared for the journey, and delayed me, which you will hear verbally, but they will no longer hold me back and delay me. I will say valet to all that this whole loveliness of my. Fatherland 3) can contain or encompass, so that I can see you again and talk to you.

2) The time of this letter is (according to the Erl. Briefw.): "*5^{ta} post Circumcisionis* M. D. XXVII." In this all are eternal that the year 1527 is a spelling mistake of Luther. In contrast, the indistinct number of the date is read differently. Kolde reads: 2^{ta} " and resolves it by *secunda the* == 2nd Jan. Kawerau reads: and likewise completes *the*, because if one wanted to grasp it after usual way asi, that is Tuesday after New Year, then one would arrive at the 7th January; Jonas however answered this letter already on the 6th January. Apart from the unusualness of the addition of the, the syllable "*ta*" would hardly have been chosen as designation of the final syllable of *secunda* and *tertia*. The Erl. Briefw. will be right.

3) Nordhausen.

hear of that fatherland of which the author (ille) speaks while we watch to sow discord among those who were so confidently and gloriously in the letter to the most closely united and held together. You seem to Hebrews. I see how great a difference it is when the me, dearest father, to write about this matter rather as Lord grants someone to associate with godly people you wish than as you think it should be written; that and when one has to live among the ungodly. I learn this little tragedy was contemptible and trivial, that you that not only the teaching and the sermons, but also did not think it worth writing to me. But nevertheless I the conversations are different with those who hear that Eisleben's writing and censuring verdict was earnestly expect the goods to come than with those spread far and wide and reached many hands, even who live in the day. But these, dearest father, are my to the court of Duke George, before it was given to inconsistencies with you. I suffer here, although the Philip. Here you could see those rejoicing who want to Lord has humbled me only in bodily goods, yes, not be called enemies of this doctrine and be taken for it. even in all bodily goods, but only in the possessions As much as it is possible according to your reputation, of this place, the pride and ungodliness of Satan: but I beg you, demand of Eisleben that he write nothing in what is such a small piece of the cross against the this matter, since you have seen it before. If I had knowledge of Christ and the Son of God, against the remained at Wittenberg, I could hardly have thought inexhaustible goods of God, which God the Lord and and imagined that so many eyes of the enemy were our Father according to the riches of His glory [Eph. 3, directed at us, and that Satan was lying so vigilantly 16] has lavishly and mercifully poured out on me, a in wait against us. But more of this orally. I only completely ungrateful sinner? How often do I see that wanted to remind you, dear father, after my love for most of those who have much fortune and riches are Agricola and after my reverence for Philip, that you blinded, do not know God at all, are not moved by should be careful of Satan, who is up to great things. anything in the Scriptures, do not care about what But truly, there the pig teaches the Minewa!

There is an extraordinary silence about the alone is something, alone worthy to be esteemed! I am Sacramentarians in this church in Nordhausen. Even ashamed of my weakness and ingratitude, and begin the poison of the Anabaptists has not yet come here. to confess with the Psalm [Ps. 73, 22.], "I am a fool before thee, O LORD, and know nothing, more foolish than a beast and cattle without understanding." But The council in Erfurt has warned the council here in Nordhausen about this matter by letter. As for the still, soon after, the carnal mind returns, that, forgetting quibbles of the Sacramentarians and so many the red sea, the outstretched and exalted arm, wagonloads full of trivial things, none of them, with the forgetting the great miracles of God, I murmur against exception of Oecolampad (for I have already read some of their stuff), seems to me to be seriously the most benevolent Father. But what do I bring these concerned about his own conscience, and none since you are much more severely afflicted? but the seems to me to have seriously believed and considered those simple passages of Scripture, and the Lord will comfort us all by his grace. The quarrel which they themselves consider easy [Heb. 11:6], between Philip and Eisleben has grieved me greatly, that: "he who would come to GOD must believe, 1. you, and that this too would be added to your that GOD is, and 2.¹⁾ that He will be a rewarder of those who seek Him." And as Peter [1 Ep. 1, 8.] says, exceedingly heavy afflictions, which we, your disciples, should have lessened, but not increased, "Whom ye have not seen, and yet love," and John [1 according to the words of Paul [Col. 2, 5.] : I rejoice John 4, 20.], "He that loveth not his brother whom he because in my absence I see and hear your order, beholdeth, how can he love GOD whom he beholdeth not?" For if they had first firmly decided in themselves your love, your harmony 2c. But as nothing else, out what belongs to the beginning, namely, that God is in of this trouble, which is truly great in its ends, comes truth and looks upon us in truth, rather if the Spirit of to us the benefit of seeing that Satan is not satisfied unless he commits the very worst, unless the damage Christ had firmly established it in them, then they he has done is the highest, most exaggerated and would not so reflect before God and in such great such greatest, since he dares to do it, things of God as these.

1) The "2." is crossed out again in the original.

If you are a man, you will not so easily despise everything that comes from others. More about this at another time. .

I am very happy that a little daughter has been born to you, and that you write that you want me to hurry to you at least for a walk: there has never been a month that I have stayed here without thinking of mounting a horse to go to you, but every month the stone has thrown me down and kept me bound. Only this last month I have had such peace that I hope to be freed forever by the mighty hand of the Lord. I am very well and, God willing, I will be with you in 14 days or three weeks at the most.

I have greeted our common host, Mr. Michael Meienburg, 1). He appreciates your so kindly announced greeting very much. But he is now very ill, with I don't know what part of his intestines protruding from the back; he thinks it is quite the same illness you suffered from three years ago. You will recognize the severe complaints of the sufferer from the enclosed letter. He therefore sent this messenger at his own expense. He sends a description of his illness, which he kindly asks to be shown to the physician, Doctor Esch, so that he may write here through this messenger the indicated remedies, which he has used on you; and if you also have experience as to what has eased your pain, what has contributed most to the expulsion of this illness, then I ask you to communicate it to me, so that I can pass it on to him. For he alone has rendered the best service to the cause of the Gospel, and his enemies would like him to be dead by now. Whatever Doctor Esch will demand, you shall say good for it, for he will gladly give what is right. But why do I ask this of you in so many words, since you were born to love? I only wanted to remind you that the messenger should not return without a note for the medicines and all the circumstances of the illness (for that is the main reason why he was sent). I am extremely pleased that your son Johannes is well, cheerful and lively, that he runs back and forth, chats childishly and is the delight of his parents. For this first of January, I am sending him a silver Johannes, so that he will have a small gift from Jonas, meanwhile also a kind of testimony of my highest love for him and his father. I am pleased that Margaretha Mochin

has recovered. Farewell in Christ, dear father, and pray for us that we may now have a happy return to you, for I will prepare for the journey. Greet your wife, the woman in childbirth, and the little daughter, whom I will see presently and be of service to them there in all things. My wife greets you and says thank you for the fatherly and exceedingly Christian remembrance.

2) Again, farewell, our heart, best father. Nordhausen, Thursday after the Circumcision 1527 [2 Jan. 1528].

My son sends his regards to your daughter, his future bride. Yours, J. Jonas.

No. 1173.

(Wittenberg.)

3. Jan. 1528.

To the mayor and council of Zerbst.

Luther asks that the people of Zerbst finally be satisfied that Pfeffinger, whom they had only accepted on probation until *Invocavit* (March 1), could not come to them.

The original is in the *Rathsarchiv* at Zerbst (dated "1527" due to a typographical error by Luther). Printed by Sintenis, *Denkschrift*, p. 34; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 175 (without correction of the date) and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 89.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Zerbst, my favorable gentlemen and good friends.

Grace and peace. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! I recently wrote to E. W. how he could not leave Johann Pfeffinger in Sonnenwalde and keep him, if he would get along with you. I had hoped that E. W. would be satisfied with this, because God prevents it without our doing and knowledge, which prevents human relationships several times, and no one can continue to associate or keep an agreement, unless God wants it. Since it is not lacking in him nor in us, nor is it in our power, I ask again that E. W. be satisfied with it; for I, with a good conscience, continue to drive him white, and indeed, because I heard that he would be accepted on probation with you until *Invocavit*, I was all the easier for it, and hoped that it would not be necessary with you for such a short time, and let me, as I also let myself still be, be the more content with it.

2) Luther had written a special letter to Jonah's wife. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, annex, no. 4. at the end.

1) See Luther's letter in St. Louis, Vol. X VII, annex, No. 4.

His, his people's so great cause and need, especially because they do not want to let him stay there, as he is now also obliged to stay for the sake of such fortuitous things. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Friday after Circumcisionis [January 3] 1528. Martinus Luther.

(Inserted note.)

But so that you may see how the people of Sonnenwalde write to me with earnestness together with their overlord, I am sending the letter that they sent to me the other time, which you will probably send to me again.

No. 1174.

Torgau.

January 3, 1528.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector asks Luthern to enforce the "instruction" for the visitation drafted by Spalatin and to report his concerns and changes to it in writing.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, fol. 50a. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 126 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 179.

Our greeting before. Venerable and highly learned, dear devotee! Next to other scholars of the Holy Scriptures, we had required you to come to Torgau, 1) to further consider the instruction that should be followed in our principality by pastors, preachers and pastoral caretakers, as was done by you and the others who were required by us, which also pleased us graciously, and at that time it was agreed that you would make a preface that should stand on a narrative; You should then also diligently review the same, and whatever you find that needs to be changed again, or that needs to be done to it or from it, you should do so in the most appropriate manner. As we do not want to conceal from you that Magister Spalatinus has formally rewritten with his own hand the above-mentioned instruction and sent it to us, which we send to you herewith. And it is our gracious request to you, that you do the above according to your good-willed request, still once take it in hand and consider it most diligently, as you know how to do by the grace of God, and improve and change what seems good to you. And especially consider whether it should be good that the sub

1) On Nov. 26 and the following days. Compare No. 1147.

(2) for the reception of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which shall be done by you next to the other articles, with distinction as to the strong, the weak and the impudent (3) for the sake of the pastors and preachers, or it would be better to leave them out and to report them to the pastors and preachers in the visitation, [so that they], if the matter should ever arise, would have to act accordingly, as far as the degrees of friendship and mogship are concerned. For it has fallen to us that if the same article were to be added to the others and put into print, it might give the opponents of Hohenish cause to hold all the more firmly to it, so that those who in our principality marry closer, 4) than in ecclesiastical rights, to which the imperial rights are subordinate and escape, or their children, produced in such marital states, would not be granted and follow inheritances. The people, if they were to do so outside of our lands, would also suffer other hardships because of it. Since we also consider that, in the present world, the common man is not particularly interested in this, after he can proceed to more convenient marriages outside of the same degrees, we want to put this into your further consideration, whether such retraction and shortening of the degrees should be brought into the affected report or not, to give notice thereof to the pastors through the visitors, to report to the people of the liberty, and again of the burden and disadvantage that would stand upon it and might result to them, whether thereby those, who are not noticeably or especially interested in it, 5) might slacken such marriages in friendship below the fifth degree. But if you consider this, it would be useful or good to put this in the report and to express it, because in imperial law it is foreseen that one should not take, have or marry his brother's wife or two sisters, even after each other, so you want to move whether marriage with such persons is to be avoided according to imperial law or not. So you will also find several more articles in the trades that Spalatinus has placed in further concern, which you will also find in passing.

2) This is the concern No. 1168.

3) "Frechen" is put by us instead of: "Reichen", because in the concerning place not of "Reichen" but of "Halsstarrigen" is spoken.

4) "closer" put by us instead of: "more". In the following: "to which the" instead of: "to which the".

5) Here we have erased "itself" - "slacken" == refrain.

will be.¹⁾ If you send us the trades, you will be informed how the report is to be printed and produced. All this we have not willed you to do in our gracious opinion, and we are inclined to you with grace and good. Date Torgau, Friday after *Circumcisionis Domini* [3 Jan] 1528.

Supplement I.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, 3i, fol. 50a, 5. 1528. 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 125 (with the note that this commemorative note, probably written as early as December 1527, was sent to Luther by the Saxon chancellery, at any rate with Spalatin's reservations [Supplement II]) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 181.

Memorial note for Doctor Martinus Luther, to be sent in addition to the lessons.

To put in mind to the clan and mogschaft where the Lord Chancellor Doctor Brück would have found more forbidden degrees in imperial rights.

Item, whether it would be appropriate to let up, to take two sisters one after the other.

Item, that one sends the Doctori Martins the whole teaching of Christian doctrine and ceremonies with the request to oversee and spread it everywhere 2c.

Item, to remind Doctor Martinus to put aside the argument of the adversaries and others who say and think that because we are redeemed by Christ from divine laws, we should rather be exempt from imperial rights and not be bound by them, before in these cases, so that one also has to judge oneself the more wisely from them.

Item to remind Doctor Martinus to indicate the *locos* how in Scripture *contritio*, *poenitentia*, *cognitio peccati*, *mortificatio* are used for One Thing.

Item, the case with leprosy and other protracted diseases in the marital status and the like well to eliminate, because the same cases occur a lot.

Supplement II.

Spalatin's concerns with Luther's marginal notes.

From the original enclosed with the letter of the Elector, printed by Burkhardt, p. 128 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 182.

In the Scriptures there is no cause to Marriage to divorce, because the adultery, [*placet.* (red)] as then indicates the Christ himself

Matthew 5 [v. 22] and 19 [v. 9]. But before the divorce, all diligence should be made to reconcile and make up. For it is not proper for a wife to put away an adulterer, nor for a husband to put away his wife on account of adultery, without the knowledge of the church, that is, of those whom the church has commanded.

It is not proper for a woman who has left her husband for the sake of adultery to marry another husband in any way, unless the divorce takes place before the church, that is, before the pastors.

And if one spouse departs from the other, in this case nothing should be decided thoughtlessly, but the person who has departed should be diligently sought to bring him or her to justice. *placet.* (roth)

The innocent person shall not be allowed to marry in other ways, unless the person who has left has been previously requested, promised and required by the authorities. *placet.* (roth)

In the event that a wife is afflicted with French disease or leprosy, the husband is not entitled to take another wife, because the disease is not a sufficient reason to divorce the marriage. A. 2)

The unkindness and cruelty is also not enough cause to divorce spouses, because one must suffer and tolerate the other. todt. *placet.*

If a man marries one of them and, regardless of this, takes another and marries the other, he shall keep the first and not the other. For because he has betrothed himself in marriage to the first, he shall keep his vows. B. *omittatur.* And because he has given his body to the first, he cannot give it to another; therefore the other has been betrayed.

1) In Annex II.

2) The letters A, B, C refer to the relevant sections in Luther's Bedenken No. 1175.

If a man brings down a virgin, love *placet*. demands that he take her in marriage. (roth)
He shall also be faithfully admonished and kept to do so. But if he will not take her in marriage, he shall give her a convenient and due dowry. For this penalty also stands in divine law Exodi at 22 [v. 16], [and if the parents or friendship of the prostitute do not oppose and do not refuse to give him the prostitute, he must keep her as a wife, as Deut. 22, 29.> stands,] and although the law Mosi does not bind us, yet love [and equity] demands that one act in this way.

The [] are from
Luther's hand,
(black)

Even if a man takes a wife without the will of his parents, it is right for him to keep her. For although the parents have a right to the children, as God commanded in Exodus 22 [v. 17] and Deuteronomy 22 [v. 28 f.] 1). [commanded] to give him the wife whom he indicated to them, as it is written in the Book of Judges on the 14th [v. 2], and to Rebekah parents, mother and brother [gave her when she was] 2) sought to Isaac by his father Abraham's servant for his conjugal wife; yet to Rebekah friendship spoke, as it is written in Genesis on the 24th [v. 57], "Let us call the harlot" 2c.

But now, because the wicked hear that the parents have the right to the children, they go to, abuse the same right and become tyrants from it. Again, because the children hear that they are both allowed to do so by imperial and papal law, they also abuse it and despise the parents, which is not good for either part and yet happens many times.

Therefore, in such a case, two ways would have to be taken: First, the gospel. Namely, that the children humble themselves against the parents and by themselves or through

ask some persons to allow the pledge, which they made against their will,³⁾ if a child would have a desire for the person, and the person would be honest. If the father wants to act according to the gospel, he is obliged to listen to his child's request; if the father does not want to grant it, the child is not obliged to do anything against the father's tyranny.

Secondly, if the gospel does not help, the father must be informed that because he does not want to grant his honest request to his child, who has a desire, will, love and good opinion of the betrothed person, and does not consider his child's happiness and need, and kindly and paternally impose the execution of the marriage vows, he should adhere to the imperial rights. For since the parents despise the gospel, they should not enjoy the gospel either, but keep to the imperial right. Right hold.

For what is in accordance with imperial law is due to a prince as secular authority. For what is in accordance with imperial law is due to a prince, as secular authority, to pronounce and recognize.

The pastors and preachers have to indicate this on the basis of God's word. For even if secular authorities would do nothing more about it at the humble, submissive request of the children, the children of the parents shall suffer and tolerate tyranny and unkindness.

Of clanships and mogships.

Although in the law Mosi the all dead. degree, it is not forbidden for a man to take his brother's or sister's daughter in marriage, as Leviticus well points out in chapter 18, and the examples of the holy archfathers Abraham and Nahor confirm, both of whom took their brother's daughters, namely Abraham took Sarah and Nahor took Milcah (Genesis 1:16).

11, 20.), as Doctor Martinus Luther had also done previously in writings

3) "gethan" put by us instead of: "zethun".

1) In the editions: "5th" [v. 6th].

2) Added by us.

1) for the sake of most of those who at that time had to buy such degrees from the pope for money and yet had no good conscience. But since we intend to give common instruction on how the pastors should act and teach in this matter, we consider it best that we keep to the imperial laws. Not that" we thereby condemn those, who perhaps until now would have bought such freedom from the pope or, according to the law of Mosi, would have taken it from their sister or brother daughter, but that we should henceforth surrender ourselves to live in harmony with the imperial rights and also forgive that, according to the law of Mosi, we would have right and power before God, to serve and love those, who at the same time live with us under imperial rights.

Which kinship and mogschaft [Todt.] according to ability and order prevent the marriage.

Also in such a way, if persons in such forbidden degrees about prohibition of touched rights take to the marriage, also such marriage is unbundled, that the woman is not called a wife and the man is not called a husband.

First, the persons [Todt.] related to each other in the ascending and descending line are forbidden to marry in inünituni through and through. [Todt.]

Secondly, brother and sister may not marry; neither may one take his brother's or sister's daughter or grandson. Likewise, it is forbidden to marry one's father's, grandfather's, mother's, or grandmother's sister.

From Mogschaft.

First, no one may take his death. First, no man shall take his son's wife or stepdaughter, mother-in-law or stepmother.

A man may also not take the daughter of his abandoned wife, that is, the one divorced from him, whom she has begotten from another man.

It is also not due to anyone, his Todt. son's or father's, though not yet fleshly known of him, take to be publicly known by him. for the sake of good manners and respectability.

No wedding shall be performed unless, as was the custom in ancient times, it is publicly announced in the church. Also, the priest shall not solemnize the wedding and shall not give the bride and groom together, unless he has asked before the friendship whether anyone has an objection.

*Hoc
manebit.*

No. 1175.

(Wittenberg.)

(After January 3, 1528.)

Concerns to the Elector Johann zu Sachsen.

This is the answer to the letter of the Elector of January 3, No. 1174. This concern is found, by Luther's own hand, in the Weimar archives; printed from it in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 258 and (according to De Wette) in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 53, p. 417, as well as in no other edition. Because the first two paragraphs were included almost entirely in the teaching of the visitators, De Wette has given the locations of this writing. This has been misunderstood by the Erlanger Ausgabe and taken as proof of the locations of our thought in the editions; likewise the Erlanger Briefwechsel, which gives vol. VI, p. 187: "Erl. 53, 417 2c. and den daselbst angeführten Orten."

Where the article of either form is to be omitted, it should be commemorated in this or that way.

And after the holy Gospel (praise to God) has come to day, in which we are clearly testified that both forms of the Sacrament are to be administered and taken by all Christians according to the institution and command of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that it is not for any man to change such divine institution, for no man's last will is to be changed, as Paul writes to the Galatians, much less is God's own last will to be changed: accordingly we have instructed the pastors and preachers to teach such doctrine.

1) Of the Babylonian Captivity, St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 98; in the Sermon on Conjugal Life, ibid, vol. X, 605, s 15; ibid, vol. III, 210, § 32 2c.

to teach the gospel of both forms to everyone, be he strong, weak or stiff-necked, and in no way to approve the one form, but to punish it as unjust and against the appointment and last will of our Savior and Lord JESUS CHRIST, so that the teaching of it may be carried out freely and purely in public.

Since no one can be forced to believe, nor can his unbelief be enforced by commandment or force, since God does not want any forced service, and wants to have only voluntary servants, people are of so many different minds and abilities, 1) that it has been and still is impossible for us to determine certain measures or persons to whom such two forms should be given or refused according to the teachings of Christ: Therefore, even though we may easily teach the doctrine purely and freely as given by Christ Himself, yet the custom and practice of such doctrine is not to be put into certain measure or persons, considered that by such old and common custom of your form the people have been hard caught, and now almost and hardly doubt. And so we must leave the day its twelve hours, and command the things to God, 2) but in such a way that such should be reserved and commanded to the *Visitoribus*, that they be recognized by them according to the skill and occasion of each parish, according to the place or the people, give the parish priests in particular verbal instruction or a written list of which parish priests are to be refused both forms or tolerated and given one form, so that the doctrine remains pure and free, and yet no one is urged to do anything against his conscience, or the sacrament is taken from him, who has had the right to it, against his right.

Haec vel similia dicentur; ex his etiam de- . mantur vel addantur, prout Dei gratia visum fuerit. [This of added, as seems good by God's grace].

1) This passage is better given in the Lessons of the Visitors, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1652.

2) All the foregoing up to this point is recorded almost word for word in the "Lessons of the Visitors" and can be found there in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1652, §48 from J. 3 to Col. 1653, 8 49 the first three paragraphs.

From the clans.

Although in the law Most the degree is not forbidden, if someone takes his brother's or sister's daughter in marriage, as the *Levit.* at the eighteenth chapter well points out and the examples of the holy arch fathers Abraham and Nahor confirm, who both took their brother Haran's daughters, namely Abraham the Sara, and Nahor the Milca, *Genes.* on the eleventh, as Doctor Martinus Luther has also previously indicated in writings, mostly for the sake of those who at that time had to buy such degrees from the pope for money and yet had no good conscience 3) nor Scriptural testimony or reason for themselves, so we also see that Christ has not abrogated such things in the Gospel, but rather confirms them when he says: "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder"; therefore we did not know how to condemn those who had bought such freedom from the pope or had taken the daughter of their sister or brother according to the law of Moses.

But since the custom of such freedom has been abolished by papal laws, and its law has come into tremendous use throughout the world, and is being enforced, so that the consciences are quite hard-pressed, it is also evident that marriage is a widespread matter, and people marry each other especially on the borders, We have found that people, in some cases cleverly, do some of the impertinence that they afterwards regret, that they use more of the liberty out of sheer conceit without any need, that they sometimes cause nothing but trouble, and that there are many other things that we have experienced daily; Such causes and the like have prevented us from having any certain measure, way or persons to vote, for we cannot put a rope on the weak conscience, nor set a measure for the people of foreign rule to be free, or prevent them from being free. Therefore, we must separate doctrine and custom, let the doctrine go, but reserve the custom to the *Visitoribus*, that they give the pastors and preachers verbal instruction or a written record, how they keep themselves.

3) The preceding is found almost verbatim in Spalatin's previous concern, No. 1174.

shall recognize and find the opportunity in such custom, according to the cities, places, people and persons, and shall seek and use advice and assistance in this respect from Our Lord the Elector as the ordinary secular authority, because some of the marriage matters are also subject to secular and worldly rights. H., the Elector, as an ordinary secular authority, because the matrimonial matters are partly also subject to secular and worldly rights. ¹⁾

Hic similiter addatur, mutetur, dematur, quod visum fuerit. [Here, what seems to be good may be added, changed, demolished in the same way].

On the case in matrimonial matters with red A marked

It should be considered whether such a piece should be left outside, and especially because leprosy separates people from the community according to Moses' laws and according to all the country's customs, and perhaps a case could arise that it would be impossible for one to remain without a wife, again the people are also evil, easily seeking causes to leave and avoid the sick women: Whether such should also be ordered especially to the parish priests by the *visitors*, after which they would recognize the opportunity of the persons and things, which are truly diverse and impossible to put into a law, as I often experienced. Christians know well how to keep to this, as is stated in the lessons; but how does it go with the others?

Recorded in the case with 6.

Whether it would not be suitable that such a thing would be declared, than that it would be understood only by the woman, who would also be asleep about the betrothal; because that father and mother should not have the power to change a bad betrothal, seems to me to give too much room to the wanton children, because in the law Mosi God Himself has set that child vows, also done by God, are in the power of the parents, Num. XXX. But where the secret betrothal will occur, by the means indicated above, this will also be well advised, and may be left outside.

That in the note 2) is considered how the opponents are to be embarrassed their argument, so

1) "are" put by us instead of: "is".
2) This is Supplement I to the previous number.

saying that because we are redeemed from God's laws through Christ, we should also be much more free from imperial laws than in these cases: this is bad above by the means indicated, 3) because we do not want to follow imperial laws in this 2c. Otherwise, in 4) the teaching is also sufficiently provided, how we are free and not free from all other laws, namely, according to the body subject to all laws, according to the conscience subject to no law, as the preachers will learn this from the Postilion and other books.

Likewise, that one should indicate the looos where in Scripture *contritio, poenitentio, cognitio peccati etc.* is a thing. It is not necessary, because the *Visitatores* *do* not write a disputation, but an instruction, and show what they should search and teach in the Scriptures. There they will find it themselves. Otherwise, one would have to write a large book about it and give the quarrelsome cause to dispute and be clever. There is enough of it in the lessons.

The note 5) from the enthusiasts is not highly necessary, because nevertheless without that probably my gn. H. may do; but she does not stand badly in it.

From the case with reddish B. recorded.

It is worth considering whether such a piece should be transfigured further, for we know what such a case has also given the pope to worry about, namely, if someone had become engaged to one and married another, especially as the first betrothal is secret, and yet could not break off nor depart from the other. Here one thinks that he breaks the marriage with the other, as often as he sleeps on her, and some want to despair, as I have often experienced the misery. In this I am uncertain, for it seems to me to be a hard thing that souls press so hard. It is true that Scripture also confirms with examples that the first is the right woman, as *Deut.* XXII. *sponsa uxor* is called and Rachel also remained the right wife, although Lea was slept by Jacob 2c. afterwards, and Mary is called Joseph's wife,

3) That is: set right, ordered.
4) "inn" == in, not "them" as De Wette resolves it. 5) This seems to be a lost supplement.

since it was trusted, *Matth.* and *Luc.* II. But because the law dealt freely with wives, as Michal was given first to David, then to Adriel 1) and Merob, Saul's daughter, was betrothed first to David and then to another, I wonder if the law is wise enough for Mosi, or if the subsequent marriage should not destroy the first betrothal, as often happens in other marriages involving life and property, that a betrothal is destroyed by accidental things. I am writing this because it is especially difficult for me to leave consciences in desolation or doubt, unless bright, clear sayings force us to do so. Our pastor keeps it as it says in the lessons above, and I am satisfied that they conclude without me. But my conscience is not yet sure 2c. One should also reserve this for the *visitoribus*, because it is dangerous to go out in such cases and put laws under the heap 2c.

No. 1176.

(Wittenberg.)

January 5, 1528.

Luther and Bugenhagen to Spalatin.

Advice on how the von Einsiedel should behave towards Duke George for the sake of their conscience: they should not chase away their parish prince, even on the Duke's orders, but they should suffer if he were to be chased away.

This letter is found in manuscript in Simler's collection at Zurich, vol. 19. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 247; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 314.b; in the Altenburg, vol. IV, p. 370; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 663; in Walch, vol. XXI, 223; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 266; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 424. We have not found the text published in the Erl. Briefw., Bd, VI, p. 188 variants of the manuscript.

Grace and peace in Christ. Worthy dear master and priest! At your request in the matter of von Einsiedel, this is recently our understanding. Because Duke Georg wants to consider himself the sovereign and overlord of Gnanstein, he must be allowed to rule, not only rule, but also tyrannize, as St. Peter teaches, even to suffer blows from unruly lords. For he uses his power over souls that he is not right. God will judge this; they must suffer it.

1) Merob was given to Adriel, 1 Sam. 18, 19. but Michal to Phalti, 1 Sam. 25,44.

But the von Einsiedel shall first show themselves on the opinion: Since they have no authority, neither from God nor from men, to judge doctrine, soul and spiritual things, but only to rule over the body and goods of the subjects: so they have so far let the priest do as he knows how, and also do not yet know (as they are not spiritual, but secular rulers), to oppose the teachers or teachers. How they would have understood that the Holy Father would have kept the secular government himself, and left the spiritual government to the clergy, as God has ordered it and also wants it.

But where Duke George wants to command them to chase away the parish priest, and to keep the people to the old custom 2c.: then they shall not commit themselves to it, and to be *executors* of such tyranny, and thus to be partakers of its unrighteousness, but humbly ask, H. F. G.. would overrule such a commandment and graciously signify that, although others judge, condemn and expel persons over spiritual matters, violate God and also papal and all rights, they could not do so against their consciences, because divine majesty's order and commandment compels them to rule only secularly and not spiritually. And the Holy Father therefore wanted to spare their consciences, since the Holy Father could not judge them, and not urge them to do otherwise.

If S. F. G. ever does not want to let up that S. F. G. sends a magistrate to Gnanstein, who exequires and creates such things, they want to grant him, as the highest feudal lord and sovereign, to do such things: that S. F. G. (and not they, the von Einsiedel) takes on conscience and bears what is done or happens or remains. F. G. (and not they, the von Einsiedel) would take and bear on S. F. G.'s conscience what would be done or would happen or would remain.

For the people of Einsiedeln must guard their conscience in this, that they do not help the tyrant against the Gospel, but rather yield, clear away and let him do it. If, however, such a thing were done by Duke Georgen, that he wanted to force them to execute such a commandment, they would have to refuse to obey him; for they cannot do it with God, as they know how to do it in the most gentle and humble way.

But it must be said to the subjects that

Each one believes and does for himself, stand or flee, as he knows how to answer for it. For in such matters no one is another's protector; each man stands for himself against the devil, and may go to the sacrament where each man wills.

Dear God, won't the mad head stop for once? If he is to be converted, my Lord JESUS CHRIST, then convert him; if not, then soon ward him off. Why should he so long hinder and blaspheme yours, your word and work, amen, amen, dear Lord. Sunday after *Circumcisionis* [Jan. 5] of the 1528th year. Martin Luther.

Johannes Pommer.

No. 1177.

Wittenberg.

January 6, 1528.

To Christoph Jörger at Tolleth.

Luther tells him that Stiefel is now in Wittenberg and encourages him to hold fast to the Gospel.

Printed by Raupach, Evang. Oesterreich, Erste Fortsetzung, p. 40; by Moseder, Glaubensbekenntniß, p. 67; in the Quartalschrift für ältere Litteratur und neuere Lectüre by Canzler and Meißner, III, 2, p. 31; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 149 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 53, p. 395. In De Wette and in the Erl. edition, this letter and the next one are dated 1527, but it belongs to the year 1528. On Jan. I, 1527, Stiesel, as we see from Luther's letter to him (No. 1049), had escaped from Tolleth, but soon returned, and had not yet gone to Wittenberg, as De Wette thinks. According to Leonhard Kaiser's letter (Jen. Ausg. [1556], Bd. III, Bl. 447a and Bl. 4476, in this volume No. 1086), Michael Stiefel was in Jörger's house on March 9, 1527. Likewise, Luther's letter to Stiefel of Oct. 8, 1527 (No. 1131) shows that Stiefel was still in Tolleth at that time; only later did he leave this place and turn to Wittenberg when he was threatened with the death penalty, since it was also to be expected in Tolleth that he would carry out the general mandate of King Ferdinand issued on Aug. 20, 1527.

To the strict and firm Christoffen Jörger zu Tollet, my favorable special master and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus. Faithful, steadfast, dear Lord and friend! I have truly received Michel Stiefel with joy, especially because your testimony goes so well with him. Christ will keep his word so that you will not be deprived of it for long, but that it will return with great fruit. But you must have patience

until the weather passes. You were right to let Mr. Michel go, because it was not proper and you were not able to protect him. For each one must stand and confess for himself in this case. May God grant you grace to do so, at whatever hour you may need it. Greet in Christ your dear spouse, whom God blesses with His praise and honor, amen. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Wittenberg, *Epiphaniae* Domini [Jan. 6] 1528.

D. Martinus Luther.

No. 1178.

(Wittenberg.)

January 6, 1528.

To Dorothea Jörger in Tolleth.

Similar content to the previous letter.

From the quarterly cited in the previous number, p. 30; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 150 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 53, p. 395.

To the noble and virtuous woman Dorothea Jörgerin, widow at Tollet, my best faithful friend in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Virtuous woman! I received Michael Stiefel with joy, and especially because you bear him such good witness that he has shown himself to be so Christian and fruitful with you, as I am also confident of him, and God has not let this confidence come to shame. I also thank you, together with my kith and kin, for your faithful gift. May God Almighty graciously keep you in His holy Word, as He began, 1) and increase you until His future. God will judge the tyranny and send it to His praise and your salvation. Hiemit GOtt commanded, Amen. On the day of Epiphye [Jan. 6] 1528.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1179.

Wittenberg.

January 6, 1528.

To Justus Jonas in Nordhausen.

About the state of health of Jonas, Michael Meieburg and Luther. The prophet Zechariah is published. Response to the letter of Jan. 2.

1) Here we have deleted a superfluous "and".

Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, bl, 323 d (under the year 1527); in *Frid. Hoffmanni medicina consultoria*, Hall. 1723, III, 231; in *Kindervater, Nordhus. illustr.*; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 255 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 189 f. German it hurt; the harder, the less it tormented me. But if it came in Walch, vol. XXI, 1022 and in Keil, *Merkw. Lebensumstände*, vol. II, p. 164.

Mr. Justus Jonas, who is stuck in Nordhausen.

My John gives thanks for the John sent to him, 1) my dear Jonas. But I rejoice and give thanks to Christ that he has had mercy on you and has commanded the stone to leave you for you, and I pray that he will maintain this of his forever. For this I desire most especially, that I die, at least you, whom I leave behind me, may have me on the raging Satan with his apostles. Zechariah has been published, which I would send if I did not await the arrival in hope; then my John will hand over his Zechariah to you. We are all well by the grace of God. You see to it that you do not believe it, if a rumor that there is still plague left wants to blacken us; Satan would like that, so that we would not meet in eternity. And one even recently tried to spread in the city itself that the plague had returned again, since three had been infested anew; but after the lie had been discovered, mau thought that this had been fabricated by those who rule in the absence of the persons in authority, so that they might deter those from returning and they might rule longer. But it is more correct that Satan sees us in this way, so that he keeps us scattered and separated.

I am very sorry for your Michael, 2) and I am sending what Eschaeus asked for, but he is old, then he thinks, as doctors tend to do, that it is difficult to practice the art of healing overland, mainly because he thinks that there are doctors with you or at least in the neighborhood of Erfurt. My illness was such that during defecation the swollen edge of the anus protruded in the entire circumference about the size of a walnut, on which there was a very small

The sore (*scabies*) was the size of a hemp seed; it was, of course, very small. The softer the stool was, the more it hurt; the harder, the less it tormented me. But if it came off mixed with blood, then there was relief and even a kind of pleasantness and pleasure in defecation. And the more blood there was, the more pleasure, so that during the day I was often tempted to defecate, and when it was touched with the finger, it itched quite pleasantly and the blood flowed. Therefore, in my opinion, this outgoing blood should not be stopped or inhibited at all, because it is said to be the golden vein, and it is indeed golden. For it is said that through this blood all that is evil in the whole body flows out, as it were through a dung gate for all diseases, and that such people tend to live the longest, since at this point they have enclosed both the pharmacy and all the doctors of medicine. But it [the plagueblood] stands by itself in its time, without our effort. Therefore, if something like this is the case with him, see to it that he does not inhibit the blood. The rest is in the note. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg. Greetings to Kätche and the children. On the day of the appearance of the Lord [Jan. 6] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1180.

(Wittenberg.)
1528.

January 7,

To Margaretha Blankenseld in Berlin.

On the matter of Wolf Hornung.

The original is in the State Archives at Marburg. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 98; by Zimmermann in *Zeitschrift für preußische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, XX, 320 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 191.

To the honorable, virtuous women Margarethe Blanckefeldinn Zu Berlin, my favorable good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, virtuous woman! I have received your answer, and although I, as a stranger, must be satisfied with it, you must nevertheless realize that the person concerned cannot be satisfied with it at all, and give it to me.

1) See No. 1172 towards the end.

2) Meieuburg.

Such letters cause him to think a lot, especially that the you yourselves are so strange, so that after so many person has now too often let him lead by the nose (as he mocking letters you do not write a friendly serious letter, complains), and yet never sent an answer in writing, so as you certainly could, - how can he be such a stone and that he could feel her seriousness. It is unbelievable, my block, and let all this be good, and always consider it dear wife, if it were serious with her, [that she] 1) should friendship? Accordingly, my friendly request is that you not present herself differently, at least with writings, which show yourself in writing to him, as you can do, so that he she could well send secretly. Accordingly, my friendly may feel that you are serious. If not, then you have to request is that you should mean the poor fellow's distress, mean well that he cannot and should not remain like that, that he should not suffer it any longer, nor can he, and if but according to God's word also think his best and keep she does not let herself be noticed otherwise, he must do his soul. To this I ask your right answer, or must advise so, if 2) she were dead, or as Philip did, when his brother him to do what he is right and gives to God. Hiemit GOtt Herod took Herodias from him, and provide for himself commanded, Amen. Tuesday after Epiphany [7 Jan.] elsewhere. Speak to her seriously, or it must become a 1528. valet. Hiemit GOtt commanded, Amen. Tuesday after Epiphany [7 Jan] 1528.

Martinus Luther.

You will know how to procure this letter. 3)
Martin Luther.

No. 1182.

January 8, 1528.

(Wittenberg.)

To the mayor and council of Zerbst.

Luther promises the people of Zerbst to find a capable preacher in Pfeffinger's place. Thanks for a gift.

The original is in the Rathsarchiv at Zerbst. Printed in Sintenis' Denkschrift, p. 39; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 176 f. and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 90.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Zerbst, my favorable dear lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear sirs! I will gladly use my heart and our pastor's diligence to send you a man, if he can be found elsewhere, to preach and preside effectively. ⁴⁾ For that is why I would have gladly sent Johann Pfeffinger to preach and preside over you, so that you would be well provided for. But because God thus prevents and sends us, we must look for another; for I am willing and ready to support you. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen. Midweek after Epiphany [Jan. 8] 1528. Martin Luther.

(Inserted note.)

I thank you diligently for your gift and veneration of beer. So I will report it to the priest.

4) Seidemann reads: "vorstehen", but the Erl. Briefw. says that the original offers: "vorgehen".

No. 1181.

January 7, 1528.

(Wittenberg.)

To Catharina Hornung in Berlin.

Luther urges her to be kinder to her husband in her letters so that he can sense that she is serious about reconciliation.

The original is in the acts concerning Wolf Hornung in the state archives at Marburg. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 99, by Zimmermann I. c.. p. 320 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 192.

To the honorable and virtuous woman Katherina Hornungeu of Berlin, my favorable good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Mrs. Kätherin! I have been persuaded by some who have been kind to you to persuade the good journeyman Wolf Hornung, your husband, once again (as has been done several times by others, just as in vain as now), to kindly offer himself to you and to settle the matter in peace. But because

1) Supplemented by Zimmermann.

2) "sam" == as if.

3) "procure" == to dispose of [the next letter], to procure it. - The Elector Joachim, who had become aware of the correspondence with Luther, forbade the mother to accept letters, who, out of fear, obeyed this order and therefore had this letter as well as the next letter returned to Luther unopened. Zimmermann 1. 6. p. 322.

No. 1183.

(Torgau.)

(Before January 16, 1528.)

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector demands Luther's expert opinion in Mohr's matter of faith.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N.*, p. 406, No. 199. 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 125 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 194.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We graciously inform you that we have recently sent away a warrior servant, Hans Mohr 1) , who has shown us an honorable character and conduct, and that he is famous and has been declared to be skilled and suitable for the trade for which we intend to use him, and that he has been accepted as a servant for the rest of his life and has been appointed to our city of Coburg. Now we have been reported as if he, our appointed and ordained servant, should be somewhat attached to the Zwinglian, Doctor Carlstadt's and Oecolampadii's doctrine with the sacrament, also be opposed to the ceremonies, as they are held in our principality, and should also be subject to form his opinion of the same in other people and to speak of it publicly. We have therefore written to our deputies in Coburg and ordered them what they should say to the same Moor and forbid him, whereupon they have now informed us by their letter what they hold against him as for themselves and what he should give them in reply, 2) as you will hear from the copy enclosed. And it is therefore our gracious request that you inform us of your concerns in this matter as to what is good for your opinion to be done in this matter, so that we may know how to act accordingly. You do us a favor. Date.

1) No. 1697 in the 2nd Appendix to the *Tischreden*, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 1982, contains, as we see from *Bindseil's colloquia Lutheri*, tom. II, p. 43 f. as well as from the next letter, Luther's verdict on Hans Mohr. - Compare also Melanchthon's letter to Balthasar Thüring, preacher at Coburg, of Nov. 18, 1527 (*Corp. Ref.*, vol. I, 910 f.), in which he tells him how he should behave against Mohr.

2) According to the letter of the councilors of Monday after New Year's Day [Jan. 6] 9 Mohr said: he does not intend a secret mutiny, but that he cannot allow himself to be bound, if he is in revels and collation and half of the things of the sacrament are spoken of by others, that he should not confess his faith 2c. for it is ever unjust to make of the creature in the Lord's bread and wine that which is the Creator Himself, and to pity that the poor people should be so miserably deceived in these things. (Burkhardt I. c.)

*) Not "January 4," as the *Erl. Briefw.* states.

No. 1184.

(Wittenberg.)

January 16, 1528.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2095, no. 707.

No. 1185.

Coburg.

January 20, 1528.

Martin Landmann an. Luther.

(Regest.)

Martin Landmann, who seems to be a tax or accounting official, apologizes that because of his official business he could not, as he had promised, come to Wittenberg shortly for the sake of the prisoners (among whom will have been his adulterous wife). Therefore he asks Luther, out of Christian love, to take care of the prisoners, his compatriots (*proprios*). He informs that his adulterous wife had been seduced by gifts, whose parents, bribed by the adulterer, had delivered her to shame themselves. Therefore, he considers the still young woman innocent, he laments for her, and if he could, he would help to free her, and, if she would be provided with some of the adulterer's goods, he would forsake his right out of love, take her back to himself and live with her. Therefore, Luther should try to persuade the head of the city and the great ones to accept this and to set her free. - Nothing else is known about this matter.

Handwritten in the Weimar Archives, O, pag. 538, L. 3a. Printed in Burkhardt, p. 131 and in *Erlanger Briefwechsel*, vol. VI, p. 195.

No. 1186.

(Wittenberg.)

January 21, 1528.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Concerns about a marital case.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Registrande O, 546. Printed in Seidemann, *Lutherbriefe*, p. 28 f. and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 197.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! In your case concerning Hall's miller full of Almerode 3) I have indeed indicated my opinion and verdict in the instruction 4) as I would like to have it.

3) Groß-Almerode near Kassel. (Seidemann.)

4) In No. 1175 the case with B. is recorded.

wanted to doubt in it. But I cannot thoroughly conclude against it that our priest holds, namely that the wife is obliged to follow the created husband, which right wife she also is before God by virtue of the first vow; the other husband is betrayed and may keep the child. And I am also moved, if the first vows were to be torn apart in this way, no marriage would remain firm and certain in the end, since each one, as often as it wished, would betroth itself elsewhere and leave the first spouse. So Hans Müller may now go home with his bride, if he desires her rc. ¹⁾ Hiemit GOtt befoh-

len, Amen. Tuesday after Fabiani [21 Jan.] 1528.

E. C. F. G. subservient
Martinus Luther.

No. 1187.

(Wittenberg.) January 24, 1528.

To Spalatin.

Covering letter to the letters and concerns to be sent to von Einsiedel by Spalatin.

Handwritten in the royal library in Berlin, Luther-Mappe III, copy by Spalatin's hand, and at Gotha in *Cod.* 185. 4. Printed by Kapp, *Nachlese*, vol. I, p. 97; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 120; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 258 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 198.

Grace and peace! The messenger of the hermitage returns to you, my dear Spalatin, loaded with our, but God wanted, salutary and successful advice. Solomon says [Proverbs 27:22]: "If you crush the fool in the mortar, his foolishness will not leave him"; and [Proverbs 29:9]: "If a godly man comes to deal with a fool, he laughs or is angry, he has no peace." One must pray that the Lord will enlighten him 2) if he is worthy; but if not, that the Lord will prosper the gospel through his tyranny until his hour comes. Muenzer's spirit does not stop blowing, as we see from these monstrosities, one of which you write about Erfurt. Christ help us poor people who suffer so many and so great attempts of Satan, amen. January 24, 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

1) For the further course of events, compare Luther's and Bugenhagen's letter to the Electoral Council of March 26, 1528.
2) the Duke George.

No. 1188.

(Wittenberg.)

January 24, 1528.

Luther and Bugenhagen to Heinrich von Einsiedel.

Cover letter to the attached concern.

The original is in Berlin, Luther-Mappe III. Printed from the original in Kapp's *Nachlese*, vol. I, p. 100; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 268; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 1005; in the Leipziger, vol. XIX, p. 662 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 426. Walch lacks this letter.

To the strict and firm Heinrich von Einsiedeln zum Gnanstein 2c., my favorable lord and friend in Christo.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus. Faithful, steadfast, dear Lord and friend! What we are able to do in your cause, we send you herewith. But Christ our Lord, whose cause this is, will hear our prayer and give you mouth and wisdom, strength and spirit, to do his will and overcome the devil, amen. You will know better than to ask most politely and humbly, so that the tyrant will not create cause for some contempt or arrogance. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen. Friday after *Vincentii* [24 Jan.] 1528.

Martinus Luther.

Johannes Bugenhagen *Pomer.*

No. 1189.

(Wittenberg.)

(January 24, 1528.)

Luther's concerns in the Einsiedel case.

Supplement to the previous letter.

This concern is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 247.d; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 315; in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 369; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 662; in Walch, vol. XXI, 227; in Kapp's *Nachlese*, vol. I, p. 102 (from the original); in De Wette, vol. III, p. 269 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 427.

Because Duke George puts on his head, my concern is, he acts like *diabolus incarnatus*, until one goes right and clear under his eyes, does not cease to ask the von Einsiedel conscience 2c. Therefore, there is little advice against violence; as much as I can, I show.

First of all, that they will take a life and limb for themselves and decide that they do not want to grant or accept any of the things that Duke George puts out for them, and especially not the absolution 1). And next, because it is God's business and concerns the soul, that they cheerfully call upon God for counsel and help, and not doubt that He will hear and help.

Secondly, to make their reply, it would be good that the apology they made on five pieces, as recorded in the 10th and 11th sheet, be taken again and crossed out in fine words, to the same extent: the von Einsiedel would have provided themselves humbly, H.F.G. would have sufficiently heard their innocence from such reply, when H.F.G. himself found on the same that they are without reason and cause to indicate to H.F.G.; and also hoped to stand against Imperial Majesty himself with it, as in which mandate alone assault is forbidden 2c. and no assault is found here in the five pieces. Majesty himself with this, as in which mandate alone the offence is forbidden 2c., and here in the five pieces no offence is found. Therefore they still hoped that H. F. G. should leave them at it, and not yet go higher than Imperial Majesty's mandate demands. Majesty's mandate demands.

Thirdly, if they did not find any physical violation, they would not be able to confess their disobedience with a good conscience and have it absolved: since God himself would know well to think that one cannot sin with a good conscience if there is no sin; for God would be mocked by it if one sought forgiveness in his sacrament if one has no sin or confesses it.

Thirdly, that they humbly ask the Lord to leave their conscience and person free and uncoerced. For they should graciously request that faith be free and uncoerced, or else it is completely contrary to God, and both he who compels and he who allows himself to be compelled sin. For they both mock God, because the heart is not there with the glow of a free conscience.

It would undoubtedly do S. F. G. itself no favors where a foreign prince wanted to force S. F. G. subjects into his

Make them listen. Now, however, conscience and faith alone are subject to God, and are not to be subject to any power on earth or in heaven: the S. F. G. must consider that the von Einsiedel not only for the sake of their souls, but also for the sake of the S. F. G., as they want to reach out and take hold of the eternal God's kingdom and power; for they would complain of both their own and other people's sins before God, because they have acted against His divine commandment by letting other people rule in His kingdom and conscience. And although the conscience of Einsiedeln would be wrong and erroneous, yet St. Paul has forbidden Rom. 14 [22] to do and act against such conscience. Therefore, they humbly request that H.F.G. graciously accept their humble request, for they, with body and soul, as true, faithful subjects, are due to H.F.G., as true, proper superiors, always gladly obedient 2c. And S. F. G. wanted to be moved that S. F. G. would not be helped by forcing the von Einsiedel to act against their conscience, and thus to great sin and eternal damnation of their souls, since Paul also condemns those Röm. 14 [23], who act against their wrong and false conscience.

Fourthly, they would like to include this, because the full Einsiedel are probably feudatories of two princes; so they know neither before the world nor before God to answer for that they should surrender and join the one part so completely. For since the persons would be entangled, they would then also have to do in the other principality according to the will of H.F.G., which would then also be in secular foreign sovereignty. How to do this (for I do not understand myself highly in this), that one may well show him how S. F. G. is half the part, and not the whole lord over the von Einsiedel person, therefore they can give their person in this as little without the other lord's knowledge and will completely, as in other services, Frohnen 2c.

They asked for it, and hoped comfortingly that H. F. G. would not force them there, so that they would gain disfavor with the other part, or even do too much to the same rule. And since it is certain that H. George will not be able to resist the seven

1) Namely, "from the bishop, as the highest prelate. See the introduction to No. 1161.

Villages 1) Fiefs alone are subject, which nevertheless and His Imperial Majesty. Majesty. His Imperial Majesty's also belong to the Elector, so it is in no way to remain decision and judgment. However, they humbly request that silent, but to show that they have no right or right to H.F.G. not cause or require them to do so, because it is connect themselves with them without the knowledge and disgraceful, nor is it praiseworthy for H.F.G. that subjects will of the Elector. must first engage in action with their sovereignty, since

Fifthly, because H.F.G. does not boast of seeking his they are to seek justice and have protection. own benefit, but the blessedness of Einsiedeln, that one Where it would therefore come into the right, I hoped should give thanks for it, and indicate, and ask, that it should go into the long chest 3) as it also happened with H.F.G. would also graciously confirm such. But to press Paulo (and I would like to see it), so that others, who might against the conscience is not to press to blessedness, but also have been attacked, would have an example and tax to hell, Rom. 14 [22. 23]. on it against the devil, just as Count Albrecht of Mansfeld

Sixth, now that he does not want to give way, and also did before the bishop of Magdeburg. wants to insist on the meager answer, they may tell once If the appellate court cannot advise them on the more, as a surplus, how they have been found out against appointment of priests, they can let go of whatever they the imperial majesty, without any offence. Majesty's want, but they cannot approve or help to appoint papist Mandate, and make sure, that H. F. G. would not prevent priests. If the tyrant does it by force, they cannot agree to himself from forcing the hearts and from inquiring, which it; for they should not and may not resist him. But God will is due to God alone, but would punish only the offences, hear the common prayer one day.

as far as his temporal authority reaches. But if they had to sell the goods, that they 4) give a

If this does not help, my advice is that they appeal to humble and merciful answer to the last, and come with the law, be it to the court or to 2) the emperor, just as Paul kindness to the tyrant, so: that, because their conscience Act. XXV. appealed to the emperor in such a same matter. complains to follow S. F. G.'s urge and commandment, For they do not do this against the gospel, since it is right; they want to beware not only of their own sin, but also, so for they do not argue about good, but about God's that they do not come into S. F. G.'s sin, of foreign sin, and kingdom, namely whether Duke George has the right and command God the things; thank S. F. G. for all mercy 2c., power to rule the consciences and God's kingdom. and still ask that H.F.G. would heed their humility and

And so or in such a way: because S. F. G. does not distress of conscience, and graciously refrain from seek benefit nor good, but the von Einsiedel blessedness H.F.G.'s disfavor.

and justice, and they in turn also do not quarrel with nm That is all I know how to advise.

good, but also seek their conscience and blessedness, and such humble action does not satisfy S. F. G., nor Martinus Luther. 5)

does it seem enough, in turn they also do not find that Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria is not satisfied. (Wittenberg.)

No. 1 190.

Jan. 27, 1528.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2233, annex, no. 6.

3) De Wette reads "Thren" with the note: "Ausz. Thruen." The Wittenbergers and the Jenaers read: "Druen" with the marginal gloss: "Kasten". The meaning is: to be put on the back burner.

4) Kapp: "in" instead of: "sa".

5) Kapp is missing the signature.

wish to be judges in such matters themselves, but to return to the law or to Imperial Majesty. Maj. again, and to the rights of the

1) The seven villages, which the Einsiedel had to fief jointly from Duke Georg and the Elector, were: Roda, Langelenben, Einsiedel, Erfurtschloß, Dietresdorf, Kempte and Reichenhain. Kapp l. c. S. 251.

2) Kapp: "for" instead of the one we have put: "on". The latter is also offered by the Wittenberg and Jena editions, which have a slightly different order in this sentence.

No. 1191.

Torgau.

Jan. 27, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Meaning of a marriage case. From the teaching of the visitors.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 366 d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 264 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 201. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1084.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus, my dear Nicolaus, to my brother in the Lord! According to my judgment, the girl about whom you ask for advice, if she absolutely refuses to marry the one to whom her father has promised her, can marry the former one to whom she herself has [it] would not have a ride. You will find more in the promised it, if her parents consent. However, the parents must consent for the good of the daughter, nor can they force her with a good conscience, although they can do so according to strict law, because rights must give way to love. The [visitation] order is at birth; I hope that it will bear fruit through Christ, which we must all promote through prayers. Doctor Pommer greets you. Pray for us and be well in Christ. Torgau, Monday after Paul's conversion [27 Jan.] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1192.

(Wittenberg.)

January 31, 1528.

Luther and Bugenhagen to Spalatin.

Cover letter to your next concerns for the von Einsiedel.

The letter and concerns are found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 249; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. I V, p. 316 d; in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 369; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 662; in Walch, vol. XXI, 233; in De Wette, vol. III p. 272 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 431.

Guad and peace in Christo. Worthy, dear Lord! We have this time the messenger can not so hurriedly ready, because we are from Torgau also not empty come 2c.

First, since you ask about the parish mass 2c., you know that no parish priest can say mass with a clear conscience if there are no communicants. Therefore, there is no further question here; either no mass, or communicants.

On the von Einsiedel 1) friendship opinion I have listed at my opinion. Dear, Duke George was easy to notice, because the von Einsiedel did not answer straight at the first: Yes, yes, gracious nobleman, like the others, but rather, they are worried, and seek advice, that they do not believe with him, nor do they hold; therefore, it is lost to deal with him, it wants and must be in the right.

What kind of ceremonies may be held Christianly, our visitation will probably teach; because it is nothing to me to meet, what for a parish priest or what to N. 2) for ceremonies may be passable, because I do not know the place opportunity, and Duke George wants to rule there. If it were only a matter of the German and Latin masses, Paul's Conversion [Jan. 31] 1528. Martinus Luther.

Johannes Bugenhagen Pomer.

No. 1193.

(Wittenberg.)

(January 31, 1528.)

Luther's concerns in the Einsiedel case.

See the previous number.

I also worry that Duke George wants to have an answer expressed. That is why I thought such an answer was in vain and lost before.

On the article of Luther's teaching half, they wanted to stay with the holy Gospel: he will not have enough on it, and is in vain. I still think, because Duke George will put on his head, it will have to come right with him.

But to this piece of Luther's half, I would like to answer thus: Because such a question is wide-ranging, the von Einsiedel cannot answer it with certainty; for Luther teaches many things that even Duke George himself praises, as of the sacrament against the enthusiasts, of warriors, of worldly authority 2c. Luther himself does not want to be Lutheran 2c., unless he teaches the holy scriptures purely.

1) In the editions here as everywhere: "N."

2) Here, "Gnanstein" will probably have to be understood again.

Where now articles would be expressed, as from the sacrament of both form 2c., then this article would be loose, and this matter would come on the previous articles.

If he will not let go of the people, I know no better, as shown that time, that they appeal to him in the right; if not, then they must come out freely and let themselves be heard against him with the confession of what they believe; for he will not want to have enough with dark words. One must not deny Christ in this way. But with the appeal it will be known enough that they believe against him 2c. That the von Einsiedel are young people. It may well be so; where he wants to have enough of it, much is given. They themselves would not like novelty 2c. It is good where he wants to have enough. Whether the parish of N. may not be appointed with a skilled man, who teaches the people well, and reports; it is also good, it can happen.

Whether the same pastor keeps himself right 2c. in the order of the church ceremonies, keeping masses; because without doubt there is a difference between parish masses and purchased masses 2c. It will not do so, to hold masses without necessity, that is, if there are no communicants; for it is contrary to the institution of Christ.

Whether such a priest could teach common ceremonies in the villages, at the Holy Celebration, Latin Mass 2c., and in addition: that all goes well, unless the Masses are without communicants, and the Holy Celebration is not held in the papal manner, to plague the saints. But for the sake of the sacrament, they know no way, unless the same priest could forbid the one who uses both forms in confession to seek elsewhere. If a Christian priest wants to and can do so, let him do so; for no one is to be forced to believe.

If there were some parishioners who had not received the sacrament before in both forms, or who had received it completely, they would come to the same priest and ask for one form: whether he could give it with a clear conscience, especially because the Word of God had been carried to the fourth year, after which the people would be. For where it would be pure weakness, it would go; but where

otherwise, it is no good. But this, and much more, will be said in the visitation when it ends, [which,] I hope, will not be long in coming. 1528. D. Martin Luther.

Ohm Date.

Luther's further concerns in the Einsiedel case.

Because the other Einsiedel acts given by Kapp do not give any clue for a more exact dating, we also put this concern here, as all other editions do.

D. M. L. for the fifth, *inter alia*.

If the subjects are to appoint a priest, they must not appoint an unchristian one, but a righteous one: otherwise they would be guilty of a sin of another, as if they had knowingly shown support and counsel.

Where the priest is not righteous, it does not help that he should act as he knows to answer to God, because they have helped the unchristian priest.

It is also not particularly the case if a subject goes to the churches in haste, since ungodly preaching and ceremonies are conducted inside; for it is recorded in the other book of Kings, in the fifth chapter [v. 18], that the Naaman Syrus went with his king of Syria to the temple of Rammon 2c.

No. 1195.

(Wittenberg.)

(First months 1528.)

To Johann Secerius, printer in Hagenau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 164.

No. 1196.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early February) 1528.

To two parish priests from rebaptism.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2187 f.

No. 1197.

(Wittenberg.)

February 5, 1528.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2239, annex, no. 11.

No. 1198.

(Wittenberg.)

February 5, 1528.

To the mayor and council of Zerbst.

Luther indicates that Niclas is ready to go to Zerbst, but has so far been held up by the bad road there.

From the original in the Zerbst city archives in Sintenis' Denkschrift v. 1846, p. 40; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 177 and in De Wette - Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 91.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Zerbst, my favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! From E. E.'s writing and the mayor's sent report, I do not know how to answer otherwise than that he Niclas,¹⁾ accepted by you until Easter, should either come to you today, as he talked to me the day before yesterday; for he has not yet gone astray, as the mayor himself will indicate to you; for E. E.'s sake I am inclined. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen. Midweek after Purificationis Mariä [5. Febr.] 1528.

Martinus Luther.

No. UNS.

(Wittenberg.)

February 8, 1528.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

From Martin Cellarins and the upcoming Imperial Diet in Regensburg.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 367; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 279 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 205. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1084.

Grace and peace! I am glad that you have seen Martin Cellarius and have now also read him, my dear Amsdorf; I knew that you would pass such a judgment on him. Satan rages in those people that they do not think or think anything certain, so that he may also disturb others through them. Christ keep us. Amen. There is nothing new here, only that it is said and believed that the Pope's clergy is up to strange things on the

1) Not Niclas Pintzelt, as Seidemann thinks, because he had resigned from his office at Zerbst, which is why the negotiations with Pfeffinger were initiated.

2) namely the book of *Cellarin de operibus Dei etc.* See No. 1190.

future days at Regensburg. 3) Let us pray to the Lord for this assembly, that he may prosper the undertakings and counsels of the good. But why do you not visit us weak and miserable brothers from time to time? The Lord be with you, amen. On the Saturday after the Purification [of the Virgin Mary] [8 Feb.] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1200.

(Wittenberg.)

February 10, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

From Luther's letter against the Anabaptists. He forgives the Dipontius (Schlagiuhaufen?) an insult. About the filling of the pastorate in Schletta and the improper behavior of Paul Lindenau, preacher in Zwickau.

The original is in the Zerbst archive, Hausmannbriefe, No. 39 (with the inscription Hausmanns: *De Dipontio. De Balthasaro Loy. De paulo Lindenau*). Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 59 b (with the wrong year 1538). Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 3670; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 280 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 206. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1085.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmaun, the holy bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have published a letter against the Anabaptist sect, my dear Nicolaus, which I believe you have seen; perhaps more will come out at another time.

To Dipontius 4) you shall say in my name: peace and mercy. If he has missed anything, let it be forgotten, for I too have long since forgotten it, that I do not even remember it; why then does he doubt me so long?

I wanted to admonish our Balthasar 5) to accept the preaching ministry in Schleta, but he overcame me by reasons, since

3) The Imperial Diet at Regensburg was announced for the first Sunday in Lent, then postponed to May and finally cancelled by an imperial edict of April 10 and did not convene until the following year at Speier.

4) This Dipontius is said to be Joh. Schlaginhausen, who was Luther's table companion in the years 1531 and 1532.

5) "Balthasar" is not, as Seidemann assumes in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 704, Zeiger, but, as Hausmann's inscription shows, Loy.

he had been invented without stubbornness. For since there are people available who are both fit and poor, why should one not be allowed or willing to appoint one of them? Especially since this Balthasar does not like to accept, both for his own sake and for that of his wife; therefore, I think, one should let him go freely wherever he wants and take another in his place.

The visitation is under the press, through which, I hope, everything will be changed for the better.

Your preacher has a bad rumor among us, as if he despises your reputation and, puffed up by trusting in the applause of the mob, takes too much liberty and is insolent. I write about this both to the council and to himself, I also write to your reverence (*tuæ D[ignitati]*). See, therefore, that he teaches quietly and punishes the infirmities without noise, lest, if you are negligent, we be compelled to invoke the hand of the prince against him and his. I will take zero blame if you do not dare to do so, and work with the prince to remove him from the city if he does not begin to act more prudently; for what is he doing stirring up trouble in the midst of trouble and carrying fire to fire? This you shall read to him and say in my name, that is, sharply and openly, and confidently you shall provoke his anger against me, and apologize, because I do not have this from you, which I write, and I wonder that you have kept silent so long and kept behind the mountain. Farewell in Christ, my man venerable in Christ. Our Pomeranus sends you his friendly greetings. Monday after Dorothea [10 Feb.] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1201.

Wittenberg.

February 10, 1528.

To Paul Lindenau, preacher in Zwickau.

Luther exhorts him to refrain from insulting personalities and to plant everything by which the people can be aroused, rather love and peace.

His brother Paul, who is extremely dear in Christ, the zealous and diligent preacher of the church in Zwickau.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord! I have also asked you before, dear Mr. Paul, by letter 1) that you should teach the word of God peacefully, and abstain from persons and everything that tends to move the people without benefit. Now a sad and unpleasant rumor about you shows me anew what I would rather not have heard, and not only the rumor, but also N. Stephan Roth through his letters; although dark, he has nevertheless shown so much that it is enough to arouse my concern, which, as it suspects all evils in a few evils, so also fears in all things that are certain. In short, since you teach in this way that you seriously offend blameless and godly men, this is a great proof that you do not walk rightly according to the Gospel, but aim to cause either riots or mobs for your glory. Yes, that you teach about the sacrament so coldly and that you abstain from communion yourself for so long, who should not rightly think that you might be planning some monstrosity?

Therefore, my dear brother, I ask you again for the sake of Christ JEsu, that you rather calm the minds of the listeners than stir them up, and promote love and peace between all. It is enough that Satan stirs up unrest and riots; let us not also provide weapons for his rage, since we should have resisted him with all our strength. You know the wild nature of your citizens and their more than civil licentiousness, as experience has taught so far: what need is there then to carry fire to fire? I write this because I hope that you will receive the reminder of love with a willing mind and not let it pass without fruit, so that we will not be forced to invoke the prestige and power of the prince (who is busy enough anyway) at all times and in all our affairs, which is neither beneficial for you nor glorious.

would be full for us, even though necessity compels it. May the Lord Jesus grant you His Spirit, so that you may do what is pleasing to Him, Amen. Wittenberg, on the day of the Scholastica [Feb. 10] 1528. Martin Luther.

No. 1202 .

Kiel.

February 21, 1528.

Wilhelm Pravest, preacher in Kiel, to Luther.

Pravest writes that many annoying doctrines are imposed on Luther as their author, but he and many orthodox Christians cannot believe that Luther is to blame. Therefore, he asks Luther to tell him what he thinks about the teachings he has given. About Melchior Hofmann and his enthusiasm.

Printed by *Muhlius, dissertat. historico-theol.*, p. 147; by Joh. Melch. Krafft, *Zweifaches Zwei-Hundert- Jähriges Jubel-Gedächtniß 2c.*, Hamburg 1723, p. 446; in Krohn, *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer*, p. 113 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 210.

Greeting and continuing (tenor), 1) to keep what is right and to follow diligently what is for peace. In Christ, most reverend Father! Your admirable and unusual erudition, with which you are gifted, as many praise you, makes you famous in all of Europe; God would that so many annoyances had not arisen under the name of your teaching, and would still be raised daily. Namely, under the cloak of evangelical freedom, many careless people add many things that have been unheard of from time immemorial, about which godly hearts are angry. Although there are many who blame you for this, since you are certainly the originator of the new teachings in this day and age, I cannot believe that all these annoying things have come from you or that you approve of them, but it is according to the common saying: When bad talk arises, the palm tree is also accused of being crooked; 2) just as many good orthodox believers (catholici) [suffer this] with me, who reverently receive and venerate Christ (as is proper) in his Gospel, who desire a general reformation of the doctrine of the church, 3) in which

1) The all gifts have a punctum after *tenor*.

2) *palma accipit ulnam*, literally: the palm tree gets an elbow.

3) Pravest, since 1526 preacher at St. Nicolai in Kiel, placed there by his monastery, the Augustinian monastery at Bordesholm, was one of the natures that had the need of a reformation, but only up to a certain point mitigating. When he here with Luther about the riots

But that everywhere every ecclesiastical custom, and that which was handed down by the fathers of the first orthodox church (in my opinion) without violation of the Gospel, should be destroyed or ridiculed, is not at all pleasing to me; as, then, there are people who remove the baptismal font from the churches and baptize only in a common basin of water, without observing any of the traditional ceremonies. Likewise, there are those who speak shameful things of the reverend sacrament of the altar, who utterly condemn the mass, of which the whole church has made use in the Roman manner, and turn the people away from hearing it, while the common one, which is gathered from all quarters, not keeping them evenly, even denying faith in the life-giving sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, and many such things, which the learned rabble in general charge upon thee, as if they were introduced into the church of Christ with thy consent, or according to thy doctrine 2c. Therefore, venerable father, in order that you may advise your good name and the common people, I have asked you from the bottom of my heart, for the sake of Christ's mercy, that you may indicate what is to be done in these matters, provided that you will not be displeased to let me know through this young man what your opinion is about them. For I, the unworthy one, have been called and unanimously chosen to lead the church in Kiel at this dismal time, and have often insisted that I be released from it, but have not been able to obtain it until now. Therefore, may you advise me, I ask you for God's sake, what I should do in these doubts. A certain man 4) has come to us, who claims to be a promoter of the Gospel of Christ and boasts that he was ordained by God for this purpose, and tries to persuade people that everything he says is to be received as a law, as a Gospel, and yet the man (as he says) 5) understands nothing of the Latin language. He

of some evangelicals, he was already inwardly alienated from the cause of the Reformation. No sooner had he received Luther's answer than he used it to uphold the Papist essence, even spreading mischievous rhymes at Luther. (Erl. Briefw.)

4) Melchior Hofmann, to whom King Frederick of Denmark gave permission to preach in Holstein and gave him a position in Kiel, where he practiced until the Flensburg Conversation on April 8, 1529.

5) In the writing: "That Nic. Ambsdorf is a lying nose ghost": "If I were a smeared one and knew Latin and not a Korssner or Pelzer, then I would probably have peace before you larval spirits".

is called Melchior, was formerly a furrier, and has taught insolently, even in a writing of the last day, and that the world must have an end in seven years. There would have been many other things to bring up, but I did not want to bother you further with my unlearned letter, especially since I hear that you are burdened with weakness of the body. If, out of love for God, you would deign to write and instruct me, I would accept it with thanks and repay you to the best of my ability; in the meantime, I wish that you may be healthy in spirit and body in Christ. Farewell; very hastily. In the city of Kiel, in the year of salvation 1528, on the day before the feast of the chair of the Apostle Peter [21 Feb], by your confrere in Christ Wilhelm Pravest.

No. 1203.

(Wittenberg.)

February 22, 1528.

To Spalatin.

Luther disapproves of the answer given by the Einsiedels to Duke George.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 370; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 282; in Kapp's kleiner Nachlese, vol. I, p. III and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 212. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1090 f.

Grace and peace! Everything we have done so far in the matter of the Einsiedels has been done in vain, my dear Spalatin. For their answer, which was handed over to the duke by his friends, contains this, namely that the Einsiedels want to do everything that pleases Prince George, not what pleases God. Namely, this is what Satan wanted, since he ordered this line, which is underlined by the tyrant with a line, to be eradicated, and they agreed. And there can be no doubt that the tyrant understands and believes that the hermits have completely recanted and denied everything that they have believed until now, as in truth they have also denied and recanted. For who can suffer that this restriction be forbidden: "as they hope and trust in God, that it shall be pleasing to God and their souls' blessedness," and immediately the preceding be added: "It shall not displease S. F. G."? 1) This is how a man becomes God

1) Einsiedel's answer can be found in Kapp, Vol. I, p. 136 ff. The passage in question (p. 140) reads as follows: "As far as the articles of their person are concerned, however, they have not understood my opinion.

and Duke George has what he wanted. In addition, she [Einsiedel] brings the wisdom of friends and faithful advisors! Indeed, I do not know what to advise now. Things are worse than they were before. Their conscience is wounded and entangled, for which I am very sorry; how safe it would have been if they had straightforwardly and openly resisted the tyrant right from the start, while now, since they want to take a middle road, as it were, and try to keep God's grace and man's grace on both sides, they lose both at the same time. The matter must necessarily be brought back to this point, so that the tyrant, after this ambiguity of the answer has been revealed and uncovered, will realize that the hermits do not agree with his will that they should deny or revoke the word of Christ. How they should do this, I do not know, if they do not want to get right with him, or testify by selling their goods that they did not want what the tyrant believes to be able to infer from their answer. For it is mocked, as it were, with shrewdness of his understanding, in that he hears something other than they mean, which is contrary to Christian simplicity and truth. This you too can negotiate with them and think on good counsel. Fare well in Christ, amen. Saturday before Estomihi [Feb. 22] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1204.

(Wittenberg.)

February 22, 1528.

Luther and Bugenhagen to the Lords of Einsiedel.

Same content as the previous letter.

This letter was sent with the previous one to Spalatin for further promotion to Einsiedel. It is written by Luther, only co-signed by Bugenhagen. The locations are given at No. 1192.

gracious Lord and the rest of us humbly and kindly requested to make their humbly report to His Grace, and say: that with the bestowal of divine graces they want to show themselves and keep themselves as Christians with confessions, preaching, hearing mass, receiving the sacraments according to Christian church ordinances in such a way and manner as they hope and trust in God, that it shall be pleasing to God and blissful for them, in which E. F. Grace will also have no displeasure with their humbly hope and doubtless no displeasure. F. graces of their submissive hope and will undoubtedly have no displeasure."

Grace and peace in Christ. Strict, honorable, dear lord and friend! It is in your answer, given to Duke George, too much done in the piece, that the words he has underlined are to be let out by your friends. For the answer is now just as Duke George desired, that the von Einsiedel want to do as he pleases, as you yourselves will well notice if you leave such words out and read the text one after the other. Now I do not know all your opportunities to bring such things back in a good way.

For since he does not understand your answer, nor can he understand it, except as if you wanted to do what he wants, then it must truly come out that you believe much differently than he means. For your words give him a different understanding than you have and want to give him. It would still be best to get right with him, or to leave the goods. For even though you are now at liberty to sell the goods, 2c. I do not see how you can let the prince remain in such a delusion, as if you had revoked and denied everything.

So it is also not a danger for you to disown your subjects if you sell the goods or leave out the heir, even though this would drive the people away from God's word; for it is not your fault, and you cannot do anything against force, even though there is to be feared discord or warfare between the 2) sovereigns. For we do not have to do wrong or deny God's word for the sake of any good or benefit, be it of the soul or of the body. If only your friends had not allowed the words Duke George underlined to remain outside, there would be no need for any of this. Is this not Satan's evil play, that a Christian should not say: I hope to God that I will keep myself, that it shall be pleasing to God, and the salvation of the soul; to whom then shall it be pleasing? Does this not mean to publicly exclude and deny God's grace, and to consider man's grace alone?

Therefore, my dear sirs, make such an answer in the play be revoked, either by a written instruction to the duke, or by the fact that you practice the contradiction, or turn away from his authority, or what you and your friends may find better; I know no better. May Christ our dear Lord strengthen and counsel you to end the matter well, for this answer has made it worse than it was before. You will find us willing to serve you. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Saturday St. Peter's chair celebration [22 Feb.] 1528.

Martinus Lutherus.
Johannes Bugenhagen Pommer.

No. 1205 .

February 24, 1528.

(Wittenberg.)

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther expresses his concerns about the future Reichstag. Of his latest writings. He warns about two people expelled from Austria.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 369; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 283 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 214 (incorrectly dated: "25. Febr."). German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1088.

Grace and peace in Christ! There are monstrosities everywhere and on all sides, my dear Wenceslaus, so that I hope, since Satan is raging, that the day of salvation of the blessed is at the door. I wanted King Ferdinand to be stopped in Hungary so that he could not come to the Diet. For it is better that the Diet should be prevented than that it should be assembled in vain, or that the plots of the bishops should be acted upon, by which alone they always deal, and seek to fortify their own by neglecting the affairs of the commonwealth; Christ forbid them!

I thank the Lord Lazarus for the seeds sent. By God's grace we are freed from the plague. By your prayer I am more sorry for my Satan at times. But continue and do not stop praying for all of us. I believe that you have already received my booklet against the Anabaptists and Leonhard Keiser's martyrdom. My book

3) Spengler.

1) "the" put by us instead of: "th".

2) "den" put by us instead of: "dem", because the Churfürst was co-ruler with Duke Georg.

Antiswermerius meus will, if Christ gives grace, go out to the Frankfurt fair. Greetings to Mr. Osiander and all brothers in the Lord. Michael Stiefel reports to me that two people who were driven out of Austria from Welsen, 1) near Linz, have fled to you, who are orthodox Christians (*catholici*) to the face, but poisonous sacramentaries behind their backs. Therefore, he asked that I warn you, so that if they were still with you, you could beware of them and take careful care of them. The grace of God be with you, amen. On the day of Matthias [24 Feb.] 1528. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1206 .

(Wittenberg.)

February 25, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

From the printing of the visitation articles; about the good behavior of Paul Lindenau and Luther's concerns about the Reichstag.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Frasciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 63. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 3696; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 287 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 217 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1090.

To the highly venerable brother in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful and sincere servant of GOD in his Gospel in the church at Zwickau.

Grace and peace! The edition of the Visitation has not yet been completed, my dear Mr. Nicolaus, since the printers have delayed the matter for lack of paper; it will be ready around Lätare. 2) That you write so well about Mr. Paul, and at the same time he answers so sincerely, has given me extraordinary joy. May Christ grant that with one heart and one mouth we may glorify the Father to eternal glory, amen.

There is nothing new with us, except for the monstrous threats of the magistrates, in hope of the future Imperial Diet in Regensburg. You do this by praying diligently with your congregation for the princes of Germany, whether God will one day give them grace that they may

1) Wels in Upper Austria, three German miles from Linz.

2) The visitation booklet left the press on March 22.

not always come together like this with futile expenses, but finally be concerned about peace and justice for once, as it should be. We have seen so many kingdom days in a short time and have not perceived any fruit, since God leaves them and us like this, and the devil with his angels prevents everything. Fare well in the Lord, and greet Paul, your evangelist, in the Lord, with all the brethren. The day after 3) Matthew [25 Feb] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1207.

Wittenberg.

February 28, 1528.

To Heino Gottschalk, Abbot of Oldenstadt near Uelzen.

At his request, Luther gives him advice on the question of whether a friend of his should leave the monastery or not.

Handwritten in the royal library at Hannover. Printed in the "Bremisch-Verdische Bibliothek," III, 1119; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 284 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 215.

To the in Christ venerable father, Mr. Heino,⁴⁾ Abbot of Alt-Uelzen [Oldenstad], his in Christ highly venerable superior.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Venerable man, highly venerable in the Lord! I gladly received the letter of your dignity, which is short and small, but cheerful and pleasant; it is a testimony not only to the faith and to the love of God.

3) We hold that *altera post* here, and everywhere where it is only at all relevant, should be resolved by: "the day after" should be resolved, not by: "at the assembly after". In all letters from June 1525 to April 1530, which are found in the third volume of De Wette's collection of letters, *altera post* occurs, except in this place, only twice, namely p. 326 (where De Wette wrote it as "Monday after", whereas the Erl. Briefw. as: 7 "m day after") and p. 515, where De Wette correctly wrote it as: "on the day after", the Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 173 as "Mondags and notes, since *Lucae* itself was a Monday: "whereby one must not be disturbed by the post"! In the third volume of De Wette, Monday is always designated by *feria secunda*, namely p: 19. 20. 132. 170. 180. 191. 192. 195. 218. 251. 252. 281. 296. 337 and 433.

4) The unnamed abbot, in whose name the question was put to Luther, was Heino Gottschalk, abbot of Oldenstadt, himself, who intended to leave the monastery. As a result of our letter, the abbot and the convent handed over their seals and letters to the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Ernst the Confessor, on July 10, 1529, but received from him housing and supplies in the monastery. Gottschalk did not die until 1541 at a ripe old age.

the truth which is awakened by Christ in the heart of your We have lived like this for a long time, and would have dignities, but also for a certain other unnamed abbot, an lived like this even longer and until today, if the brothers old man who is equally to be revered in Christ, in whose and the conditions of the monastery had suffered. The name your dignity asks me for advice and consolation in grace of Christ be with you all, and pray for us and the the question of conscience. First of all, I thank God, our whole Church of God. Wittenberg, penultimate February Father, through Christ, who has deigned to glorify his [28 Feb] 1528.

word also in this corner and end of the earth, and I pray that he may complete what he has begun according to his great mercy, most graciously and abundantly at the same time in you and in all of us, amen. As far as the question is concerned, I believe that this man can remain in the monastery quite safely, even with great fruit, since the situation is such that he is not forced to attend the ungodly masses or to do any other work contrary to the faith, and he is also free to serve the brothers who either want to leave or to remain. He may serve them in Christ, either by reading the Scriptures with the brethren, or by praying the *horas canonicas* himself (only that which is impure, apart from the Psalms and the Scriptures and the Collects, must be omitted), and by partaking of the Lord's Supper. For what harm could monastic life do where freedom of the spirit reigns? Paul has decided that Christians can eat with an unbeliever [1 Cor. 10, 27.], 1 Cor. 8, even if he himself should eat things sacrificed to idols, his conscience is free, at least his. Finally, I would not advise such old men to leave your monastery, first of all, because outside they might be a burden to others, and hardly people would be found who would care for them as they are worth and need, since now love has grown cold in many; in the monastery, however, they are not a burden to anyone, nor do they need the care of others, and secondly, they can benefit many others for their salvation, which they might, yes, certainly not be able to do outside. Therefore, you will exhort the worthy man to stay where he is and do what he does in freedom of spirit, for in this way he will be of much use not to himself but to the brethren, then also in the world, and also serve Christ in all things in the most proper way, and desire and expect his coming with a happy and sure conscience. For I too have a

Your dignity servant
Martin Luther.

No. 12 08.

Wittenberg.

March 3, 1528.

To Johann Rühel.

See St. Louis ed. vol. X, 2214.

No. 1209.

Wittenberg.

March 2, 1528.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

Luther asks him to send some things for someone. About the remarriage of his brother-in-law Ignatius; about Agricola's journey to the Imperial Diet; about the death of Agricola's father.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzeb.* Printed in the time schrift für hist. Theol. 1872, 351 and in Erlanger Briefw., Vol. VI, p.218f.

To his brother in Christ, Johann Agricola, the extremely faithful educator 1) of the youth at Eisleben.

Grace and peace in the Lord! The daughter of Morsinus has asked, my dear Agricola, that you either send her little Saxons, I don't know which ones she says are with you, here, or, because there is a rumor that you will come here, bring them here with you. She also asked the same with regard to the wages. Ignatius takes that widow, after I have so diligently opposed her in vain before. He goes his way, but not with my pleasure nor favor, even with my displeasure for quite just cause. It would be advisable for you to attend the Diet at Regensburg with our prince; but since we expect you to be here, I will speak to you verbally, and if necessary, I will give counsel publicly (*in medium*). Your father may

1) *poetae* == poets. Otherwise Luther uses the expression: *formatori*, but here jokingly *poetae* instead of == formator,

live with your Father in Heaven. Greet your Elsa with the children. Greet all of us and be well in the Lord and pray also for me. Wittenberg, the second of March 1528,
Martin Luther.

No. 1210.

(Wittenberg.)

March 6, 1528.

To Conrad Cordatus in Jáchymov.

Luther invites him to stay with him for the time being until he is otherwise provided for; there is nothing to be hoped for in Ferdinand's lands.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 85; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 288 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 219.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Dearest Cordatus, I have already learned that you have returned from Austria and that you are staying in Jáchymov in hope and on the promise of your Queen 1). Furthermore, I had the assumption that it would never happen that you would be called back by the queen. Therefore, if it is burdensome or inconvenient for you to stay there, I would like you not to hesitate, but either to hurry to me, or to go wherever it pleases you. For if the queen should ever wish to call you again, she could just as well find you with us as in Joachimsthal. With us you can (as I believe) certainly have better and more pleasant company than there with those who are not your equals. Of course, if the occasion demanded it, I would not turn back to the promise of the queen, and nevertheless ask you to enter the service of Christ in the meantime. Therefore, it shall be your choice, you can come to us with the little sister, your wife, until Christ has provided otherwise. The bishops and the sacristans, who have been made happy, bold and secure by Ferdinand's mandate, will, I expect, hardly allow evangelists to arise anew in his realms.

1) The widowed Queen Mary of Hungary had offered Cordatus the prospect of employment in Hungary, and thereupon Cordatus had gone back from Liegnitz in Silesia (see No. 1036) to Austria, but could not stay there because of the mandate of King Ferdinand of August 20, 1527, and went to Joachimsthal. From here, probably in response to this letter, he traveled via Nuremberg and Jena, where Melanchthon was still at the end of March, to Wittenberg.

men. What should I therefore advise you to let yourself be held back by a hope that is not necessary and in fact futile? I spoke kindly with the brother's widow and asked her to call on my help if she needed it. The plague has ceased here by the grace of Christ, now in its third month. I believe that you have read my letter against the Anabaptists. I hope that through it some can be preserved and restored, if Christ gives grace. Other things will be communicated to you by our Georg Rörer, the extremely dear and faithful servant of Christ. May the Lord be with you with his grace and with his spirit, amen. On the 6th day of March 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1211.

(Wittenberg.)

March 7, 1528.

To Leonhard Beier in Guben . 2)

Luther invited him to come to him if he was expelled. (However, he remained in Guben until 1532.)

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Gud.* 214, fol. 20. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 86; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 289 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 221.

Grace and peace in Christ! When Satan rages, my dear Leonhard, he does that which is according to his! When Satan rages, he does what is according to his office and name, for Scripture reminds us again and again that one must expect such things from him. But you be a strong man, pray and fight against him in spirit and in word. He is mighty in us, who rules in us, praise and glory be to God. Now if he should drive you out from there, an inn will be open for you with us, as much as Christ has given. For there are already several strangers staying with us from all sides, who have been driven out of Ferdinand's kingdoms, and who at least follow the poor Christ in poverty and suffer. I commend myself to your prayers and to those of yours. Fare well in the Lord. March 7, 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

2) Beier was not, as De Wette assumes in the introduction to this letter, in Austria, but a preacher in Guben in Lower Lusatia (see No. 902 and No. 915), which belonged as a Bohemian fief to Churbrandenburg. Therefore, Ferdinand's mandate against the Reformation could also extend here.

No. 12 12.

Wittenberg.

March 7, 1528.

To Gabriel Zwilling in Torgau.

From the acceptance of the Gospel in Venice and in Brunswick/ From the disputation in Bern, and more.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 371 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 289 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 222. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1092.

To Mr. Gabriel Didymus, pastor at Torgau.

Grace and peace! With joy I hear what you write about Venice, my dear Gabriel, that they have received the word of God; thanks and praise be to God. And you may not be moved by the spoons (*cochearia*) in Torgau, I have certainly heard and believe that there are more fireplaces in Venice than there are spoons even in Erfurt, since many houses have 10, 20, 30 and more fireplaces. Again I inform you that Brunswick has also received the word, and the council together with your people has written and requested our Pomeranian; but it has been refused to them, perhaps they will ask for another. Let Christ increase his glory. Again, in Halle, one was struck with sudden death on Ash Wednesday¹ the chaplain of the nuns, because he said about the sacrament offered to the Knight of Selwitz 1) under both forms: "Pocket God" was offered to him. But even so the angry and blasphemous people are not moved. The disputation at Bern 2) in Switzerland has ended; nothing has been accomplished except that the mass has been said, and the children on the gaffes are singing that they are freed from the baked bread. Zwingli has been led there and back by a thousand men as a triumphant and glorious emperor, whose end, ruin and disgrace will come in a short time; let us only pray diligently. To Sebastian Kammermeister you may say my greeting, and that I have received what he has sent.

1) Probably Friedemann von Selmenitz, son of Mrs. Felicitas von Selmenitz, who received the sacrament under both forms before his death. In a letter of Sept. 18 to Wolfgang von Anhalt, the name Selbitz is written.

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1616, no. 19.

Fare well with all of yours and greet the chaplains, and they may give orders that the books they want be demanded from me. Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Invocavit [March 7] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1213 .

(Wittenberg.)

March 10, 1528.

To an unnamed person of nobility¹

This concern is found handwritten in Cod. Jen. V; in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Aug.* 11. 10, fol. 200 b (without date, with the inscription: *Casus matrimonialis*. To Baltzer Joppel, organist at Dresden) and in *Cod. Aug.* 20. 2, lob 151 (with the superscription: *Casus de virgine vitata*; with the date). Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 284 b; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 383b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 456; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 439 and (duplicate) in the Supplement, p. 50; in Walch, vol. X, 967 and (duplicate) vol. XXI, 241; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 290 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 439 and (duplicate) vol. 64, p. 286. - Hereafter find the information in the St. Louis ed, Vol. X, Einl., Col. 91, I to be completed and corrected.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 814.

No 1214.

Wittenberg.

March 10, 1528.

To Spalatin.

About the settlement of the dispute between Mühlport, mayor of Zwickau, and Paul Lindenau, preacher there.

The Latin text of this letter is missing. A Germanized copy (according to Spalatin's inscription) is found in the Weimar Archives, Ji, fol. 53 a, 17. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 49; in Walch, vol. XXI, 239; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 292 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 440 f. - Burkhardt, p. 132, informs the following about the situation from the Acts: According to a message that reached the Elector, Lindenau had aroused a great deal of displeasure in Zwickau through his sermons. In particular, he had taken sides on the pulpit for a man named Hebenstreit (who had strangely changed from preaching to baking) and against the fellow masters of the same, attacked them harshly as well as the mayor Mühlport, and let fall unseemly words about the family relationships of the latter, namely because of the engagement of the son with a rich burgher's daughter. When now

3) Already Seidemann correctly noted in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 630, note 1: "That this letter cannot be to Joppel is clear from the form of address: Gestrenger, vester. It is to one of nobility."

Linden", the council was prompted to determine the behavior of the preacher, while Luther and Melancthon had already been active in settling the matter by letter, then by dispatching Friedrich Myconius from Gotha to Zwickau. This did not work in the long run. The preacher continued to drag all kinds of municipal circumstances into the area of his sermons in order to insult the mayor. Luther intervened once again. Even that did not help, because the sermon on Thursday before Shrovetide (Feb. 20) was again full of invective. So the Elector ordered Daniel von Feilitzsch, Amtmann zu Vvigtsberg und Plauen, and Spalatin to be examined in Zwickau on Friday after Reminiscere (March 13), the day mentioned in the beginning of the letter. The commissioners did not find the preacher; he had gone to Wittenberg. The investigation showed that two parties in the city were in hard opposition to each other, and that it was not an easy thing for Mühlport to dismiss the preacher; they were not yet beyond the MUnzian direction, which was expressed here in opposition to the council. Luther's letter shows that extreme care was taken in this matter. Finally, the visitors removed the preacher and appointed Link from Nuremberg to take his place.

Grace and peace in Christ! The pastor of Zwickau, Mr. Niclas Hausmann, together with his preacher, Mr. Paul Liudauer, my Spalatin, have come to Wittenberg; on the way, however, they say that they have come to know that a day 1) has been set on which the matter between Paul and Mühlport is to be settled, for which deal you, as they say, are also required to be a commander. Now I take it for granted, because this matter is quite diabolical, and both parts are very bitter, and neither part does not have the means to accuse and excuse the other, it should be best that they are both interrogated in secret before someone, whether perhaps the devil might be quenched by secret and peculiar means. For if a public interrogation should take place by order of my most gracious lord, the common people will be aroused as if to a spectacle, and the opponents will arm themselves and prepare to adorn themselves and destroy each other, so that there will be much more evil misfortune and evil to fear than ever before, for the devil is the devil, and seeks strangely and everywhere the cause of great evil. For this reason, I have asked you, with whatever caution it may seem to you

before that", so that no public investigation of this evil takes place, before they have tried themselves beforehand in the presence of their pastor with secret and special conversation, whether they might again become friends and get along in this form; because from a public interrogation, perhaps one of them would have to be disgraced and give way, which might not happen to either of them without great turmoil. I will keep Paul here for a few days, so that I may make him more courteous and capable of future unity, if Christ wills and favors it, amen. Fare well in the Lord. Given at Wittenberg, the 10th of March, Tuesday after Reminiscere, *Anno Domini* 1528.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1215 .

(Wittenberg.)
1528.

March 14,

To Wilhelm Pravest, preacher at Kiel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2234, annex, no. 7.

No. 1216.

(Wittenberg.)
1528.

March 14,

To Dorothea Jörger in Tolleth.

It was not necessary to send money to Michael Stiefel, although he himself had asked for it; Luther wanted to provide for him.

Printed in von Hormayr's Taschenbuchs 1845, p. 188; in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 56, p. XIX and by De Wette, vol. VI, p. 92.

To the noble, virtuous woman Dorothea Jörgerin zu Tollet, my favorable wives in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! Honorable, virtuous woman! I should write to you a great deal, as Msgr. Michael often admonishes me to do, because he remembers you often and in the very best way; yet I hope it is not necessary to master your conscience much with more words, because he does and can do this better and with more knowledge than I do. But there is one thing I must not leave out. I realize that he has written to you about money or taxes, which disturbs me for him, since he may well have from me what is necessary to him, what is not.

1) Burkhardt reports: "Friday after Reminiscere" (March 13), the Erl. Briefw. says, probably by mistake: "before Reminiscere" (March 6).

I have ordered him to demand. He is still grateful to me, so that I must give him what he needs. Therefore it is not necessary, dear wife, that you send him something. Give my regards to both of your dear sons and all of your family. May Christ strengthen and keep you all in pure, right, constant faith, amen. Saturday after Reminiscere [March 14] 1528. Martinus Luther.

No. 1217.

Borna.

March 18, 1528.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther reports that he has arrived in Borna with Pommer and Jonas, and asks that he be excused to the prince because of the journey slowed by bad road.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in Cod. Jen. a. fol. 256. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 372; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 295 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 228. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1094.

To his extremely dear brother, Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ.

Grace and peace! At this hour I came to Borna, my dear Spalatin, almost stiff with cold and hunger (to say nothing of other things). Dear God! How many exceedingly bad roads we have had, yet against all hope we have made progress, crawling more than traveling these entire two days, even though we had certainly resolved to have dinner with you today.

I am writing this so that you will excuse me to the prince as soon as you have seen this. For I did not receive the letter calling me¹⁾ until Monday night, and we hurried as much as possible, but because of the difficulty of the way, the wind and the cold, we could not go any further. Tomorrow, God willing, we will have breakfast with you. Pommer and Jonas are with me as traveling companions, so that I would not be alone. Fare well in the Lord. At Borna, at four o'clock, still without having eaten, 1528, Wednesday after Oculi [March 18].

Martin Luther.

1) namely to Altenburg, because of Einsiedel's Handel.

No. 1218.

Torgau.

March 23, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

On the matter of the preacher Paul Lindenau.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 42. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. II, p. 372; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 295 and in Erlanger Briefw., Vol. VI, p. 229. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1094 f.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful and completely sincere bishop of Zwickau.

Grace and peace! I have pursued Paul's cause as diligently as I could, because I have found 2) that they are very bitter. And I hope that this will happen, that they will judge more mildly, especially if Paul henceforth (as we have admonished him) proceeds more moderately. For I have insisted that if he had to be dismissed at all, it would not be good for him to be dismissed with such great disgrace, but that one should also take the preaching ministry into consideration and let him go with honor or even with his consent. Now it is up to you, first of all, to move the man to act moderately, then, as you have begun, not to leave him with your testimony. For by your testimony (you being a pastor) my action and the whole matter are greatly supported, so that he may not be driven out with shame without your judgment and consent, but may at least be borne until he is either regarded as improved in the unanimous judgment of all, or voluntarily resigns his position with honor. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Torgau, Monday after Lätare [March 23] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1219.

Wittenberg.

March 26, 1528.

Luther and Bugenhagen to the Electoral Council of Torgau.

Decision in the marriage case of Hans Müller of Groß-Almerode in Hesse that the wife is to be restored to her husband Hans Ehwald in Eisenach.

2) *inveni* is given by Walch: "as I come".

The original in Luther's hand (Bugsenagen only signed) in the Weimar Archives, Reg. Printed in Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 29 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p.229.

To the Respectable, Esteemed, Esteemed and Esteemed, My Lord the Elector of Saxony at Torgau. Herr des Churfürsten zu Sachsen Rätthen zu Torgau, my favorable lords.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, highly esteemed, strict, firm, dear gentlemen! We have read the affairs of Margarethen, a woman of Eisenach, and take care that they be returned to her husband Hans Ewald, a citizen of Eisenach, in the most beneficial way, regardless of what has been advised or done by us or anyone else up to now. For we are not to defend injustice, but confess that we do so. We would have thought, however, that the matter would have been established in Eisenach by witnesses and good reason.

For myself, Martinus, I have taught up to now, and I would still like to keep it, where I could put it into practice, that the *clandestina conjugia* should not be valid, and the other, following ones, which happen publicly, should be preferred to the same, unless a *casus aequitatis* would come. But now I cannot make such a thing the law of the land, as a single person, I have allowed myself to take this and talk it out (although unsatiated), that *clandestina conjugia* should hold and be valid before God, as E. A. and G. also indicate and the papal laws teach.

Accordingly, we must (however reluctantly) report the imprisoned consciences so that they should always consider the first *conjugia* as valid before God, regardless of whether they are forced in public law to the other marriage, as the pope also teaches that a man should suffer the excommunication and avoid the country with the created before he should stay with the other against his conscience. Such injustice (before my eyes) I must let go until the *clandestina conjugia* be forbidden and nullified. Accordingly, it is and shall not be against us, where such cases would occur again, that E. A. and strict judges, according to the *foro judiciali*, judge and pass judgment differently than we, who must judge against the *forum judiciale* according to the *foro conscientiae*, and where the two judgments go against each other.

that according to the Pabst's doctrine, the person avoids the country and thus both *judiciis* suffice, the *judiciali* and *conscientiae*, with the escape *et cessione loci tanquam mortuus politicus*. If the woman in Eisenach would touch her conscience again, as if she had nevertheless pledged marriage to Halls Müller in Hesse 2c., then we pronounce her, according to the pope, to the same, and let her go, the *forum judiciale*, *fuga*, into foreign lands. But the safest thing would be my first and first doctrine, that *clandestina* should be nothing, as they are certainly nothing with the uncaptured and free consciences. But where are these, because the papacy is not thus torn down in such and such a way? Hiemit GOTT befiehlt, Amen. At Wittenberg, Thursday after *Annunciationis Mariae* [March 26] 1528. Martinus Luther.

Joannes Bugenhagen Pomer.

No. 1220.

March 28, 1528.

To Chancellor Brück.

Rath to peace in Pack's cause.

This concern is found in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 217 (wrong 216); in the Jena edition (1568), vol. VII, p. 276; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VII, p. 300; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 299; in Walch, vol. X, 644; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 1 and (duplicate) vol. 55, p. 264; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 319 and (duplicate) vol., V, p. 247; in the Eisleben edition (as from 1526), vol. I, p. 274b and in the St. Louiser edition, vol. X, 548. In all, these editions as concerns of the counter-defense from 1539, with the exception of De Wette, vol. III and Erlanger, vol. 54, where it is datirt: "May? 1528." Hereafter, the introduction to the 10th vol. of the St. Louiser Ausg. Col. 61 f., is to be corrected. - After Luther had returned from his journey to Altenburg (No. 1217) via Torgau to Wittenberg on March 24, he was summoned again to Torgau by a hurried messenger on March 26, where he left on the 27th in order to participate in the oral discussions about the information given by the Landgrave concerning the revelations delivered by Pack and to give an expert opinion on the behavior of the Elector. This Luther did through our letter. The date is clear from the beginning: "after yesterday's order", since he already traveled back to Wittenberg on the 28th, after he had written this concern. - About Pack's alliance see St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, introduction, p. 17 ff; *ibid.* vol. XVI, 373 ff" No. 829 fß the documents.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 548.

No. 1221.

1526 or later.

Consider" what the Elector of Saxony wants to do to the Catholic bishops.

We have placed this concern here, as well as the Erl. Briefw., because De Wette and the Erlangen edition relate it to Pack's matter.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 362, no. 827.

No. 1222.

(Wittenberg.)

March 28, 1528.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther sends several copies of his great Confession of the Lord's Supper; this is to be his last writing against the Sacramentarians, and he reports the flight of Electress Elisabeth of Brandenburg, the wife of Joachim I.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, Bl.374b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 296 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 233. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1098.

Grace and peace! I have given Johann Hofmann 1) copies against the sacramentaries 2) to be distributed among you. May the Lord grant that they bear fruit among many. For I have decided to let go of these people who speak void things, and have put an end to writing against them, because I see that there is such a great ignorance of logic among them that it is impossible, even if they were naturally wrong, that they can be instructed or brought to the actual point (*metam*) of refutation. For there can be neither teaching nor disputation without dialectics, at least not without the natural one, in which Zwingli is so unlearned that he can be compared to a donkey.

With us there is nothing new, except that it is said that the bishops snort wars and murder, and that fool at Meissen, as is his way, is inflamed with threats. 3) In the sermon, you call the people to prayers that Christ may crush Satan, for he roars,

1) See No. 1144.

2) The Great Confession of the Lord's Supper, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 894.

3) This is a suggestion from Pack's revelations.

like a raging and hungry lion, after our blood. The margravine 4) escaped from Berlin to our prince with the help of her brother, the king of Denmark, because the margrave had decided (as mau says) to have her walled up because of the sacrament under both forms. Pray for our prince, "the pious man and hearty man is well afflicted"; he is worthy of our prayers. Fare well with your children and your wife. March 28, 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1223.

Wittenberg.

April 1, 1528.

To Felicitas von Selmenitz in Halle.

Luther asked her whether she should leave Halle, but he advised her to stay for the time being and wait to see if the Cardinal would come and take action against her.

Printed in the "Unschuldige Nachrichten" 1752, p. 13; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 297 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 442.

To the honorable, virtuous woman Felicitas von Selmenitz, 5) widow of Halle, my dear friend in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord and Savior. Honorable, virtuous woman! I have heard your request. Christ will be with you and will not leave you. But that you ask me whether you should flee or stay, I consider that you are free to flee with a clear conscience, because you have received such leave from your authorities.

4) The Electress Elisabeth of Brandenburg, sister of the exiled King of Denmark, Christian II, fled because her husband Joachim I threatened her with severe imprisonment after she had secretly taken communion under both guises at Easter 1527 if she did not convert from her heresy by Easter 1528. In the night from March 23 to 24 she fled from Berlin, and on March 26 she arrived in Torgau during the night. The Elector took her under his protection and initially ordered her to stay in the nunnery at Prettin near Domnitzsch. She remained in Saxony until August 1545.

5) Frau von Selmenitz, daughter of the knight Hans Mönch and widow of the electoral captain Wolf von Selmenitz, who was murdered in Halle in 1519. She moved 1527 to Wittenberg, but left it because of the plague and went to Halle. The Cardinal suggested that she leave her confession or go away from Halle. She complained about this to Luther and received this answer.

I would rather see that you delay a while longer until you learn more certain news about whether the Cardinal is coming or not, so that one does not think that you want to flee before the time and without cause; but I place it all in your favor. May God Almighty strengthen you, and all brothers and sisters in Halle, according to His divine will. At Wittenberg, Wednesday, April 1, 1528, Martin Luther.

No. 1224.

(Wittenberg.)

1. April 1528.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

If Captain Hans Metzsch could not be at the visitation, Benedict Pauli might be appointed.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 251; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 351 b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 411; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 554; in Walch, vol. XXI, 243; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 298 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 442.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! What E. F. G. wrote to our Captain Hails Metsch concerning the visitation, I have also heard through his reports. And it is true that E. F. G. means it very well. But to indicate my humble opinion, methinks truly, because our Captain shall not be present, that it will be necessary for Mr. Benedict Pauli to be present, 1) besides those indicated. There are many monasteries present, and in sum, it looks on us and our doings friends and enemies, more than on others, that I would have thought it best that both Hans Metzsch, Captain, and all of us would have remained present, as it began.

Accordingly, my humble request is that E. F. G. would graciously consider how such a change and perseverance of the person in this work can be troublesome and dangerous enough, and yet, as E. F. G. himself indicate, the work hardly suffers. For I am willing and obliged to serve F. F. G.. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Wednesday after Judica [April 1] An. 1528.

E. F. G. submissive D. Mart. Luther.

1) Both, Metzsch and Pauli, became members of the visitation taking place in autumn 1528, namely for the Churkreis.

No. 1225.

Torgau.

April 7, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

From the matter of the preacher Paul Lindenau.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 16 b and in the Gymnasialbibliothek at Altenburg. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 372; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 298 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 235. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1095.

For the attention of Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau.

Grace and peace in Christ! The cause and affair of your Paul is being pursued so fiercely at court, my dear Nicolaus, that it seems advisable to me, because you will let him go free at a good opportunity. This has increased the suspicion that ours, Christian 2) and the town clerk, claim that Panlus has poorly defended his cause before them, and almost justified the Mühlpfort. Therefore, it is safest, in order to prevent other things, that Paul be dismissed and go to Wittenberg for a time (as it were to me), for I fear that something exceedingly harsh might be done by the court against your citizens. Of other things at another time; this in haste and among a great deal of business. Torgau, Tuesday after Palmarum [April 7] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1226.

Wittenberg.

April 9, 1528.

To Joseph Levin Metzsch in Milan.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 814. - There, line 8, read: "angry boys who do wrong."

No. 1227.

(Wittenberg.)

April 11, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

About the visitation and trade of Paul Lindenau.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in the *Franciscaneum* at Zerbst, Ms. 26, fol. 25 b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 374; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 301 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 237. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1097.

2) D. Christian Baier, professor and mayor of Wittenberg.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior.

Grace and peace! I do not understand anything about the formula, which, as you write, you saw with the Knight of Planitz, my dear husband; by the way, I have insisted enough and still insist that the visitation proceed and be carried out in earnest, and I hope that it will be put into action immediately after Easter. There is no end to the complaining about Paul and the accusations, of which I recently wrote you enough from Torgau. They cry out that their windows have been broken twice with stones, even after our last agreement, so that no other remedy is to be seen than that he, as I have written, leave the place and the disturbance. Finally, I ask that you pray to the Lord for me, the poor, as I do for you. May the grace of God be with you, amen. On the Saturday before Easter [April 11] 1528. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 122 8.

Cassel.

April 11, 1528.

Philip of Hesse's response from Luther's expert opinion.

This is the answer to Luther's concern addressed to Chancellor Brück in Pack's case, No. 1220.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 452, fol. 162, with the inscription: "H. Landgraff Philipps zu Hessen schrifft auff D.Luthers Bedenken in der Packischen Sache, von dem Landgraffen eigenhändig aufgesetzt, so aber in der Canzlei abgeschrieben und ihm seine Hand wieder zugestellet worden, wie außen darauf registrirt, und habe es der von Dolczigk am Osterabend am Osterabend empfangen, 1528, d. 11. April." Printed in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 100; Burkhardt, in the journal für kirchliche Wissenschaft und Lehre, 1882, p. 587 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 238.

I have heard Luther's advice, and I like it in the beginning. But I note so much that Doctor Martinus does not report the trade sufficiently, after he writes that it is not yet verified (vorgewißt) and unproven. On the point is necessary to report the trade that I have read and seen it, and also hope, God does not want, to bring the original to my hands. ¹⁾ From

1) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p.19a.

For this reason, Doctor Martinus can conclude that the matter is certain; also for the reason: what would I want to do against him, who is my closest friend on account of my sister and his daughter, if I did not know the certain truth? For I must publicly confess that he has helped me much more than the Elector. 3) But I am moved by this: God's word, that I would not like to see it suppressed, because through their actions it would not only be suppressed, but also suppressed, and all pious people would be hanged, drowned, chased away, their own taken away, the books taken away, the preachers executed, and what shall I say much? They desecrated women and children, restored idolatry and the preaching of devils, spoliated the castes of the poor, desecrated virgins and women.

Now comes the article, where the question arises, whether one should allow oneself to be overdrawn, or whether one, if we could, [should] perish such by God's help? Now Doctor Martinus has argued that one has the right and the duty to protect one's subjects, as he then has. But I ask Martinus' kind opinion whether it is better that we let the house burn and extinguish it, or whether it is better to prevent the fire from burning? Secondly, I ask: if a child wants to fall into the fire or water of its mother, whether the mother should work so long,⁴⁾ until the child falls into the fire, or whether she should keep it from falling into it? Now I think that Martinus will easily be too modest, and perhaps he will laugh at this question that I am asking. But if he considers what may follow from it, the ruin of country and people, soul and body, then he will undoubtedly be right about the matter.

Thirdly, I say: "Since it is certain that the authorities owe it to their subjects to protect them from unlawful violence, and also that one brother owes it to another to help him when he is in need, so that his life may be at stake, I now ask whether I should protect my subjects dead or alive, ver-

2) "to draw out" == to take out. - The Landgrave's sister was married to Duke George's eldest son, Johann; George's daughter, Christine, was Philip's wife.

3) This refers to the overthrow of the regent Boyneburg, the reinstatement of Philip's mother, Anna, into guardianship and liberation from Saxon guardianship (1514), as well as the declaration of majority by the emperor (1518) of the landgrave, who was only 14 years old, all of which Duke George supported.

4) "beiten" == wait. The copyist seems not to have known this word and therefore to have omitted the same several times, as Kolde indicates. - Erl. Briefw.: "beden".

hunted or unhunted? If I were to protect them dead, trust. That is rightly said; why not? I certainly believe my protecting them would not help at all. So it must that God knows who trusts in him. Therefore there is follow irrefutably that I protect them because they live, no great boasting about it, otherwise we might deceive as I hold that Martinus confesses. Now it is ever ourselves. But it is also written, "Thou shalt not tempt publicly true that this alliance of theirs is able to deliver thy Lord God. But do we not tempt Him when God (uberlibbern) the preachers along with others in an shows us such great mercy that we become aware of unprotected matter and to restore all devil worship, or their temptations, and then do we not want to if not, to drive it out of the lands and people. If we are remember that we are corrupting our subjects, if we to stick to God's word, as I am inclined to do, whether could well prevent it by God's grace? We must confess it concerns body or goods. If we are to remain true to that God nevertheless accomplishes many things the word of God, as I am inclined to do, it will affect life through instruments that He could otherwise and property. If we are to remain true to the word of accomplish, but He will not. He could have let Goliath God, then we are sure of our protection; and if, when die by his almighty will, but still David had to do it with we are persuaded, people are strangled, women and a sling; the same with Gideon. I must not remind virgins are violated, and the poor are destroyed, then Martinum of this; if he looks at his own books, he will our protection is too long overdue; for if I see someone probably find this. We should work and give the care who wants to strangle my brother, it is better for me to God. To all this it may be said: it is no sooner time to prevent him from being strangled than to have him to attack us than it is time to protect us; so I answer: if strangled, and then to help him if it does not help him. we are sure that they want to kill and strangle our subjects and brothers, as we are, then we owe it to But once again a similar thing: I wanted to punish someone so that he would go to the whorehouse, and yet I left the whorehouse standing and did not break it down. From all this it is easy to judge that one is guilty of harm. Another similarity: if someone wanted to attack me in the streets, and I knew it for sure, should I fight until he threw the merchant down or strangled him, or should I do so and defend myself, and if I caught him, should I not punish him, because he would have wanted that? should I let him do it? No, I shall. There is also this: if we wait until they convict us, they will take our people, who are serving us now, into their hands, so we will not be able to get any people. And in addition, our people will become despondent,¹⁾ so we all do not have a firm place. This is how the air is now, so that it can be done with God's help, which would be impossible after this; they will also have a different regard, so that we will not be able to take their suggestions into account, but God may well send it. Now I know well that Martinus will say to this: it is reason and human suggestions; which is also partly true, but he must nevertheless also confess that God has given us reason and reflection, so that we should also use them for our subjects. For if we were not to use human arguments, which are not against God, in temporal matters, what would we then be allowed to do in the collegia? for much reason is taught in them, since God's Word is not within. Thus his, Luther's, advice is not at all without reason and worldly wisdom. But he will meet me: one should forgive God.

2) The alliance established in Weimar on March 9, 1528, to protect against the attacks of the Catholic princes.

1) So Kolde. Erl. Briefw.: "verjagt".

brings with it. We do not desire their property for this purpose, nor do we desire their subjects. Our covenant at Weimar also provides that we shall be gracious and friendly to our subjects. In addition, we are also to report our dealings to the Emperor. Maj. that we shall report our dealings and offer all obedience to Her Majesty. From this it is clear that our mind is not inclined to rebellion, but to all obedience. It is also our opinion to make a public announcement and to complain about their authority; thus we do not hold back anyone's interest, 1) as well as obedience, as far as body and goods are concerned. Therefore we would have been spared the riot; 2) even if we did not like to be Christians, much more responsibility would be needed. But one brother must give credit to the other. From all of the above, it is good to judge that other minds, which God knows best, cannot be deceived. And therefore I conclude: if we have power to resist if they attack us, we also have power, if we know that they have it in their will and cannot avoid it, even if they have vowed and sworn oaths to God to resist and avert their violence in this, and not to fight until it is right for them. For we are just as guilty of forfeiting the death stroke, if it has not happened, as we are guilty of punishing the death stroke. So it is against all law and order that they want to judge people without being heard, which should not happen to a murderer. But if we do not have the power to punish death and the destruction of our subjects, and to prevent the spreading of the word, we do not have the right, much less the power, to defend ourselves when we are attacked and persuaded. That Martinus also says that the Elector is not obliged to keep this covenant, I must forgive him, as one who would gladly be a Christian. But in the eyes of the world it would be ill-spoken, even though it is right for Christians to do so. But that he believes that the alliance should be against God, and that one owes more obedience to God than to men, is that must gladly happen. But the best of all is that it is not against God. But I think that if Martinus had first read the covenant and agreement and had heard my mind, he would have

have not judged in such a way. However, he has now judge from these causes that [it] is not against God, and he shall freely provide for it, that I so unwillingly want to do against God, as much as he gives me grace, as he does.

I have long since thought of a way, although I am concerned that it would cause a great delay and expense, and besides, I am concerned about what they now promise, that none of them will be held, because they have forgotten their previous oath. I do not need to know how the assurance is to be made and who the guarantors should be. But that would be my foolish concern, although I would not have it advised that one write beforehand to the king, likewise to his confederates, to each in particular, how their alliance would be experienced; Since such an alliance would be contrary to God, law, nature and all equity, and since it is also due to us from God, law and nature to protect our subjects for such violence, and also not to let us be forced from God's word, our request to them would be that they want to come to a place, which could be named for them, in time, and to finally come to terms with us for the sake of the matter, to promise to refrain from such actions, to refrain from and to reimburse us for our expenses, in which they have led us against reason, to write such things down for us with present messengers, and to report them to them: If they do not do this, we would be caused to protect our subjects, friends and brothers from such unjust violence; we would not have wanted to leave this undisclosed to them for the sake of our honor.

We are to trust God freely and yet do our part, as God says to Joshua [Josh. 1:7,9]: "Be a strong man and be confident, I will help you. In the same way a husbandman sows, plows and reaps, and puts all human thought and labor into it, trusting in God that He will prosper. As it is also said that prayer is hindered by such preoccupation, I think it is easy to report. If this exists, which 3) we owe out of divine rights and brotherly love, prayer cannot be hindered, since the greatest prayer is to say: "Lord, your will be done! I know best that we have become aware of the trade. Therefore, if God sends us

1) As, for example, Duke George did with the Thuringian monastery fiefs belonging to Hesse and Chursaxony.

2) Namely in Luther's concern. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 553, § 11. - The meaning of what follows here is: If I did not want to be a Christian, I would have better illuminated you, Luther, 2c.

3) Erl. Briefw.: "that".

If we have the means to do this, we should not dismiss them out of hand. Christ could have jumped out to the temple [Matth. 4, 6], but he went down the stairs. And therefore, if by the ways, as touched above, it is acted, it is without doubt not against God. Date Cassel, Saturday after Palmarum [April 11].

No. 1229 .

(Wittenberg.)

April 12, 1528.

Luther and Bugenhagen to Stephan Roth in Zwickau.

Luther's advice and rebuke about Roth's marital discord.

Manuscript in the Rathsschulbibliothek in Zwickau, vol. XXXIV (Roth's own copy); in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Aug.* 20, 2, toi. 115 and *Cod. Gud.* 214, fol. 221b; in an old copy owned by pastor Nebel in Gerau; in Hamburg, *Cod.* 1, fol. 36 and *Cod.* 46, 4°, 31. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 373; b" *Jo. Frid. Meyer, de Cath. Lutheri conjuge*, p. 52; in Weller, *Altes und Neues aus allen Theilen der. Geschichte*, vol. II, p. 645; in *Wolff, Conspect. supellect. epist.*, p. 3; in *Ericeus, Sylvula*, v.236; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 302 and again (with better text) vol. VI, p. 93, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 245 (according to Roth's manuscript). German in the Wittenberg ed. (156'9), vol. IX, p. 271 b; in the Jena (1566), vol. I V, p. 355b; in Erasmus Sacerius, *Vom heil. Ehestand*, 1556, p. 297; in the Altenburger, vol. IV, p. 414; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p.438; in Walch, vol. X, 872 and in the St. Louiser edition, vol. X, 734. - Although this letter is already included in our edition in a translation according to De Wette vol. III, we provide a new one, since the text of Roth's hand is at our disposal.

Grace and peace in Christ together with authority over your wife! Your mistress and mistress has not yet come to me, my dear Stephen; 1) this her disobedience to

1) Stephan Roth, born in Zwickau in 1492, went to Leipzig in 1512, where he earned his master's degree in late 1516 or early 1517. At Easter 1517 he became a school rector in Zwickau, and at Easter 1520 a school rector in Joachimsthal. In the winter semester of 1523, he registered in Wittenberg and remained there until 1528, when he was elected town clerk in Zwickau. In Wittenberg, he was active as a writer, translating Luther's writings (see St. Louis Edition, Vol. IV, 204, note) and collecting the summer and festival sections of the Church Postil (see Luther's and Roth's Prefaces to the Church Postil, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, Col. XLVIII ff.). In 1524, he had married Ursula Krüger, a sister-in-law of the printer Georg Rhau, in Wittenberg, who now refused to follow her husband to Zwickau because she allegedly could not tolerate the air and water. At the beginning of May, she "fell ill and promised Bugenhagen that she would follow her husband when she regained her health. According to

I dislike you very much. Then I begin to be a little angry with you, too, that you have made a tyranny out of the Christian servitude in which you are supposed to be of use to her by the too great leniency of your mind and have strengthened her in it so far that it now seems to be your fault, too, that she dares to do all these things against you. Certainly, when you noticed that the donkey became wanton from the fodder, that is, that your wife became unruly because of your indulgence and willfulness, you should have been careful that you also obeyed God more than your wife, so that you would not allow the authority of the husband, which is God's honor, as Paul teaches [1 Cor. 11:7.], to be despised and trampled underfoot by her. For it is enough that this honor of God expresses itself to such an extent that it takes on the form of a servant [Phil. 2, 7. Therefore see to it that you are a man, and bear the weakness of your wife in such a way that you do not foster and cultivate wickedness, and while you are too much of a servant, dishonor the honor of God that is in you by a very pernicious example. But it is easy to distinguish whether it is weakness or wickedness. Weakness is to be borne, wickedness is to be subdued. Weakness brings with it a willingness to learn and listen at least once in twelve hours; wickedness has a stubbornness in resisting and persisting. But where it realizes that wickedness is regarded by you as weakness, what is it to wonder if it becomes exceedingly wicked? And now, through your fault, you open a window for Satan in the wretched little vessel, so that he mocks and irritates you according to his liking and torments you in every way. You are a man of understanding, and the Lord will grant that you understand what I am saying; at the same time you will realize how gladly I would like it from my heart that you and she should be advised.

After various attempts at mediation, especially on the part of Rörer, we meet her again at her husband's on June 21. This marital discord also brought Lindenau to the pulpit. The marriage seems to have been permanently unhappy due to the obstinacy and imperiousness of the wife, of which there is still a testimony from the year 1543. She died in November 1544 and Roth remarried in January 1546.

and the devil be resisted. Fare well in Christ. On Easter
Day [April 12], Anno 1528, Martin Luther,
Johann Bugenhagen Pommer. ¹⁾

No. 1231.

(Around April 16, 1528.)

Luther's and Melancthon's concerns in Pack's case.**No. 1230 .**

Wittenberg.

April 12, 1528.

To Spalatin.

Ueber die Sache des Paul Lindenau und ein HimmelsZeichen.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A, No. 198 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 218. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 373 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 303 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 247. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1096.

To his brother in Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the faithful and loud servant of Christ at the word of God at Altenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! In the matter of Mühlpfort I have acted with words and writings, my dear Spalatin, so that I hope Paul will be dismissed from there, since I see no other remedy left. The one who hands you this letter is our, rather Christ- godly and sincere brother, whom you know, M. Georg, 2) Diaconus of our church. If you do not know our news (which I do not believe), he will tell it to you. I do not interpret your three moons, for I am not a prophet, only that I suspect the moon is an image of the lower political things, and signifies some princes or rather peoples and lesser people's discord, towards evening, when they appeared. May Christ hear my prayer and grant that the people of the bishops fall away from their tyrants, and may happen to the bishops without murder what happened to the Roman Pontiff with murder, amen. Pommer and my Käthe greet you very much, at the same time also your rib and your whole house, together with M. Eberhard and his family, to whom I still owe a small gift, as soon as I will be able to find something, because I am now too poor to send anything. . Pray also for us against Satan, and be at ease in Christ. On the day of the Passover (*phasae*) of the Lord [April 12] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

- 1) Bugenhagen's signature is found only in Roth's copy.
2) Röer.

For the answer to the Landgrave's letter (No. 1228)³⁾ they again advise peace.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, fol. 29. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 452, fol. 161. Printed in De Wette, vol. III, p. 316 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 450.

As much as our office demands, it behooves us to do nothing else in such matters, but to faithfully and diligently ask God, the Father, for counsel and grace, that such a thing may work out to His divine praise and honor and to our blessedness and gracious peace, as we have done until now, still do, and will do again by God's grace.

But because we are now also drawn to this by our Lord, we owe obedience and service to S. C. F. G.. H., and we owe obedience and service to H. C. F. G., and therefore, out of God's commandment and order, must also strengthen our conscience in this matter: so we hold that in no way is the attack to be made from this side, but above all seek peace and means to reconcile the matters. For there is God's word in the fifth book of Moses, which gives peace as the first thing to be offered, even to the rejected enemies, condemned by God to death before they should be attacked with the sword. Thus also the 67th Psalm says: "God scatters the nations that want to war", and Christ says Matth. 7: "Blessed are the peaceful, for they will be called children of God". Without doubt they will be wretched and unhappy, and also the children of the devil, who have a desire for war and strife. No, "blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. For defiance and insistence will not keep it, because God does not give happiness or mercy to the impatient and war-mongering 2c. It was said of St. Josiah. He was slain because he went against Pharaoh the king and made war on him.

3) Because of this letter of the Landgrave, the Elector summoned the theologians again to Torgau, where they stayed from mid-April to the 21st. Here this concern came about, to which the Elector enclosed a reassuring letter on April 16, in which he assured that he would keep the agreement.

It is also contrary to all secular rights, which are confirmed by God and in Scripture, to attack or punish someone without interrogating, accusing and answering him. As the governor *Porcius Festus* *Act. 25.* says: "It is not the Roman way/that a man is handed over to death before he has his accusers present, and receives space to answer the charge." Just as God Himself, *Gen. 3,* did not attack Adam, nor punish him, until He first called him and demanded, "Adam, where are you?" But if it were asked whether murder should be resisted before it happens, or when it has happened, so that it might well be resisted that it should not happen, we answer: The defense and punishment are two different things and not one thing. You shall defend yourself with proper means, counsel and justice, as you are able, so that no murder takes place; but you shall not attack and punish, unless the deed is done or is done publicly, otherwise you would do against the saying of Christ: "He who takes the sword shall perish by the sword. No, you shall execute justice legally.

Our conscience compels us to counsel and humbly report this, for we are comfortingly concerned that Satan is tempting us with this challenge, whether he might make of us new and worse coins and whistlers. It is an infallible thing for a conscience before God to give counsel and help for bloodshed, when one is not certain that God has sanctioned or permitted it 2c. Now one can be certain that God means to ward off war or rebellion and to protect the subjects. But to start war and to attack others one cannot be sure that [it] pleases God, but rather it is certain that he does not like 2c.

Our humble opinion, however, would be this, although I am neither knowledgeable nor understanding of the ways of the world and the court, that one should let pious princes and lords deal with him, and think of ways and means to peace and treaty, as the S. C. F. G. may well know better than we may indicate.

If the princes of the confederation let themselves be heard that they wanted to comply with their alliance, and not desist from it and not have peace, then we consider such a thing as a cancelled feud and as if they were in public work 2c.; then it is time to defend and protect ourselves 2c.

But where they would deny such alliance or fail to answer correctly with circumlocutory words, so that one would know which way to turn in yes or no to them, that they then with assurance and vouching 2c. avert and wipe out such suspicions, for which they have given such excellent and strong cause.

For the sake of the expenses, we consider that, although the princes of the confederation are obliged to reimburse them, it seems as if they want to force themselves on them and do not mean peace if they press hard for it. We let such things be ordered to the rulers of the theidings and the princes of the divorce, because peace is sought on our side. Let us read from St. Ezekiel that he took the holy gold in the temple and gave it away to the ruler of the temple for the sake of peace. He took the holy gold in the temple and gave it away to the king of Assyria, which was otherwise forbidden to be taken 2c.

No. 1232.

(Altenburg.)

April 26, 1528.

To the Christians of Halle.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2218.

No. 1233.

Wittenberg.

(April or May) 1528.

To Eoban Hesse in Nuremberg.

Luther thanks him for a funeral poem sent to Albrecht Dürer, who had died on April 6, 1528, and for his friendly evangelical sentiments.

Printed in *Helii Eobani Hessi, poetae excellentias. et Amicorum ipsius, Epistolarum familiarium Libri XII.*. At the end: *Marpurgi, Apud Christianum Egenolphum Hadamarium, Anno 1543. mense Martio., pag 268* (editor Joh. Draco); in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 306 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 255.

Martin Luther sends his greetings to Esban Hesse.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have already received the second letter from you.

1) Heinrich Pfeifer, formerly a monk, Münzer's comrade in Mulhouse, with whom he was also beheaded.

at the same time with the funeral poem 1) on Dürer, you have preceded me before I answered the first one, which I certainly did not expect. For I had set him before my eyes, in order to answer immediately with the first messenger that presented itself. It is certainly blessed to bear grief over Dürer, the worthy man; but it comes to you. But it is up to you to wish him happiness, since Christ has taken him away so well equipped and with a blessed end from these extremely turbulent times, which will perhaps become even more turbulent, so that he, who was worthy of seeing nothing but the best, would not be forced to see the worst. Therefore, may he rest in peace with his fathers, amen.

Then I thank you for your love, which almost every single piece in both letters breathes, rather breathes out and glows with it. Not that I am worthy of your great praise or love, but because I gladly suffer to be made proud by the testimony and favor of good men against Satan and his servants, who continue to suck me and ruin me without end, so that I can also boast that I walk in Paul's ways, namely, through honor and shame, through good rumors and evil rumors [2 Cor. 6:8], and that I am a good smell of Christ, to some a smell of death unto death, to others a smell of life unto life [2 Cor. 2:15 ff]. . Blessed be my Lord Jesus Christ, who willed that I should be such, not that I should be worthy of hope, but that he should save many through me from these harmful spirits. Since I see that this wish of mine, which I sigh for hourly, is fulfilled, I consider myself happy, and that I have received abundant fruit and reward for my work, since I know that I live for others and serve them. I therefore wish myself happiness, not for your praise, which you (as it is wont to happen) pour out out of all too great favor, but for the truth, to which you bear witness through this simplicity of all too great affection and ardor, and most simply confess Christ.

For what could I hear more sweetly than that you and your like stand unharmed against the devil in the well-founded and clear knowledge of Christ? while meanwhile so many fall away, whom we hoped would be our pillars, but whom we now suffer as worse enemies than even the Turk is. I therefore pray the Lord Jesus to crown you with His blessings, so that you may remain perfect and blameless with us until the coming of His glory.

There is nothing new here that we could send to your great trading center, since Nuremberg is almost the eye and ear of Germany, which sees and hears all things that may never reach us. Greetings to your extremely dear Hind with her dear little deer. The blessing of the Lord be upon you. We bless you in the name of the Lord, Amen. Wittenberg, 1528. Mart. Luther.

No. 123 4.

Weimar.

May 1, 1523.

To Justus Menius in Erfurt.

Luther complained that no one had come from Erfurt to Weimar to visit him.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 373; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 308 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 257. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1099.

Grace and peace! The old man whom you recommended to me, my dear Justus Menius, I took in, and paid him all the honor I could, for I liked his speeches and his manners as soon as I talked with him. By the way, we expected that some of your visitors would come to us, and we also wonder what business or danger might have interfered, since nothing could have interfered, neither length nor breadth nor depth, since the sky and the sun were quite clear. I will pardon this omission of yours, if you will just once give an account and cancel this great offense against friendship, love and politeness. Erfurt is Erfurt, Erfurt will be Erfurt, Erfurt is Erfurt ge

1) The letter that Hesse sent with the *Epicedion in funere Alberti Dureri* has been lost. It must have been written on the same day that he sent the poem to Joh. Lang in Erfurt, namely April 30.

being. For what else can I think or say? Give my best regards to the brothers, especially to your Eve and [your sons] Abel and Seth. Ask also the Lord for me, and fight (as you do) with us against Satan, who thinks of such great evils and troubles as the world cannot contain, that Christ may protect his kingdom for his glory and our blessedness, who is strong and merciful with you, amen. Given at Weimar, on the days of Philippi and Jacobi [May 1] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1235.

Weimar.

May 1, 1528. 1)

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Luther had expected a long visit to Weimar, but he heard that the latter was plagued by all kinds of cunning plots and unworthiness. He admonishes him to watch and pray against the ravages of Satan. - Otherwise, this letter contains several dark points for us.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 308d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 332 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. IV, p. 138. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 844. Everywhere with the year 1523. This is improved in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 258.

Grace and peace! You have become free of your wife, 2) my dear Lang, I do not know whether to wish you luck or to express my condolences, that is how things stand in these quite confused and troubled times. I had hoped that you would visit us, who were in such close proximity, but I hear that you are troubled by the cunning plots and unworthiness of this thunderclap of yours 3). But every destiny

1) The editions place this letter in the year 1523, but this cannot be correct because Lang married the widow of the white tanner Heinrich Mattern only in 1524, not in 1522, as Erhard, Ueberlif. I, 59, states. Luther's complaint, which he expresses here as in the previous letter, that no one from Erfurt had visited him in such close proximity, leads to the year 1528 (see Erl. Briefw., Vol. VI, p. 258).

2) Is it certain that this happened by death or is it about other circumstances? We would like to assume the latter, and then refer "the thunderclap" to the unexpected occurrence of the same. Luther's warning to be careful with regard to "polygamy" could also be aimed in this direction. On Oct. 28, 1529, Luther greets the little son Längs together with his mother.

3) De Wette points *fulminis* to the anger and malice of the enemies of the Gospel; Walch translates: "of your banishing ray" and notes: "cannot be weather".

must be overcome by carrying, God will also put an end to these things. ⁴⁾ Christ be with you, and you will pray diligently for us. For Satan rages and is intent on more things than God Himself could accomplish so suddenly, so we must watch and pray. Fare well, and see that you are careful and wise with regard to polygamy (xxxx xxx xxxxxxxxxx). At Weimar, on the days of Philippi and Jacobi [May 1] 1528. 5)

Martin Luther.

No. 1236 .

(Wittenberg.) (Between May 6 and 12, 1528.) Luther's, Melancthon's, and Bugenhagen's misgivings concerning Pack's alliance.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VI, 387, no. 834.

No. 1237.

(Wittenberg.)

May 9, 1528.

To Wilhelm Pravest in Kiel.

Luther punishes him for his hypocritical and deceitful behavior, that he, an enemy of the Gospel, has pretended to be a lover of it (compare No. 1202), and abuses Luther's friendly letter.

Printed in *Jo. Henr. Muhlil dissertat. hist. theol.*, p. 148 (from the original); in Krohn, *Gesch. der Wiedertäufer*, p. 120; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 121; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 308 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 260. German bdi Walch, vol. XXI, 1103.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Pravest, pastor in Kiel, his, if it can happen, great friend.

Mercy and peace! What did you expect to gain, my dear husband, by pretending to me with good words that you were such a great lover of truth? I have, of course, in deaf simplicity, believing your serpentine flatteries, deigned to command you the gospel, but, as I see, I have commanded a sheep to a wolf. But do not be mistaken; a lie does not last long, but is soon put to shame by the truth. Therefore refrain from showing my letter around and reinforcing your nonsense against me. For your

4) *Virg. Aen.*, lib. V, v. 710 and lib. I, v. 199.

5) 1528 set by us instead of 1523 in the editions.

My conscience knows that you have obtained the letter from me in an unworthy manner and with deceitful words, and that I would not have written like this to an enemy of the Gospel if I had not been deceived, which I have already testified with yours, and if you do not desist, I will publicly announce your unworthiness to the whole world. It may be that I did not want Melchior 1) to be stormy, but I believed you to be a calm and pure teacher of the Word, so that I was much less willing to incite and encourage you, who rage and rage against the ministers of the Word (even if they are somewhat too restless), but rather to admonish and restrain you, if I had known that you were an enemy. I am indeed surprised that it can amuse you frivolous papists to pursue your cause with deceit and lies. Rather, finally, be ashamed that you can do nothing but deceive and lie in your cause, as if the light will not also dispel the darkness. There you have what this admonition of mine is intended for; so, if you are wise, desist from this kind of mischievousness against us, which you will not succeed in, and let the word of God take its course. 2) I have seen your poisonous rhymes written against me, but if you continue, they will fall back on your head. Be well and repent. On Saturday after Jubilate [May 9] 1528.

With his own hand Martin Luther.

No. 123 8.

Wittenberg.

May 9, 1528.

To Paul Heuge, 3) Mayor of Kiel.

Luther writes him this presentable letter to expose Pravest.

Printed in *Henr. Muhlii dissert. histor. theol.*, p. 148; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 50; in Walch, vol. XXI,

1) Hofmann.

2) After the clearance by this letter, Pravest withdrew to his Bordesholm monastery, and became a full papist again.

3) Schiff der Name bei Walch, Bd. XXI, 1101 und im Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 261, with De Wette and in the Erlangen edition: "Harze". Krafft has: "Pawel Heugen".

244 and again in High German idiä. Col. 1101; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 310 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 446. Also, according to the alleged original in Krafft, *Zweifaches Jubelgedächtniß*, p. 447.

Dem ehrsamem und vorsichtigen Paul Heuge, Bürgermeister, thom Kiel, minem G. Fr., grace and friendship in Christo.

Honorable, wise sir and friend. Jk hebbe vorlängst an Juen Parher thom Kiel einen Breef geschreveu, dat ist wahr; But I did not know otherwise, because he would be the highest friend of the gospel, and I am glad to know, where he sent his letter to me, about the most alderfriar-like invitation, which he asked and asked of me, When I was told about the other ones by you, because I had heard that the gospel was going up in Kiele, I was concerned that there would be strikers and enthusiasts as in other orders, and prevented the fruit of the gospel, which I wanted to come to, and knew that Nemande was more powerful than Parherr Sülvest, whom I respected more than Melchior Hoffmann, welkere mi ok duchte ein weinich tho schwynde fahren, eft he it allich wol 4) gude meende, weute men schall io und müde hierinne suverlich faren, 5) und nicht polteren, und de Lüte mit Stille und Frede gelerde werden. According to this, my early prayer to you, where the parrher is a sincere man, is that he is true to the gospel, and my writing is more drycht slrägt⁶, his Dingh wedder uns tho stärken, dat jie darlegen dessen Breef lögen [show], und mi entschuldigen willen 6) also de ik van dem Parrherr schändlich bedragen. Not differently geweten hebbe, denn also were he de beste unse Fründe, denn he gaff mi wohl so vele guder Wort, wo ik dennhe hyrmede⁷ demsulven Parrher okschrive. God's grace is with you all, biddet before us ok. To Wittenbergh, Sonnabendes na Jubilate [May 9] 1528.

Martin Luther.

4) Instead of: "allich wol", Krafft reads: "allyehwol". In Walch's High German translation: "gleich gut".

5) That is: because one should and must drive neatly in this. Instead of this Walch offers: "because one should also drive cleanly with you".

6) So Krafft certainly right. In the editions: "will", "ji willen" - you will.

7) Krafft: "hyr mede" (= hiemit), in the editions: "hor mede". - Immediately following Walch has resolved "demsulven" (= the same) by: "an den saubern".

No. 1239.

Wittenberg.

May 9, 1528.

(Wittenberg.)

To Conrad Wulf, citizen of Kiel.

Luther told Conrad Wulf, who had reported Pravest's behavior to him, that he had written a harsh letter to Pravest, of which he hoped that he would not praise it as much as the first one. The preachers should be exhorted to teach quietly and not stormily.

Printed in Krafst, Zweifaches Jubelgedächtniß, p. 448; in Krohn, Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, p. 119 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 261 f. in Lower Saxon. Walch, vol. XXI, 1102, also gives this letter in a new High German translation. In De Wette and in the Erlangen edition, this Brie is missing.

To the honorable and wise Conrad Wulffen, citizen of Kiel, my favorable friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable good friend! I have written a hard letter to your (jwen == juen) pastor for the sake of his lies, so that he has deceived me, that I truly did not know nor understand otherwise, because he was one of the best friends of the gospel [one] so good words he gave me. Now I hear, and have read his rhymes and poems against me, I see well how he sought and meant me with falsehood. Since I am now well assured that he will not carry around and praise this other letter of mine as he does with the first one, my friendly request to you (Jw) is that you help excuse me and, where he will praise the first letter 1), announce that he will also praise the other one, so that it will be seen what kind of man he is, and publicly point out to him and everyone by my handwriting. Besides, exhort your preachers also, 2) that they teach the gospel neatly and with quietness, not with rumbling, breaking, and tempests, for in time even that which is unrighteous will fall, where the hearts are well and truly taught and instructed beforehand. Christ our Lord be with you all, amen. At Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Jubilate [May 9] 1528.

Martinus Luther, manu propria.

No. 1240.

May 12, 1528.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2236, annex, no. 9.

No. 1241.

(Wittenberg.)

May 12, 1528.

To Friedrich Pistorius, Abbot at Nuremberg.

Luther expresses his joy about the commemorative coin that the Nuremberg council had minted in honor of the abbot, but even more about his right position on the sacramental matter.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 376k; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 312 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 264. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1105.

To the Lord Friedrich, St. Aegidiens Vorsteher zu Nürnberg, the servant of Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your silver image is pleasant to me, venerable man, so that I now possess you in truth twofold, although as an absent one, namely the image of the soul through letters, that of the body through this piece of silver. But I rejoice even more that you are so firm and certain in the matter of the Sacrament against the raging pestilences of the Sacramentists, for I also believe that I have done enough in this matter before God, so that those who err err without my fault, although I do not hope that those people will be moved in the least by such great reasons for proof, since they abhor the light and love only their darkness to the point of nonsense. But Christ comforts me abundantly, that he condescends to free at least some from this plague and to preserve them, so that I do not regret the work, however superfluous and ridiculed it may be by those. For who can shut Satan's mouth that he should not at least talk where he cannot talk? Pray with your own for us, my dear man, for Satan is raging in the world, who, not content with destroying souls, is not satisfied.

3) The commemorative coin was minted to honor the abbot's multiple merits. On the obverse of the same is *the bust of the abbot in profile with the inscription: Frider. Fig. S. Aegidi. Anno. Etatis. XLII.* The reverse shows the coat of arms of the Aegidien Abbey with the superscription: *Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos.* Ro. VIII.

1) No. 1215.

2) In Krafst and in Erl. Briefw.: "Predhtur", either read out or a misprint instead: Predhker.

hastens to destroy the bodies and us as well, and to make everything desolate. God have mercy on us, Amen. Tuesday after Cantate [May 12] 1528. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1242.

(Torgau.)

(May 15, 1528.)

Luther and Melanchthon to the Elector John of Saxony.

Peace Council in Pack's cause.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, fol. 29. O (in Melanchthon's hand, co-signed by Luther). Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 51, no. 68; in Walch, vol. XXI, 250; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 334, dated: "Im Junius 1528," and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 13. - About the given time determination, the Erl. Briefw. essentially says the following: Since in this letter an embassy to the Imperial Regiment at Speier and King Ferdinand is requested, and the mandate issued as a result of this legation is dated May 20, our letter must have been written before this date. Furthermore, it presupposes the personal presence of the theologians with the Elector. They were probably summoned to Torgau on May 14, where the Elector was preparing to leave for Weimar on May 15. In Torgau, they drew up our report on the 15th, and it was sent to the Elector, who had left in the meantime. On the same day, they returned to Wittenberg.

To My Most Gracious Lord, Duke Johann, Elector 2c.

To S. C. F. G. himself own hand.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Although we are sure that E. C. F. G. will know how to handle the matters that now come up, we cannot refrain from asking and encouraging E. C. F. G. out of our just and guilty concern for E. C. F. G., we must not refrain from humbly begging and admonishing E. C. F. G., because we will be moving from house to house today, 1) and immediately leave behind us a reminder that E. C. F. G. is attacking us every hour with a great deal of business, and that Satan is also cunningly seeking us, so that we will reluctantly, or ever so slowly, pursue and accept peace.

First, because God presents us with such good means and causes to keep the peace that C.F.G. will not fail to do so;

1) This passage shows that the theologians left on the day of the writing of this report, which is also called a "memo" in the following document.

For thus says St. Paul 2 Cor. 6: Dear brethren, I beseech you not to accept the grace of God in vain 2c., and to send the most favorable message both to the imperial regiment and King Ferdinando, to preserve and increase the glimpse.

On the other hand, that M. G. Lord, the landgrave, be stopped, that S. F. G. does not hurry too much and does not negate such divine means 2) and scatter, as one is wont to fish before the sea.

Thirdly, not to insist so hard on the food and to seek it carefully, because it is better to lose so much money than to incur so great an expense annually. How would one do otherwise, if so much damage would have come by fire or water or other accident, as happened in the beastly riot 2c.? May Christ, our Lord, enlighten and strengthen the heart of C.F.G. to do His will, amen.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

Philip Melanchthon.

No. 1243.

(Torgau.)

(May 15, 1528.)

Luther and Melanchthon to Duke John Frederick of Saxony.

In the same matter as the previous letter.

The original as in the previous number, but by Luther's hand. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 53, no. 69; in Walch, vol. XXI, 251; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 335, dated: "Im Junius 1528", and also in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 14. For the date, see the previous number.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! We have asked E. F. G. Lord and Father, our most gracious Lord, Duke Johanns, Churfürst 2c., submissive opinion, and sent a memorial 3) that S. C. F. G. wanted with

2) "verseuche" will probably be as much as: verjage, verseeche.

3) The pre-giving document. Here it is said that it was "sent" to him.

We ask you to accept and help us to keep the peace and good means that God offers us. Therefore, we also humbly request that you also accept such knocks of our God and help us to comply with His divine will, although we hope that Your Holiness will know how to do so without our admonition. However, since we know that Satan creeps around us as St. Peter speaks, and cannot stand that one has or seeks peace, we must worry that he would now also bring so much business before us, or hinder, that such knocking on God's door would be neglected and abandoned. Therefore, we consider it best, 2) first, that a message be dispatched in the most expedient manner both to the Regiment of Imperial Majesty and to the King. Majesty, and to the Royal Majesty at Behemoth, so that obedience would have to be felt, and glimpses would be given to us, but displeasure would be driven to the rebellious princes. On the other hand, that the Landgrave be restrained so that H.F.G. does not destroy such means and fugues for peace, and that for the sake of God, who presents us with such beautiful means and does not want to have them despised. Thirdly, not to demand the food so sharply; for God has more than the food, and can bring it in again, if one follows His divine admonition and means, 3) and does not despise them. Christ, our Lord, tread Satan under E. F. G.'s feet soon, amen.

E. F. G. Martin. Luther. Philippus
Melanchthon.

No. 12 44.

Wittenberg,

May 15, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

About the filling of a parish position.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 45. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 26. Printed in Aurifer, vol. II, p. 377; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 312 f. and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VI, p. 267. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1106.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of the Church at Zwickau, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! The pastor in Schlettau, Mr. Balthasar,⁴⁾ has decided to leave his parish for the sake of his studies and has done so in my and Pomeranus' presence, which we approved of and praised, and he asked that the bearer of this letter, Johann Bock (*Caprum*), be recommended to you, whom he wishes to follow in his place in the same parish, so that you may deign to help and assist him. We also bear witness to his request and hope that he will do everything for the sake of Christ. May the Lord Jesus be with you, dear brother in the Lord. Wittenberg, Friday after Cantate [May 15] 1528 Martin Luther.

No. 12 45.

(Wittenberg.)

(May 16 or 17, 1528.)

Luther and Melanchthon to the Elector John of Saxony.

On the arrival of a mandate from the imperial regiment at Speier, which commands peace to all estates, Luther and Melanchthon earnestly exhort to peace, and propose that an envoy be sent to the imperial regiment to report the obedience of the Elector and the Landgrave, and to sue the federal princes.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, fol. 29. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 51, No. 67; in Walch, vol. XXI, 247; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 332 and in the Erl. This letter, as is evident from its beginning, is written one day after the arrival of the imperial mandate, which is already mentioned in a letter of Melanchthon to the Elector (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. 1, 979) on May 18. The mandate cannot have arrived before May 15, for in that case it would have become known to the theologians already when they were present in Torgau. Therefore, only May 16 and 17 remain for our letter. The 16th is the more probable day, because the theologians in No. 1248 already answer a letter of the Elector written to them for this reason.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, our most gracious Lord. In S. C. F. G. own hand.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord!
We have experienced how as

4) Loy.

1) The original should read "our".

2) The following is the same as the "Dentzettel" of the previous number.

3) This is really what the original says instead of: "follow".

yesterday a mandate from the regiment in kaiserl. Majesty. In it peace is offered to all the states of the empire, which we are not a little pleased about, as we hope of our small understanding, it should be a beautiful, good cause to find the peace that we seek and desire. And it seems to us that God hears our prayer and will graciously be with us, for he truly greets us kindly, where we can answer him and receive him well; for such a cause, which comes to us from himself, we should have sought far and wide.

And whether it may or may not be that the princes of the Confederation would have issued such a mandate themselves; nevertheless, it is not the less a good approach to act with them or against them in the regiment for peace 2c.

Therefore, it is our humble concern (although E. C. F. G., according to high princely understanding, does not need our advice) that such an imperial mandate should not be despised:

First, so that God Himself, who graciously shows Himself to be at peace, will not be despised in it.

On the other hand, such a mandate has ever come from our duly appointed authority of God, to which obedience is owed, especially because there is nothing evil, but only good and peace commanded, and not ours or theirs, but the common good of the realm is sought and offered to us. 2c. For we fear that, if such a mandate were to be disregarded or thrown to the winds, the princes of the Confederation would thereby make a great pretence and bring disgrace, and on our part cause the greatest disgrace in the eyes of all the world, as those who offered themselves for peace, and to be subjects of Imperial Majesty. Majesty's subjects, and are insulted over such obedience by the disobedient, as rebels against Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and would be punished by *crimen laesae majestatis* on us. bring

In addition, they would of course continue to act with the said regiment, and they would obtain a respect, and then our part's cause would come to the point that it would keep no good conscience before God, no right before the kingdom, no glimpse before the world, which should be quite terrible and cruel.

And we fear that Satan has greater things in mind than we think, for he does not want to attack the gospel piecemeal, but, just as Haman wanted to wipe out the entire Jewish race, he also wants to turn the whole of Germany around and thus wipe out the gospel. It is not for nothing that he is so diligent about us, fights and fights back, that we are hard and industrious, even lazy and unwilling to seek and accept the peace that God gives us and offers us.

E. C. F. G. will undoubtedly think for themselves what an unfortunate thing it should be, if all things had been well thought out and arranged, if so much bloodshed had been committed against conscience and imperial majesty without need. Majesty had been committed.

And, since God is for, if it should be carried out and executed in such an evil conscience and disobedience, it should be eternally lamentable to us that we would then have to and would be forced to speak against E.C.F.G., as our most beloved Lord, by whom we have been so fatherly and warmly nourished, protected and showered with excellent great benefits and graces, speak and testify to this, as I have conditioned Martinus before C. F. G. at Altenburg, that we must avoid C. F. G.'s land and commit ourselves for the sake of the Gospel, lest all such disgrace fall on that same innocent word of God with a good appearance. What could happen to our hearts more and more, than that we would have to be separated from such a father and patron, and perhaps many other fine people with us. The devil certainly has such and even greater misery in mind, which God now graciously tries to prevent, with such a cause, which one would perhaps later like to pay for with a land, and will then be nowhere to be had.

So we cannot think how our part should not be considered with all fairness in the eyes of the world, as those who prefer war to peace, bloodshed to good governance; which suspicion we, as those who have and praise God's word, should let be filled from us much further than all other princes who do not have God's word 2c. Therefore our submissive concern would be,

that one sent a stately message 1) to the Regiment, which there indicated E. C. F.G. and M. G. Mr. Landgrave's obedience, and deplored the covenant princes, and other 2c., as E. C. F. G. probably know how to do such better than we can advise.

E. C. F. G. subservient Mart. Luther. Philippus Melanchthon.

No. 1246.

Wittenberg.

May 16, 1528.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

A letter of recommendation with a postscript, written at a banquet.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 215. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 377 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 313 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 269. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1107.

To your godly and fair man, Magister Georg Spalatin, Bishop of Altenburg, his brother who is exceedingly dear in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I commend this Melchior Frischholz to you, my dear Spalatin. He received your letter extremely harshly, which you recently wrote to him, in which you accused him of having left an affliction behind him in Altenburg and seeking the preaching ministry by wandering about. I have excused you as much as I could and pardoned the weakness of man; you will also (I ask) bear the weakness of man. For you know that poverty is already suspicious in and of itself and has a desperate pusillanimity; it takes everything harder than it really is, for so it always thinks that it is despised and neglected. Therefore, we must have more compassion here and close our eyes so that they are not brought to despair. You are a wise man and have dealt with many people; you will do what is good. Be well with your rib, for which I pray that through Christ's blessing it may become a mother of children to you.

1) The Elector delivered Joh. von Planitz and Christoph von Taubenheim to King Ferdinand, who arrived in Prague on May 24.

are quite the same, Amen. Wittenberg, im Luftigen und Luftschen Hause, 2) May 16, 1528.

It, greets you D. Pommer, who will soon leave for Brunswick, and asks that prayers be said for him 2c.

The fighter against the stone, Jonas the righteous (*Jonas Justus*), greets you and asks that prayers be said for him so that he may have a happy victory.

Caspar Creutzinger greets you and asks that you pray for him, that his hopes may be fulfilled, that is, if you do not understand it, that Duke George 3) may be converted to Christ or be trampled by Christ.

Greetings from Johann Mantel, who was recently deprived of a son on the same day that Pommer lost his older son Michael,⁴⁾ while the younger one, Michael, had gone ahead half a month before, and he asks that he be prayed for, that he may have many sons for One, amen.

Greetings to you from my Eve, who is healthy and cheerful with all these who are together at the banquet, and asks that she be prayed for, that while her children remain well, she may bear and give birth to the third fruit 5) healthily Martin Luther.

No. 1247.

Kemberg.

May 17, 1528.

Carlstadt au Krautwald und Schwenkfeld in Liegnitz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2074, no. 700. 6).

2) *in domo Aerea et Aetherea*. There is no doubt that this refers to the house of the printer Luft. Nevertheless, the note of the Erl. Briefw.: "beim Buchdrucker (*aerea*) Joh. Luft (*aetherea*)" seems questionable to us, because we think that *aerea* should be read as four syllables because of the consonance with *aetherea*.

3) Cruciger was a native of Leipzig, and Duke Georg was his former sovereign. Since April 13, he had returned from Magdeburg to take up the preaching ministry at the castle church and a theological professorship in Wittenberg.

4) Both children died on April 26. The younger son of Bugenhagen was born in Luther's house.

5) The opinion that Luther's wife was pregnant was erroneous, because Luther's third child was not born until May 4, 1529.

6) Sieve the locations of this writing. Misleadingly, the Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 271: "Gedruckt: Luthers Werke *ed. Jen.* 1546 [[should read: 1556]. T. IV. f. 381 b", which leads to the assumption,

No. 1248.

(Wittenberg.)

May 18, 1528.

Luther and Melanchthon to the Elector John of Saxony.

They express their joy at the peaceful intentions of the Elector.

The original in Luther's hand is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, p. 6. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 51, No. 65; in Walch, vol. XXI, 245; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 322 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 4.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! We have received E. C. F. G. letter humbly and with joy, 1) we sincerely hope that Christ, our Lord, has heard our prayer and will hear it perfectly for the best, as we have done up to now and still do daily, praying with all diligence and endeavoring to pray that God, the Father of peace and consolation, will not only present good means for peace (as we have heard), but also give will and purpose to accept such means, and in all ways to flee and avoid war, and to seek peace, as He also commands through His beloved Apostle, *quae paecis sunt, sectamini*: Pursue peace, and God will be at peace with you; and again Rom. 12: "As much as is in you, keep peace with everyone." For without this there will be enough strife, and war will be too much. One must not paint the devil over the door, nor ask him to be one's godfather. May the merciful God grant E. C. F. G. grace and strength to love and do His will, Amen. Monday after *Vocem Jucunditatis*, May 18, 1528.

E. C. F. G.

subservient Martinus Luther. Philippus
Melanchthon.

it is the *Latin* edition, but this letter is in Latin in the *German* editions. The other locations are not given in the Erl. Briefw. does not indicate.

1) What is "heard" will be in any case the news that the emperor has issued the mandate to the estates to keep peace.

No. 1249.

Wittenberg.

May 18, 1528.

Luther and Melanchthon to Duke John Frederick of Saxony in Cassel.

They praise him for his peace efforts and wish him happy progress of the same.

The original in Luther's hand is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, p. 6. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 51, No. 66; in Walch, vol. XXI, 246; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 323 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 5.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, 2) Highborn Prince, gracious Lord! ³⁾We have learned how Your Grace has set out to promote peace and the prevention of war with our gracious Lord, the Landgrave, which we are highly pleased about, and we pray that God will grant Your Grace grace and good fortune, so that such means and causes of peace may be more valid than rutting and causes of war. Although we know that young princes are fierce not to suffer such evil wiles and great causes, God has promised great mercy to those who seek peace and do not tolerate evil wiles, as He says: "Blessed are the drunkards, for they shall inherit the earth." War gains not much, but loses much, and ventures all; but gentleness loses nothing, ventures little, and gains all. Therefore he says Ps. 33 [Ps. 34, 15. 13]: "Avoid evil and do good, seek peace and pursue it", "and you will have good days". Christ grant E. ⁴⁾F. G. to seek peace earnestly, for the time of wars, that one cannot defend oneself, will bring enough that one may well accept peace where one can. At Wittenberg, Monday after *Vocem Jucunditatis*, May 18, 1528.

E. F. G.

understated

Martin Luther. Philip
Melanchthon.

2) In De Wette and in the Erl. Edition wrong: "Durchlauchtigster", because this is the title of the Churfürst. Walch: "Durchl.

3) namely to Cassel. Anark von Wildenfels was attached to him as a counselor.

4) In the editions erroneously: "E. K. F. G." instead of: "E. F. G."

No. 1250.

(Wittenberg.)

May 21, 1528.

To Margrave George of Brandenburg.

Luther sends Johann Rorer and Georg Heiderer as Lutheran preachers, and recommends Adam Weis at Crailsheim.

The original is in the district archive at Nuremberg, Ansbacher Rel.-Acten, XI, 21. Printed in J. P. Reinhard's Beitr. zur Historie des Frankenlandes, Th. I, p. 133; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 324; in Erl. Ausg., vol. 54, p. 6; in Lang, Neuere Gesch. des Fürstenthums Bayreuth, 1801. 1, 17 f. and Kolde in Zeitschr. für Kgsch. XIII, 320 (after the original).

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr.

Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Pomerania, Stettin 2c., my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! Here comes the pious man Er Johann Rorer: how glad I am that F. G. has called such a man to himself again; also ask God from the bottom of my heart to mercifully strengthen and maintain F. G. in his gracious knowledge and devotion, to do and promote his will and holy word, as he has then begun to move F. G., and we should all ask and hope that his mercy will blessedly complete in F. G. such begun work of his grace. F. G., amen.

And as E. F. G. has written to me through Mr. Hans von Schwarzenberg for a preacher to Plassenburg, so I have moved and brought up this Georgen Heyderer to accept such an office, as E. F. G. will further hear. Order the same as the above-mentioned Johann Rörer and Adam Weis at Krailsheim to E. F. G.; for they are fine people, worthy to be held in honor and loyalty. The Father of all mercy grant E. F. G. his spirit abundantly to do his divine will, Amen. On Ascension Day [May 21] 1528.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 1251.

(Wittenberg.)

May 22, 1528.

To Spalatin.

Of Luther's occupations, among others with the translation of Isaiah.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 258. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 378; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 326 (of May 25) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 276. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1108.

To his brother in Christ, Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ, the extremely faithful bishop of Altenburg.

Grace and peace in the Lord! May it not be a burden to you that I have delayed this messenger. Pommer has left for Brunswick, and the care of the parish rests on me. Therefore, because I have been busy publicly and privately, especially on this feast day, I have not been able to complete 1) what you requested; now I am fulfilling the promise to some extent, as much as I can.

Now we go to the prophets or rather we give birth to them in German. First, Isaiah is carefully edited with translations and explanations, as much as Christ gives grace. You pray for us. All of us, Jonas and Philip, greet you. Wittenberg, the day after the Ascension 2) [May 22] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1252.

(Wittenberg.)

(May 22, 1528.) 3)

To the Lords of Einsiedel.

Luther resists them to sell their goods. He suggests them a form, how they should write about the objected passage in their answer (see No. 1203 and No. 1204) to Duke George.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 250; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 318; in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 369 ff; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 662 ff; in Walch, vol. XXI, 225; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 276 (without day) and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 435.

Grace and peace in Christ. Gentlemen, firm, dear gentlemen! Magister Philipps and I do not like to see you sell your goods and would much rather advise you to do so.

1) This will probably refer to the preparation of the next letter, which probably left at the same time as this letter.

2) De Wette has taken *altera post* for *feria 2.* post (Monday after), but then ler. 2. *post Exaudi* would have been set, which is excluded by the words: "on this feast day".

3) This time determination results from a letter of Spalatin to Heinrich von Einsiedel of May 26 (in Kapp, Vol. I, p. 117).

do not do. Perhaps God would send a means with the tyrant that (it) would be different. But we want to follow your concern with ours. But the form that I promised M. Spalatino, methinks, should be this; or how you will find it better, and change it.

First of all, that you indicate humbly and with the best words you could, how you, S. F. G. obediently, would have accepted the articles that were written 2c. But now you would have been with people many times, you would have had to hear many more troublesome words, both from enemies and friends, because of the underlined piece, which S. F. G. would have had to leave outside. F. G. outside: and yet you did not then notice so sharply that such power lay in the same piece. Because now everyone worries and tortures your conscience with this, and you cannot answer for it, and even feel a burden in your conscience, especially because you are reproached as if you had clearly denied God and his word in your conscience, and, as they say, a Turk and a Jew would not have to suffer such a thing, let alone that anyone could suffer Christians to hear that someone should deny God and his conscience; to which also the more heap holds for it, that admittedly E. F. G. himself had not been of the opinion to keep or demand such, as the words read, but had perhaps at that time, as in the case of throwing disgraces on us, been overzealous, but the others such E. F. G. so badly. F. G. as badly as we do; because our consciences are troubled by this, and we also recognize ourselves guilty of saving F. G.'s honor and reputation, and yet know nothing with which to do so, because the words are so clear that we are stripping God and our consciences: we have thought to inform F. G. of such a thing. and only to seek advice on what we should do in this matter, so that we may not only save our conscience, but also E. F. G.'s praiseworthy and Christian reputation, both of which are to be highly injured, as everyone says, and we also feel this way, and so that we do not give the evil mouths cause to blaspheme, nor the pious cause to be angry. Hereupon we ask that E. F. G. would again overlook the articles and give us a gracious answer.

With such a writing, I hope, the matter shall again come into the first season, so that you would again be free to wisely keep your conscience.

I left the Gnanstein parish 1) like this for a while until the weather changed. How can one do otherwise? The people must be patient for a while. Hereby commanded by God, 1528.

No. 1253 .

Wittenberg.

May 23, 1528.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

On Draco's dispute with his preacher (cf. *Corp. Ref.*, vol. I, 980 f.).

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* A 1048, fol. 3. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 378; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 325 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 278. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1109.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother Friedrich Mecum, the extremely faithful bishop in Gotha.

Grace and peace in Christ! You write me very sad things, my dear Frederick, about Draco, 2) but, as he is a human being, there is no advice with which I could help these things. However, I have written him a (as I think) quite harsh letter, whether I would like to do something with it. He will write back excuses, but null ones, which, as I have written, I do not even want to hear. I also do not see what good it will do if the matter is brought to the court a hundred times and tackled by the prince's force. He has a head; if it is not changed from heaven, there is nothing left but for him to sing to us, "Give, give; give, give" [Isa. 28:10.]. I think that for the time being this should be assigned to the office of the visitators; in the meantime it must be borne with the most impatient patience. The Lord be with you, and you pray for me, weak and poor. Wittenberg, Saturday after the Ascension [May 23] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

1) In the editions: "N."

2) Draco (Drach, Draconites) was a priest in Waltershausen near Gotha.

No. 125 4.

Wittenberg.

May 23, 1528.

To Justus Menius in Erfurt.

Luther promises to call him away from Erfurt at the first opportunity.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 3786; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 325 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 279. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1109 f.

Grace and peace! I write, since I am very busy, my dear Justus, with few words. I will not refrain, indeed, at the first opportunity that presents itself, I will call you away from this den of cruel and exceedingly ungrateful beasts, 1) so exceedingly evil does the abomination of this city grieve me, for what else shall I say? But I do not despair that Christ will shortly do otherwise with his adversaries. Meanwhile, suffer, for I suffer with you, and Christ suffers with both of us and with all, and pray for me weak vessel. Our prince is now too busy for anything to be done or obtained in this court. Greet the delightfulness of your life, your wife and children, with whom I commend you to Christ. Wittenberg, Saturday after the Ascension of the Lord [May 23] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No.1255.

Wittenberg.

May 26, 1528.

To Stephan Zwels²⁾ in Geldern.

Luther comforts him in his imprisonment, which he suffers for the sake of the gospel.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 88; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 327 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 280.

1) Due to the Catholic reaction in Erfurt (see No. 1073), Menius' position had become increasingly difficult. The magistrate denied his appointment; those who had appointed him remained silent. Therefore he indicated to the procurators of his church that he could no longer serve; they, too, remained silent. The magistrate's decision, which had been appealed, did not come for weeks. After he had received Luther's decisive consent to leave Erfurt, he went to Gotha in August and fed himself there for the time being from his eight noble pensioners.

2) The Erl. Briefw. assumes that this Stephan Zwels is identical with the master of the German House at Utrecht, Stevan van Zuilen van Nyevelt, the friend

the highly venerable brother Stephan Zwels, the faithful and upright prisoner of Christ in Guelders.

Grace and peace in Christ JEsu, our Redeemer and Comforter! I have seen your sentences, dearest brother Stephan, which have been shamefully trampled on by these Cologne 3) sows, who are certainly quite unworthy that they should see such pearls, and I wish you happiness that you have been so enlightened by Christ's grace that you have recognized and approved such things, then also become worthy that you suffer this disgrace and such severe imprisonment for such teachings. Therefore remember him who said [Luc. 6:22]: "Blessed are you when men revile you and reject your name as evil because of the Son of Man" 2c. This I write briefly and among much business, my dear brother, pitying indeed your sufferings, but rejoicing exceedingly because of your cause so holy and righteous. O be strong, and do not let this confidence fall; despise the raging Satan. Christ will be stronger in you than Satan was in those people, and we will ask the Father of mercies that he who gave you to suffer for his beloved Son may give that he may also triumph through you, amen, amen. Perhaps more at another time. Now be at ease in Christ, who is with you, suffering with you, overcoming with you, reigning with you, and making us all in His image. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Exaudi [May 26] 1528.

Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1256 .

Wittenberg.

May 27, 1528.

To Paul Lemberg in Liegnitz.

Luther warns him against the doctrine of the Sacramentirans, to which he was inclined.

Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 89; in Ehrhardt, Presbyterologie Schlesiens, IV, 165 ?; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 327 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 281.

Gerhard Geldenhauer, to whom he transferred the pastorate at Tiel. Perhaps he was won to the Gospel by Geldenhaner, who had returned from Wittenberg. His final fate is not known.

3) The Inquisition of the Duchy of Guelders was located in Cologne.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Paul, not proven if you say something and do not present it. 1) formerly imprisoned abbot of Sagan, now freedman of Christ, rather free and exceedingly faithful servant. Therefore, if you absolutely cannot win, at least postpone your judgment until you become certain and see the proof. You know the curse of the 109. 2) Psalm, "for [Ps.

Grace and peace in Christ JEsu! With sadness I have heard, esteemed man, that you too are in danger through the error of the Sacramentans, but I pray to Christ that it may only be an error and a challenge, as I have heard. Therefore, out of brotherly concern, I could not refrain from anticipating this infection with this letter, if Christ would give grace that you overcome this challenge. And I am not surprised that you are challenged. For what is easier, and more lasting, and more constant, than that we miserable people should be contested, when our adversary walketh about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour? But, he says [1 Pet. 5, 9.], "resist him firmly in faith." Therefore I beseech thee, for Christ's sake, and by the sweet liberty of the Spirit, which the new-born gospel hath given us by the ineffable grace of Christ, I adjure thee that thou be not so willing a Galatian [Gal. 1:6. I charge you not to be such a willing Galatian, and not to be so soon turned away by these reckless spirits, who speak out of their heads without, even against, the Scriptures, and, what is most grievous, speak nothing certain, nothing constant, but utter a sound without understanding, which (as Christ lives) they themselves neither understand nor teach. I have seen their writings, I have heard their words. Surely it is nothing but a heaping together and noise of syllables, and they have not yet brought forward one iota by which they prove what they speak, but flee and avoid the proof with diligence. For this grievously vexes me, when one teaches and

1) Paul Lemberg, formerly abbot in Sagan (see No. 825), since 1522, resigned his abbacy still in 1525, because of the enmity of the older monks and Duke Georg against him, since he worked for the Reformation. Then he received the provostship of Grünberg, married Barbara Reckenberg in Wittenberg in 1526, but also had to leave Grünberg, because he was persecuted there on the requisition of Duke Georg, and went to Liegnitz in 1527, where he became court preacher of Duke Friedrich II. He agreed with Schwenkfeld, which is why Luther wrote this letter to him. In 1536 he received the pastorate at Adelsdorf in Liegnitz, and lived there as late as 1553.

5, 10.] in their mouth is nothing certain, their inwardness is heartache". But this is said of these spirits with even more truth. Christ deliver and keep thee among these thorns and scorpions with thy Barbara 3) and Mechtilde, whom thou shalt salute in the name of us all. Fare well and teach (*sape*) the simple and pious Christ. Wittenberg, Wednesday after Urban [27 May] 1528. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 125 7.

Wittenberg.

June 6, 1528.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for the expelled Johann von Ranau. Joy at the announcement in a (missing) letter from the Elector that peace is imminent in the Pack trade.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, fol. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 53; in Walch, vol. XXI, 253; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 330 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 9.

To the most illustrious, high-born Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Although E. C. F. G. would now remain unmolested by everyone, as I would also like to do; but because this Johann von Ranau, a poor man who has been driven away, also seeks and asks so piteously, I cannot refrain from serving him with this letter to E. C. F. G. But E. C. F. G. will graciously hear his request from the enclosed letter. Accordingly, my humble request is that E. C. F. G., where it is necessary, because the good man's delay is grave, graciously consider and listen to his misery, as then

2) "109" is with Ehrhardt in the text, there is the curse over the blasphemers. The following words from the 5th Psalm are the motivation of the curse.

3) Barbara the wife, and Mechtilde the 1-1/2 year old daughter of Lemberg.

E. C. F. G. will know how to keep it here. We have also recently received a comforting letter from E. C. F. G., in the hope that peace will come from the authorities, for which we also ask, and eagerly await good new news every hour. May Christ our Lord be gracious and merciful to all the C.C.F.G.'s undertakings and activities, together with all those who are involved, amen. God grant it. At Wittenberg, Saturday after Pentecost, June] 1528. Martinus Luther.

No. 125 8.

(Wittenberg.)

June 6, 1538.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends Sebastian Albinus as a teacher in Reichenbach.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. a*, fol. 259. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 379 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 331 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 283. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1111.

To his extremely dear brother, M. Georg Spalatin, Bishop of Altenburg, the most sincere servant of Christ.

Grace and peace! I commend this Sebastian Albinus to you, my dear Spalatin, so that you may show him the way to Joseph Levin Metzsch. For I promised him that I would send a teacher to Reichenbach, and now this Albinus is coming to see and to try whether he can attain this office. There is nothing new with us that I could write. Pray for us, and be well in Christ with your rib. June 6, 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1259 .

(Wittenberg.)

June 8, 1528.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1790, annex, no. 14.

No. 1260.

Weimar.

June 9, 1528.

Electors John of Saxony to Luther, Melanchthon, and Hans Metzsch, Captain at Wittenberg.

He informs them of the peaceful origin of Pack's cause.

Printed by Burkhardt, p. 135 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 285.

Our greeting before. Venerable, dear, reverend, council and faithful! We graciously inform you that upon our lord and uncle, Lord Ferdinand, King of Hungary 2c. Maj. governor in the Holy Roman Empire. The two Electors of Trier and Palatinate have acted between our dear grandfather Landgrave Phillipsen of Hesse and ourselves on the one hand, and the Archbishop of Mainz, likewise both bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg on the other hand, for the sake of the alliance, and have settled the matter by divine grace through their faithful, diligent action and application, and by their faithful, diligent actions and efforts, that between the two bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg and our grandfather the Landgrave, and us, sufficient peace has been made with assurance and counter-assurance, 1) so that it shall remain with the Speirische Abschied, and each one, as far as the Christian faith is concerned, shall and may keep it as he hopes to answer to God and Imperial Majesty. Maj. to answer for it. Thus a letter has also been sent to the Archbishop of Mainz, and we are confident that his love will not let their part be lacking. Similarly, both Electors, Trier and Palatinate, have kindly asked the Landgrave and us to allow their loved ones to act in this matter against Margrave Joachim, Elector, and Duke Jörgen of Saxony, which our grandfather, the Landgrave, and we in our part grant, and we, for our part, grant it, and we intend that both their loved ones, the Margrave and Duke Jörg, will also agree to it, or if not, then so much will be obtained from them, so that neither part will have to suffer any misfortune from the other. 2) And therefore it is our gracious request that you and especially Doctor Martin and Philipp Melanchthon admonish yourselves to ask God Almighty for the granting of peace, and also to be sincerely grateful to Him for such grace and good deeds shown. We do not want to let this go unreported to you in your gracious opinion, and we are inclined to do you good. Date Weimar, Tuesday after Trinity [June 9] 1528.

1) The contract was concluded at Schmalkalden on June 5.

2) Mainz, Würzburg and Bamberg had to grant war reparations; in the case of Joachim and Georg, Philip refrained from doing so (see St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, inset, p. 18).

No. 12 61.

(Wittenberg.)

June 13, 1528.

To Hans Honold, citizen in Augsburg.

Luther sends him a book by Melancthon and recommends Ludwig Agricola for his support.

From the original in De Wette, vol. III, p. 337 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 16.

To the honorable and prudent Mr. Hans Honold of Augsburg, my favorable master and friend. .

Grace and peace in Christ. Careful, dear Lord and friend! I understand that your heart, if God wills it, is still firm and stands in the truth. I would have sent you my booklet, but I was told that you would have received it otherwise. May God strengthen you and keep you in pure faith. But in order that this messenger may not come without notice, I hereby send you the booklet Philippi Mel. that was sent out the other day, when I was eight, not seen with you; you will take it for your own good. If it were not difficult for you, I would kindly ask that you keep good Ludwig Agricola here for a year, for I had appointed him to the preaching chair, but the unpleasant envy and disfavor have driven him away again, although if it had not been for the war cries of displeasure, I might have provided for him elsewhere, as I hope and wait for how I can accommodate him. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Saturday after Trinity [June 13] 1528.

Martinus Luther.

(Below this Honold had written: 1528 den 26. Jungio empfangen von Wittenberg.)

No. 1262 .

(Wittenberg.)

June 13, 1528.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

About the Pack Alliance.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II. Bl. 380b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 338 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 287. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1112.

Grace and peace! I hope that Christ will give peace to our prayers, my dear Amsdorf, and the bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg have agreed with our prince.

already made peace. We are waiting for the Mainzers' willingness [to make peace], but the Landgrave will easily force the same. Their excuses,¹⁾ as well as those of Duke George, prove nothing to me, since it is certain that they have done, want to do and still want to do with heart, deed, commandment and all zeal what this alliance contains in many cases. For they persecute the gospel and want our prince dead, we all know that. Furthermore, the papists have not boasted in vain and have been puffed up and rejoiced, and there are many other things that primarily accuse and convict Duke George of being guilty of this bloodthirsty alliance or even of being the author of it. Therefore my judgment is also that they, who are so often admonished in vain, and will hope in vain for something themselves, if they should undertake something anew, shall be repulsed entirely without mercy, because they do not want to suffer peace, but thirst for blood: may they therefore drink blood, if they so wish. Other things at another time, when I shall have more. Farewell and pray for me, my dear Amsdorf. Wittenberg, June 13, 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 12 63.

Wittenberg.

June 14, 1528.

To the Abbot Friedrich Pistorius at Nuremberg.

A few words about Pack's alliance.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 379b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 339 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 288. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1110.

To Mr. Friedrich, head of the Aegidien Monastery in Nuremberg.

Grace and peace! Since I had nothing to write, most esteemed man, Johann Hofmann compelled me to write nevertheless, pretending that danger threatened him, as if he had not stopped faithfully enough, according to his received order, that he called upon me; therefore write

¹⁾ The letters of apology from all participants in Pack's alliance are printed in the 16th volume of our edition, No. 835 to 840.

I will respond to his urging. For I know that these news and the rumors of your alliance with the godless princes, which are sometimes true, sometimes false, sometimes denied, sometimes reasserted, have long since become something old with you. I am firmly convinced that the landgrave is not moved without cause. Satan has intended something, but Christ, who has mercy, tramples him underfoot. Let us only pray; the Hearer, who commanded to pray and promised that we shall be heard, will not deceive us. Thou art well, and pray for me. Given at Wittenberg, on the first Sunday after Trinity [June 14] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1264.

(Wittenberg.)

June 14, 1528.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 424. There, this letter is in the translation of Duke George, of which Luther in the writing "Von heimlichen und gestohlenen Briefen," St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 536 f., § 42, judges that in it almost nothing is well Germanized, but the piece of the xxxxxxxx xxxxx is not only bad, but also "schälklich" 1) Germanized. Therefore we let follow here a new translation from the Latin. - The locations of this letter are given l. c. in the introduction.

To the equally exceedingly good and godly man, Wenceslaus Link, Christ's minister of the Gospel at Nuremberg, his brother.

Grace and peace! You know more news than I can write. You see how great movements this alliance of the godless princes, which they deny, has caused. But I interpret the very cold apology of Duke George 2) almost as a confession. But they may deny, excuse, or write poetry, I know for certain that this alliance is not a mere nothing or a chimera, even though it is an outrageous monstrosity. Then the whole world knows that those with heart, deed, commandment and extremely persistent zeal have tried and done such things and still do. For they want the gospel to be destroyed, which no one can deny.

1) In the St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 536, last line of the text, read "schälklich" instead of: "schädlich".

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 382, no. 832.

new can. But what is that for you, who are undoubtedly sure of all these things? Just know that we do not believe these godless people either, even though we offer, desire and give peace. God will put to shame this most foolish of fools,³⁾ who, like Moab, subdues more than he is able [Isa. 16:6], and is not proud according to his strength, as he has always done. We will pray against these murderers, and so far be forgiven them. If they should do something again, we will only ask God, then remind the princes that they may be destroyed without mercy, since the insatiable bloodsuckers do not want to rest, unless they see Germany dripping with blood.

We are now struggling to translate the Prophets into German. Dear God, how great and arduous a work it is to force the Hebrew writers to speak German. How they resist, since they do not want to leave their Hebrew way and follow the German, foreign way, as if a nightingale were forced to imitate the cuckoo, whose monotonous voice it detests, and to leave its exceedingly dainty song. Farewell and pray for us. Sunday after Barnabas [June 14] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1265.

Wittenberg.
1528.)

(Before mid-June

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1788, annex, no. 13.

No. 1266.

(Wittenberg.)

June 15, 1528.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for the surviving son of Caspar von Rotleben to help him to study.

From the Weimar Archive in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 53, no. 71; in Walch, vol. XXI, 253; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 34l and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 17.

3) The original says *confundet*, but Duke George translated *confundat*.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord,
Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.,
Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen,
my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Honest people have asked me to write to C. C. F. G. for a boy, Caspar von Rotleben, son of the Count of Schwarzburg. Because his father has died, and he is going astray, remains naughty, and C. C. F. G. yet otherwise undertook, C. C. F. G. young: son, Duke Ernst Friederichen, to study, that C. C. F. G. will graciously accept this boy among others, and at the same time let him be educated, considering that he is a poor abandoned child, and yet is capable for the studio and also otherwise: therefore I humbly ask, E. C. F. G., to let him study. C. F. G. to graciously bless the same boy, where E. C. F. G. wants to do so, as I am sure that C. C. F. G. will graciously show himself in this. Hiemit GOtt besohlen, Amen. Monday *S. Viti* [June 15] 1528.

C. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 1267.

Wittenberg. June 20,
1628.

To the Elector John of Saxony. Intercession for a poor student.

From your original in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N.* fol. 108. 41, in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 58, no. 72; in Walch, vol. XXI, 258; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 842 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 18.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord,
Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.,
Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Lead Hay,
my: most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! There is a poor fellow here in Wittenberg, M. George Premier, who once also served in the small choir in Wittenberg, and after that received two years from E. E. F. G. graciously: tax, namely twenty guilders for the year, for the studio,

and thus recognizes and thanks himself too richly rewarded; but because he has heard that several fiefdoms in Altenburg have been settled, and he would like to complete his studies in law until he can use them and support himself, he has asked me to prescribe him against E. C. F. G., whether E. C. F. G. would graciously consider his poverty and need, and let a gracious tax of such feudal interest be paid for another two years, considering that this would not burden E. C. F. G.'s chamber as before, and that such interest is nowhere cheaper than to be used for poor people, and especially for those who are to study and become skilled people, to take care of others, as it was undoubtedly established and given in the opinion of old age. But since I know the good journeyman almost well, and we are all of an honorable nature and special skill, I do not know how to refuse him his request, and so I humbly commend him to E. C. F. G., who will undoubtedly know how to keep him graciously and mercifully, to God's praise and honor. Christ be with E. C. F. G. in all the fullness of His graces, Amen. At Wittenberg, Saturday after *Viti* [June 20] 1528.

E. E. F. G.
subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 1268.

Wittenberg. June 29, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

From a nun who wishes to escape from the convent.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, hausmannbriefe, No. 46. handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, Wl. 28 6. printed by Aurifaber, vol. II. Bl. 380b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 848 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VI, 294 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1113.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann,
the holy bishop of Zwickau, his extremely dear
[friend] in the Lord.

Grace in Christ! I did not want to let this messenger return to you empty, my dear husband, but since I had nothing to write, just to devote myself to your prayers.

1171

command. But (as I hope) a matter will arise in which I will need your help one day; for a captive nun 1) has written from Freiberg, who cries and sighs for release. She hopes to be able to escape from the convent and the city, if there are people who will take her in on the outside and bring her into the territory of our prince. More of this at another time, for I do not yet know how far this city may be from the borders of our prince. In the meantime, be well in the Lord. Wittenberg, 1528, Peter and Paul Day [June 29].

After he has been imprisoned together with several butchers in Zerbst, and the others have all been released, and he alone (I do not know what is due to accidental unwillingness, of which he will probably give further instructions to E. F. G.) has been expelled from the city, not to be touched for more than five miles, and it is difficult for the poor man to be away from his wife and children, and to leave his food. Therefore, my humble request to E. F. G. is that you will graciously help the good man in his matter, so that he is not burdened too much and, where he deserves it, is punished with a fair and sorry fine, so that he does not have to leave his wife and children, house and farm, and thus suffer more punishment than he forfeits. E. F. G. will graciously comply with this. For I am willing and ready to serve E. F. G. with submissive diligence. At Wittenberg, Tuesday after Petri and Pauli [June 30] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1269.

Wittenberg. June 30, 1528.

To Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt.

Intercede that the butcher Jakob Jochim, who had been banished by the Zerbst City Council, be readmitted. Jochim and other master butchers of his trade had been imprisoned for rebellion against the city council. The others paid a fine and received their freedom, while Jochim, who had allowed himself to get into mischief in the town hall, was only released in exchange for a "sworn promise" to avoid the town of Zerbst from now on and not to approach it for five miles. He went to Luthern and asked him for an intercession with Prince Wolfgang, so that he would induce the Zerbsters, his subjects, to accept him back into the city. Prince Wolfgang therefore wrote to the Zerbst City Council and enclosed Luther's letter of support, but the council gave his prince a negative answer, saying that it was not his place to change what had been unanimously decided. On August 4, the prince again pleaded for him, to which the council replied: "that we are well satisfied to honor and please E. F. G., and we are not opposed to the fact that the same Jakob Jochim, according to his convenience, according to his consent, where E. F. G. has agreed to let him live. F. G. will grant him to live, not to settle and occupy the city of Zerbst too close to E. F. G." 2c.

From the original in the Zerbst secret archive in Sintenis' Denkschrift v. 1846, p. 41; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 178 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 94.

To the noble Prince and Lord, Mr. Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania and Lord of Bernburg 2c., my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! This man Jakob Jochim has asked me for a

1) The Duchess Ursula von Münsterberg. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 64.

willing Martinus Luther.

No. 1270.

Wittenberg. July 7, 1528.

To Urban Rhegius in Augsburg.

Luther testifies to his joy at Rhegius' change of heart in the doctrine of the Sacrament.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 163; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 345 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 296.

Grace and peace in Christ! A happier rumor has come to me than before, 2) my dear Urban. For we have been moved, both by the letters of some and by Zwingli's boast, to the suspicion that we thought you were alienated from us altogether as far as the sacramental matter is concerned. Now something else is said about you, which hardly allows to believe as true the former and desperate sadness about your estrangement. But we desire it most, and Christ hear our sighs for you, and comfort us with such glad tidings. For we

2) Compare No. 1053, where it is reported that Rhegius was either leaning towards Zwingli or had already fallen away.

have, as it were, a resurrection and a brotherly Passover, We also graciously grant the same pastor a time to go to if you are not a stranger to us, but believe with us in the Hamburg, because he knows the language and the One right sense. Perhaps I write this too fearfully. I have country and is skilled in promoting the Gospel with experienced how often we tend to be deceived, not only Johann Pomeranian. But what E. C. F. G. likes, shall be by bad news but also by good news. Therefore I ask you most dear to us. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. July to keep us worthy of your letters, in which you make us 8, 1528.

certain in which spirit you live and act. Fare well in Christ.

Given July 7, 1528, at Wittenberg.

Your Martin Luther.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1271.

(Wittenberg.)

July 8, 1528.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Request that the pastor at Belzig be granted leave to go to Hamburg for some time.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, fol. 108, no. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 54, no. 74; in Walch, vol. XXI, 258; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 346 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 20.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The people of Hamburg have once again sent their message here to Wittenberg, and after they asked the pastor of Belzig to lend a time next to Johann Pomern, and he granted it so far that it was done with E. C. F. G.'s knowledge and leave. But because they found that we have not yet asked E. C. F. G. for leave, they must go home empty, and have asked us to request such leave from E. C. F. G. in the most favorable way through their own messenger. Although I have not been nearly so minded, nor have I thought to help the same priest to go there; but because he has promised himself to them, he cannot go back, especially because he was also suggested by us at that time: therefore, my humble request is that E. C. F. G. would

No. 1272.

Weimar.

July 12, 1528.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Response to previous letter.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, pag. 108. 41. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 156 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 297.

Our greeting before. Venerable, dear devotee! We have received and heard your letter, in which you indicate how the people sent from Hamburg have visited you and asked for the preacher in Belzig 1) and since we note from your letter that the said people sent from Hamburg have been put off by you for the sake of the same preacher, and that he should be accustomed to the country and language, We consent and allow him to go to them for a time, along with Johann Pommern 2) to promote the holy gospel and to establish the churches there, and to be used there, and we request that you inform him of this and decree it, because the people of Belzig have been provided with another suitable preacher and pastor. You are doing us a favor, and in your gracious opinion, you do not want to do this. Date Weimar, Sunday after Kiliani [July 12] Anno 1528.

No. 1273.

(Wittenberg.)

July 14, 1528.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1532.

1) Joh. Boldewan. Cf. no. 750.

2) Bugenhagen came from Brunswick to Hamburg only on October 9.

No. 1274.

Weimar.

July 17, 1528.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther and Melanchthon.

Concerning the appointment of a Lutheran preacher to Cronschwitz.

The concept is in the Weimar Archive KK, 33, No. II. 3^A Printed by Burkhardt, p. 137 and in Erlanger Briefw., Vol. VI, p. 306.

By the Grace of God John, Duke of Saxony and Elector. Our greetings first, venerable and reverend, dear, devout and faithful! You know how for some time there was disorder among the nuns in the convent at Cronschwitz. ¹⁾ However, you will learn how things are now everywhere from the writings and reports that have been preserved. Since the spit, which was previously appointed as a preacher of the ends, has turned there outside of our knowledge and permission, our gracious request is that you seek a learned, pious and honest man, who would serve as a preacher in the monastery in question, according to the form and occasion of the present life there, and send him to us with enclosed letters along with a statement of your intentions. We will then prepare the same and order it to be duly handled in such a twofold manner, and also otherwise, according to your concern, if you will indicate it to us, we will show ourselves to be duly appointed. We do not want to save you from this and do us a gracious favor. Date Weimar, Friday after Margaret [July 17] Anno 28.

No. 1274a.

(Wittenberg.)

July 20, 1528.

To an unnamed person.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1736.

1) After six monks from the monastery of the Order of Preachers had returned to Cronschwitz in the Peasants' War, because of which they had fled, they tried to suspect the Lutheran doctrine that had just appeared there and to return the nuns in the convent of the virgins there to the old faith. At the same time, because of the planned introduction of a Lutheran preacher, disputes arose with Heinrich von Reuß d. A. and J., parties formed in the monastery itself, until peace was finally restored by the appointment of Wolfgang Calixt as preacher and by a (1529, Mon.

No. 1275.

Wittenberg.

July 20, 1528.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

About the Minkwitz feud.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 384; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 361 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 307. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1113.

Grace and peace in Christ! The evil deed of Minkwitz 2) rightly displeases us all, not only because it is committed against worldly justice, but especially because it burdens the gospel with a great and new hatred; for in this way we innocent people are forced to bear the aggravations of others. May Christ grant that the end may come and that he may not do more harm. For as the matter lies before us, the Margrave is in greater danger than Minkwitz, for Minkwitz has armed his castle and is ready to take up the Margrave's attack; but he himself has gone elsewhere (as they say), perhaps to undertake something else in the meantime while the Margrave is fighting. And who knows whether (ÄOtt does not begin by this beginning to afflict the margrave because of all his quite impudent undertakings, as so far there are many of them without end and measure. I ask for peace, and would have advised the Margrave anything other than war. Everyone says that Minkwizen's castle will be impregnable for the margrave if the men of war want to defend it faithfully. There you have the news that we have. Pray for me, a sinner, and be well in Christ. July 20, 1528, at Wittenberg.

Martin Luther.

The monastery's ecclesiastical and secular (economic) affairs were arranged according to the monastic order established on the first day after Dionysius [Oct. 11]. - A concept is found, which is only addressed to Luther. (Burkhardt.)

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1538, § 18. There, instead of: "der Alebus heißt" is to be read: "der [Bischof] von Lebus genannt wird".

3) The city of Fürstenwalde, which Minkwitz had plundered, belonged to Brandenburg, so the Elector gathered an army in Berlin and joined forces with Saxony to besiege Minkwitz, who had retreated to Sonnenwalde. Minkwitz, however, had meanwhile gone to northern Germany.

No. 1275a.

Wittenberg.

July 24, 1528.

To the Crown Prince Christian of Denmark.

Admonition to keep Melchior Hofmann in check.

From the "Danish Library", Copenhagen and Leipzig 1743, 4th St., p. 152, in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 361 and again from Schumacher's "Learned Men's Letters to the Kings in Denmark", 2nd Th., p. 261 as addressed to Christian III, King of Denmark, and dated July 26, 1538, in De Wette, Vol. V, p. 121. Quite the same in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54, p. 29 and Vol. 55, p. 207.

To the noble Prince and Lord, Mr. Christian, Heir to Norway, Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormarn and the Ditmarschen, Count of Oldenburg-Delmeuhorst, my gracious Lord.

G. and F. in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! Although I did not have anything special to write to E. F. G., because the present M. Erhardt, child of the country, has gone to the fatherland, I did not want to omit to inform E. F. G. of my subservient services. I hope, however, that in E. F. G.'s country it will still be quite right. F. G.'s lands, especially with the holy Gospel, although it cannot be without challenge, since Satan does not sleep, and I especially wish that Melchior Hofmann 1) will keep himself moderate; for I would well like to suffer him to leave his preaching until he reports the matter properly. Otherwise, that which I have heard from him and which he also sends out in print serves no purpose at all and is vain poetry, without which one can well know and teach what a Christian deserves, which he at least rarely touches. Accordingly, my humble admonition that E. F. G. should earnestly promote the unity of doctrine, and not leave too much room to such rising spirits, is that we have enough to learn how to believe in Christ and serve our neighbors under the cross, which pieces we understand or respect very little (unfortunately), much less prove with our work and life,

1) This passage proves that the letter cannot belong to the year 1538, because at that time Hofmann was long gone from Holstein.

and yet while other unnecessary things are speculating, there is no benefit but rather an obstacle to the necessary teaching. Christ, our dear Lord and Savior, enlighten, enkindle and strengthen E. F. G. to do his pleasing will always and forever, amen. Command me herewith E. F. G. Wittenberg, Friday after *Mariae Magdalene* [July 24] 1528.

E. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 1276.

Weimar.

July 25, 1528.

The Elector John of Saxony to Luther, Hieronymus Schurs, Melanchthon, and Benedict Pauli.

The Elector appoints the visitators for the entire Saxon lands and reminds Luthern to send in the reflection on the marriage cases.

Printed in Burkhardt, Luthers Briefwechsel, p. 138 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 309.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear, devout, councillors and faithful! You are well aware of the way in which we have had a visitation, for which you were partly ordered by us, carried out a year ago. And although we have always been of the opinion that such a visitation should also take place in other places of our country and principality, you have nevertheless heard in good measure what troublesome things have happened for some time, thereby preventing the same. However, when we feel from daily reports, which occur to us, that there is a great need, through the mentioned way of the visitation, to make a further insight into the burdensome inaccuracies, which occur more and more without interruption and in various ways, and yet we also find, where the work is not carried out in such a way, that it is beneficial for our whole principality, that it is beneficial for the whole of our principality, but only one place should be visited this 2) year, as it is not convenient nor possible for some people to be present and wait for it without interruption, for many reasons, so we do not want to deprive you of our gracious opinion that we have considered to visit the same place in such a way.

2) In the original: "deß".

so that it may be carried out in four places 1) of our principality at the same time, namely, in our county of Saxony, together with the following of our Saxon offices Heinichen, Düben, Eilenburg, Grimm, and Torgau, and that it may be carried out there by you, Doctor Martin, together with the provost of Wittenberg, Doctor Jonas, or another doctor, Hieronymus [Schurf] and Hansen von Taubenheim, since we are unable to remove our officials from their offices at this time. As we hereby graciously request of you, and as you yourselves have previously offered in good faith.

For 2) the other place, in our Voigtlanden, in which we want to have drawn the office of Altenburg, and for the indicated place visitation, we mean that Magister Spalatinus, preacher at Altenburg, and the pastor at Zwickau together with our bailiff at Plauen, Daniel von Feilitzsch, should be used. However, if you consider it good that another preacher should be appointed in place of one of the two named 3) preachers, especially since there is not the slightest impropriety and hard-headedness found in the same place, then let us know of another one in their place.

For the third place, in the distant place of Franconia and there it shall be carried out by Doctor Kindt, pastor at Eisfeld, and Magister Balthasar, preacher at Coburg, together with one of our officials or councilors.

The fourth place, which has not yet been visited, is our Thuringian lands and offices, and for this reason we wanted you, Magister Philippus Melancthon, to let yourself be used, as we hereby graciously request of you, so we wanted to give you Friederichen Mecum, preacher at Gotha, and Justum Menium or someone else besides our bailiff at Wartburg or one of our councilors. ⁴⁾ But because the necessity requires

5) In order that the necessity may be ordered by us and that what is unseemly or unnecessary may be omitted, we request that you diligently follow the above order, so that we may have a clear and bright command, and that we know how to remember that we have previously given such an order, as the copy of which is to be found here; 5) so that the necessity of us is ordered, and what is unseemly or unnecessary is omitted, then we request that you diligently review the above of our order, and together with it, as touched upon, how and by whom, 6) and what you find that should be omitted from the order or that should be done in a different way, you should change and record it and let us know your concern about it. Thus we have had it drawn what our councilors and officials, who will be at the visitation in each place, and for the sake of the marriage vows, are to publicly proclaim on account of our, as the secular, authorities, whether the secret vows are to be countered thereby and the same, as they occur much without interruption, are to be averted; Likewise, what the preachers from the pulpits should publicly proclaim and announce for the sake of magistracies and friendships, degrees and clans, because it is considered good that such should not be put into the print of the visitation order. But furthermore, you, Doctor Martinus and Magister Philippus, know that you, together with the pastor of Wittenberg, Johann Pommer, are obligated to make a safe report of the marriage cases, 7) and to deliver it to us, according to which we and our councilors and chancellery

1) By decree of the Elector of September 26, the country was divided into six visitation districts: Churkreis, Meissen I, Meissen II and Voigtland, Thuringia on the Saale, the rest of Thuringia, the district of Franconia.

2) Erl. Briefw. instead of: "vor", probably due to a typographical error: "von".

3) Erl. Briefw.: "known", a typographical error.

4) The provisions made here in this letter received several changes. For the Churkreis, the visitors were: Luther, Hans Metzsch, Pauli and Taubenheim; for Torgau, Eilenburg, which belonged to the district of Meissen, and where the visitation began only on May 11, 1529: Jonas, Sebastian von Kötteritz, Asmus von Haubitz, Pauli and Wolfgang Fues. For the Voigtland, where the visitation began on Nov. 29, visitors were: Spalatin, Dietrich von Starschädel, Anarg von Wilden

fels and Antonius Musa of Jena. Hausmann, pastor in Zwickau, was not among the visitors. For Franconia, where the visitation began on Nov. 16, the following were visitors: Kind, Balthasar Thüring, the preacher at Coburg, Hans von Sternberg and the pastor of Coburg, Paul Bader. For Thuringia, which was divided into two districts, the visitors in the district on the Saale (Jena 2c.), where the visitation began on May 2, 1529, were: Ewald von Brandenstein, Christoph von der Planitz, Spalatin and Musa; for the other district (Eisenach, Gotha, Weimar): Melancthon, Myconius, Menius, and Christoph von der Planitz. - The description given in Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth.*, lid. II, p. 101 d deviates several times from the list found in Burkhardt, *Visitat.*

5) This "command" is missing.

6) The visitation of the year 1527 had covered only three Thuringian offices and had been broken off because of the plague and the negotiations about the visitation book.

7) Luther hesitated with it very much; it required again a reminder from the Elector, which is dated August 30. Thus the matter dragged on from January (see No. 1174) until August.

in the matter at hand at all times. However, since we have not received the same until now, we want you to prepare it again and also give us your concern and good opinion on all this, as indicated, as soon as you can deal with it. In all this you do us a gracious favor. Date Weimar, Saturday Jacobi [July 25] Anno 1528.

No. 1277.

(Wittenberg.)

July 28, 1528.

To Nicolaus Gerbel in Strasbourg.

Luther complained with bitter displeasure about the way Bucer had distorted Luther's opinion in his *Dialogus*; of Carlstadt and of the Minkwitz feud.

Manuscript in Dresden, Cod. SolMr, O 351, fol. 35; in Gotha, Cod. LB 28, fol. 33 d and in Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, p. 130. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 384d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 363 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 312. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1114.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have known Bucer's unworthiness before enough and above enough, my dear Gerbel, so that it is not to be wondered at if he judges my sermon (which he cites) 1) against me, in which I, following Augustine's opinion, spoke of the flesh of Christ, not against, but for the Sacrament, 2) as it is known to the whole world that we do not condemn the sayings of the Fathers, even though they (in more than one 3) place) dispute against each other, if only they are not forced to dispute against godliness. In short, if Zwingli had said something like this, equity would have been ready to interpret it suitably and rightly; because Luther said it, it is immediately subjected to the most venomous calumnies. Let Christ afflict these vipers and either convert them or repay them what they deserve. What venom has he not brought about in this last dialogue⁴⁾, in which

1) namely in the title of his book, "Luther's Confession of the Lord's Supper".

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 826 ff. 971 ff.

3) Instead of *suo*, from which we could not derive a suitable sense, we have assumed *uno*. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2156.

4) "Comparison of D. Luther's and his counterpart's discussion of the Lord's Supper. *Dialogus*, that is a friendly conversation. Quite close to everything, so D. Luther in his last book,

he bravely passes by everything that is mine and is a mere slanderer! Among other things, he reproaches me with the figure of speech of the synecdoche, which I have not only not denied in this book of mine, but which I have displayed most abundantly. Away with the vipers; Christ preserve you (I ask this in the most constant way), who dwell among these wild animals, vipers, lionesses, bears, almost with greater danger than Daniel in the lion's den.

Christ maintains a peaceful and unanimous church here, then also the academy that flourishes through science and studies, so that Satan's belly would burst. But Carlstadt, the adder in our bosom, is indeed trembling, but does not dare to come to light; God would that your swarming spirits would have him as their comrade, and that we would be free of him. All our people greet you. There is no news here, except that the Margrave wants to wage war against a certain knight who has invaded his land and committed robbery. Be well with your rib, amen. July 28, 1528 Martin Luther.

No. 1278.

(Wittenberg.)

July 31, 1528.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

Invitation to the wedding of M. Georg Major with Margaretha von Mochau.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 385; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 364 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 314. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1116.

Grace and peace! We have engaged Margaretha Mochin to M. Georg, my dear Amsdorf, and have determined that the wedding should be on the day of St. Lawrence [Aug. 10]. Since we thought that this would be an effective occasion for you to come to us, we invite you and ask that you finally visit us and be present at this future (as I hope) happy wedding, when

The book is called "Confession," and it contains a description of how this serves the knowledge of truth and Christian peace. At the end: "Printed in Strasbourg by Wolf. Bucer's preface to the Christian reader is dated Strasbourg, June 21, and signed: M. Butzer.

5) Nicolaus von Minkwitz.

Christ gives grace. You will ask Him for us, as your soul is strong in Him, amen. Last July 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1 279.

Wittenberg.

August 5, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther wants to write about the Turkish War and reports the death of his daughter.

Printed by Aurifaber, Vol. II, p. 385, and in part (concerning the death) again, as a special letter, p. 385b; by De Wette, Vol. III, p. 364 and in Erlanger Briefw., Vol. VI, p. 315 f. German by Walch, Vol. XXI, 1116.

Grace and peace! My little house thanks you for the rattle, my dear Nicolaus, of which he boasts and rejoices extraordinarily. I have planned to write about the Turkish War 1) but it will (I hope) not be useless. My little daughter Elisabeth has died to me, 2) it is to be marveled at, how a sorrowful, almost feminine heart she has left me, so I am moved by lamentation over her; I would never have believed before that a fatherly heart could become so soft because of children. You pray for me to the Lord; in him you will be well. Wittenberg, 1528 August 5.

Regarding the one which was to be kidnapped by Freiberg,³⁾ nothing happens, it has been only thoughts, therefore you can be calm.

Martin Luther.

No. 12 80.

Wittenberg.

August 8, 1528.

To the Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg.

In the case of Wolf Hornung.

Handwritten in the state archives at Marburg. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 106 (dated June 21); by Zimmermann, in *Zeitschrift für preußische Geschichte* 2c., XX, 328 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 315.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Perhaps E. C. F. G. may be surprised, my Lord, that I, a damned heretic, dare not write to E. C. F. G., as I should reasonably think that the elements and the stars are not particularly favorable to me at E. C. F. G., and not without reason. But things and my conscience force me to dare such a thing, and I would like to humbly ask E. C. F. G. to graciously grant it to me. And first of all, God knows that I am not fond of, but almost sorry for the mischief that E. C. F. G. is now encountering from Nickel voll Minckwitz 2c. But, most gracious lord, I fear that the cries from E. C. F. G. are too great in heaven, and among others, especially that which E. C. F. G. is doing with the poor journeyman Wolff Hornung. And it may be that I am a false prophet, God willing, I would also be in such a case! But I worry, I say one more thing, that Wolff Hornung is the man who brings such things to E. C. F. G., and Nickel von Minckwitz must be the poor journeyman's unknowing servant and instrument by God's order. Accordingly, to E. C. F. G. is my heartfelt request, entreaty and admonition that E. C. F. G., when the time comes, show themselves differently towards the poor journeyman, so that this game will not be a spark by which God intends to light a fire against E. C. F. G. For E. C. F. G. may well mean that, although Wolff Hornung is a poor fellow who is despised by such a powerful prince, this is also true that, where God wants to take care of Wolff Hornung, as he has already begun to do, a powerful prince is much less before God than Wolff Hornung before a Elector of Brandenburg. For he often speaks in the Scriptures that he wants to be the protection, judge and father of the poor wretches, and when he begins to afflict the great Hansa, he certainly reaches out in such a way that one must say that this is a lord who does not ask for the defiance or insistence of all princes. Is it now, most gracious lord, that God has given E. C. F. G., then the beginning is very strong, before which E. C. F. G. may well fear and worry. So E. C. F. G. should also be sure that we poor heretics have not asked against E. C. F. G. so far. But where they

1) "Vom Krieg wider die Türken," St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2108. See also the introduction there, p. 64.

2) She died on August 3, evening 9 o'clock and was buried solemnly the following day.

3) Ursula von Münsterberg. Seidemann remarks on this, "Erläuterungen": Hausmann's answer (current No. 1268) may have been negative, even admonishing.

If we do not accept such admonition, nor fear such divine Grace and peace through Christ. Strict, honorable, attack, we must let ourselves be despised together with respectable and highly esteemed, favorable gentlemen! I our heretical God and prayer, but we still want to have received all the contents of your letter to me,⁴⁾. And defiant, if we begin to ask against E. C. F. G., then oufirst of all, that you indicate that I should have sent a letter prayer shall be heard, and E. C. F. G. shall be heard, ando your lord, the Elector. I should have spared your Lord, E. C. F. G. shall be heard, and E. C. F. G. shall be heardthe Elector, with my deceitful writing, and that what I have C. F.G. will be the more deeply distressed, even if anterpreted in it for S. C. F. G., I have fabricated, and am sorcerer and all sorcerers could charm all devils into dying to S. C. F. G., not as a pious man: I say that I have circle. ¹⁾ But we would rather E. C. F. G. would sendot lied or fabricated anything, and also know all this with himself in, so that we would not have to ask against E. Csufficient proof, S. C. F. G. also well. C. F. G. also knows F. G., but for E. C. F. G., because we would certainly havet well; and whoever therefore calls me a liar and an no joy in E. C. F. G.'s misfortune, but great joy in itampious man without being convinced, is himself a liar, not welfare. E. C. F. G. would graciously note such a letter of a good, pious man, be he who he will, I offer myself to mine as having been written out of a good heart, for honor and justice. cannot understand nor keep it in my heart how it should On the other hand, that you show from S. C. F. G.. be possible that God would suffer longer to let the pooOrder, how I should have wickedly wanted to murder my journeyman, cast out of wife, child, honor, house and wife, that 5) the scars on her body should still give proof, court, live in such misery and distress. Summa, mosand what of the vain words, to spoil my cause and to adorn gracious Lord, it is too much. Too much tears the sack, iher cause, rattle more, I say that I have been her husband cannot go like this, nor stand nor stay. God must look aand she my wife, whom I had powerful, just and right to it. If seeing three things does not help, then hitting threepunish; but, as one says: the child can well say that she is things must help! God grant that E. C. F. G. may blessedlychastised, but by what she has deserved [that], she can remember and repent, amen. At Wittenberg, on the day ofwell keep silent. It is very easy to say how I punished her, Kiriaci [8th of August] 2) 1528. but it is even easier to keep silent about the reason she E. C. F. G. willing Martinus Luther, with hisgave me. And since your gn. Lord and you could have kept own handthis piece in the pen or mouth, it would have been fine to let that one stay in the pen, too,

No. 1281.

Wittenberg. August 8, 1528.

Wolf Hornung to the Electoral Council of Brandenburg. 3)

Hornung sharply rebukes the behavior of the Elector and demands his wife, as well as restitution for what he has suffered against equity.

Printed by Zimmermann, Streit Hornungs mit Joachim I., in Zeitschrift für preußische Geschichte 2c., XX, 325 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 318.

- 1) Allusion to the Elector's love of the so-called black arts, which the people attributed to him (Erl. Briefw.).
- 2) "Cyriacus" is the 8th of August. June 21, which Kolde assumes, is the day of "the martyrs Cyriacus and Apollonius".
- 3) There can hardly be any doubt that not Wolf Hornung but Luther is the author of this letter, therefore we have included it and had it printed in larger type.

4) From July 25. - When Catharina Hornung remained without news in January 1528 (see No. 1180, last note), she again sent a messenger to Wittenberg to Luther and her husband, who also agreed to meet with her at the border. But also this appointment was betrayed to the Elector, so that nothing came of it. On March 1, she found the opportunity to send a secret letter to her sister Barbara, the wife of Christian Döring in Wittenberg, in which she again asked for a meeting with her husband, and at the end commended herself to Luther and thanked him for the many good things he had done for her poor husband. But further negotiations for a meeting remained unsuccessful, so that Hornung finally turned to the electoral councilors and asked them for help. In their reply, however, they completely sided with their master: the Elector would not prevent the woman from returning to him, and he himself was to blame for the failure of the meetings 2c. Our letter is the reply to this.

5) "deß" put by us instead of: "that".

or both and step out of both feet, not limp out of one leg, otherwise you might notice it 1) too roughly.

Thirdly, that S. C. F. G. has not confessed to me that they have done or acted something violent or violent to me or my housewife, I say that such, if God wills, shall become clear and bright before all the world when I bring the matter to light; for what will one pretend with empty words of much denial? Here I have S. C. F. G.'s handwriting, of which I hereby send you a copy, as I have written and sent a letter to S. C. F. G. for a time, from which you may not only hear, but also grasp who is a liar and an unrighteous man, and whether Your Lordship has not done anything offensive or dishonest to my wife. But I realize that E. Ch. Gn. 2) is not satisfied with reading and writing about it, you also want to hear, sing and say. Well then, if the ears are so nearly itching, let them, whether God wills it, be herded with it, and I will not turn back to S. C. F. G.'s urging or throbbing. For, praise God, S. C. F. G. will not be able to do more to me than what is right. Force will not do it all. So I still want to find people who will take care of my matter and S. C. F. G.'s handwriting and make use of it,³⁾ so that everyone can see how reasonable it is for me to leave S. C. F. G. unattended in such excellent distress of my matters. In addition, there is a living heir, namely the son Joachim, whom S. C. F. G. has married to my wife; and S. C. F. G. is attacking my dwelling, breaking, building, and adding one room to another according to S. C. F. G.'s liking. Whether this is called in the new German language and law: "Nothing wrong has been done to me and my wife", this shall not be said and heard by Margrave Joachim or his advisors, but, if God wills it, by the sun and the stars, by stone and wood.

Lastly, because S. C. F. G. confesses in other letters that they know nothing about me, and in this letter of yours they let themselves be persuaded that S. C. F. G. does not want to hinder me, if I can obtain it from my wife, that she turns to me, so my friendly request to you is, will you again urge S. C. F. G. to follow his own words and keep what they say, namely that they do not hinder my wife, but let her turn to me. C. F. G. again that S. C. F. G. will follow his own words and keep what they say, namely not to hinder my wife, but let her turn to me, especially because S. C. F. G. has no other way. C. F. G. has no other remedy than the contract, which S. C. F. G. knows well, to what appearance he has untruthfully brought me, which has subsequently turned out to be so,⁴⁾ which I also invalidly respect and hold, can also be proven by S. C. F. G.'s letter. C. F. G. letter that the same is incompetent and not flush, which would be long to strike out; but if one ever wants to have it, then it shall be proven according to necessity [as] invalid. Thus, S. C. F. G. is also obligated out of his princely office and duty to drive woman and man together and keep them together, and whichever part is obligated and does not want to, to punish seriously, as otherwise all rights, also examples of all princes give that, whether the man alone is in debt, as I have not been in debt, whether God wills it, the woman is nevertheless also driven to him afterwards; if not, then I will notice anew from this that S. C. F. G. is not the only one who is in debt and does not want to be in debt. C. F. G. not only let her princely office stand in the way of my wife, but also once again act unjustly towards her and me, as one who hinders and sows such a person, who is nevertheless free, and whom he should drive to her husband. If it is not vain loose words, which you have attributed to me in the play, from S. C. F. G.'s command, then you will know well to prove for me against S. C. F. G. that I get my wife, and besides that also restitution is made to me of that, which I suffered against equity. But if these are vain words, they will serve me to make the little song all the greater and to prove what a liar and a knave Wolf Hornung is. Such my

4) In the original vow made on March 22, 1525, Hornung was forced to add: "that I will never, while I live, address, accept, live with, or be with the above-named wife of my marriage, either by right or without right, in any way for anything, but will utterly and completely renounce, renounce, and forgive her" 2c.

1) "möcht's" put by us instead of: "möcht".

2) Here the titlature, as if the letter were addressed to the Elector himself, is probably intentional.

3) These expressions are taken from "ruth" and "feather" (here: point), the raising and lowering of boards joined together; the meaning is: to make fit, to adjust exactly.

Nothdurft Schreiben bitten ich, wollet aufs besten vernehmen, und denken, dass eure Bitte, dass ich schweigen sollt, nur gar unleidlich ist zu erhören. It is not a matter of silence, because they want to put the burden on my neck, but more of speaking and writing than it has ever 1) been. Finally ask for your reliable answer to this. Given at Wittenberg, on the day of Kiriaci 2) [8 Aug.] 1528. Wolf's horn.

No. 1282.

Kemberg.

August 12, 1528.

Andreas Carlstadt to Chancellor Brück.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2076, no. 701.

No. 1283.

(Wittenberg.)

August 14, 1528.

To Balthasar Thüring, pastor in Coburg.

Luther recommends an expelled preacher to him.

Printed in *Schlegelii vita Jo. Langeri, Goth.* 1724, p. 200; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 122; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 366 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, Bd. VI, p. 354. German in *Walch*, Bd. XXI, 1118.

Grace and peace in Christ. In Christ, highly esteemed brother Balthasar! 3) This good man, John, has been expelled, a man who is known from Franconia⁴⁾ by a good testimony and a good name. Since he is called by God into the fellowship of the preaching ministry, and he has administered it until now, but is now without employment, he is looking for a position to carry out this ministry. He has therefore thought of traveling to your area to see if a position might be open for him. Therefore, if you can assist him, you will do so in Christ. 5)

1) In our prelims: "him". We assume in the original: "jhe".

2) Also the spelling for "Cyriacus", which is the same here as in the previous letter, points to the authorship of Luther.

3) Balthasar Thüring (Düring) was a native of Königsberg in Franconia, where he already appears in 1516 as vicar at St. Urbanskirche; now pastor in Coburg; died in October 1529.

4) So we believe to translate *ex Franconia*, not: "ans Franken", as the *Erl. Cellarius* was from Kunstadt in Bohemia, which Luther knew well (see No. 181).

5) This sentence is missing in *Erl. Briefw.*

For it is hard and unreasonable that he who has hitherto served the word should now leave this office and take upon himself another work. And this I have advised him, as I am wont to advise, seeing that in time it will come to pass that there will be almost no laborers in the harvest of the Lord. If you cannot, send him back in the name of the Lord. The grace of Christ be with you. August 14, 1528. Martin Luther.

No. 1284.

(Wittenberg.)

August 15, 1528.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2256.

No. 1285.

(Wittenberg.)

August 16, 1528.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Several news items. Luther sends the writings against Hasenberg and Miritianus and recommends Joh.

Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 385 b; by *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 365 (both dated: August 6) and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 359 f. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1117.

Grace and peace in Christ! To our Lazarus 6) I answer in this enclosed letter, as much as God has given me, who also directs your counsel, Amen. -

I have received the earthen vessels and give thanks; nor would it have been necessary, since others have requested them in my name, to take such anxious care of them, for I do not want you to be burdened by my cause, which is not necessary.

The Duke of Brunswick was perhaps brought down by the Lord out of mercy for us.

6) Spengler. Meant is the previous letter, which was enclosed to this one. From this results the time determination we have set, which Burkhardt, p. 140, Seidemann, *Erläuterungen*, p. 151 and the *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VI, p. 360 assume. Köstlin, *Martin Luther* (3.) Vol. II, p. 647 ad p. 152 thinks that 6. Augusti is read for *S. Augustini*, the 28. August, but then the letter to Spengler would have lain still 14 days with Luther. The dates in the "*Neue Zeitung*", *St. Louis edition*, Vol. XIV, 771. 772. 775, which are given to the letters there, namely August 17, 19 and 18, do not contradict our date, since the letters are fingirt.

1) Otherwise, if he had succeeded in his plots, he would have filled Germany with many abominations. For Satan has whimsical thoughts everywhere. The asses of Leipzig have attacked my Kätke with the most unruly invectives; they have been repaid, 2) as you see here before your eyes. The Lord has taken from me the little daughter he gave me; his name be praised always, amen.

The fact that you are asking for an addition to the publication of my confession 3) about auricular confession, you are asking for something that is not necessary. For if we begin to search anxiously, there will be no measure of adding, of the keys, of the office of preaching, of priestly marriage and many other things, so that one could demand a short epitome of theology; but if you definitely want to add, then you can use this note, which I send enclosed here. You write strange things about the Turk;

1) Henry the Younger of Brunswick set out for Italy with an army at the beginning of 1528 to fight for the emperor against the French. He advanced as far as the city of Lodi, which he besieged in vain. Illness weakened his army and he had to retreat, which became very dangerous due to the country people, who were now seeking revenge for earlier plundering, so that Heinrich, in order to escape the danger, disguised as a common servant, secretly escaped with 16 companions to Graubiinden, and arrived again in Wolfenbüttel at the end of June.

2) By the writing: "Neue Zeitung von Leipzig und Aesops Fabel vom Löwen und Esel", St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XIV, 766.

3) Wenceslaus Link organized a separate edition of the last part of Luther's great Confession of the Lord's Supper, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1094, p 509 ff, to which he added a preface. The addition on secret confession and absolution, which Luther prepared and, as it seems, sent twice to Link - namely, first on July 14, St. Louiser Ausg, Vol. X, 1537, § 17 and then with our letter - is the following, and (for Link's separate edition) to be inserted St. Louiser Ausgabe, Vol. XX, 1102, before § 535: "For this reason I think much of the secret confession, because there God's word and absolution for the forgiveness of sins is spoken secretly, and to each one in particular, and, as often as he wishes, he may have such forgiveness or also consolation, counsel and report therein, that it is a very dear, useful thing for souls, useful thing for souls, provided that no one is forced out of it with laws and commandments, but let each one be free to use it for his need, when and where he wants, just as it is free to get advice and comfort, report or teaching, when and where need or will demands; and that not all sins are to be counted or reported, but which ones are most pressing, or which ones someone wants to name, of all things, as I have written in the prayer booklet."

Christ keep us, amen. I commend Johann Hofmann to you, who will receive the Master's degree on our advice,⁴⁾ since he hopes that he will achieve more through this larva; for one must rule the world with larvae like children and fools. The grace of Christ be with you. On the 16th 5) day of August 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1286.

Wittenberg.

August 21, 1528.

To the Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg.

Luther again seriously admonishes the Elector to behave properly in Hornung's matter.

Handwritten at Marburg in the State Archives. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 108; by Zimmermann in *Zeitschrift für preußische Geschichte*, XX, 330 and in *Erlanger Briefwechsel*, vol. VI, p. 361.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I am now writing this for the second time,⁶⁾ so that no harm or dishonor may befall me to E. C. F. G.. Accordingly, my most humble request is that E. C. F. G. show himself towards your poor journeyman Wolf's Hornung, as is right and due; if not, then I must nevertheless show the poor journeyman, because he desires my advice, the duty of Christian love. If Catherina, his wife, wants to be divorced from him, she must do so presently before him, verbally. For E. E. F. G. well know that with power of attorney or advocacy we cannot be satisfied, because the matters E. C. F. G. himself understands with unlawful clamor, in addition with his own handwriting, and all letters, so

4) He received his doctorate on September 15.

5) "16th" put by us instead of "6th" by Aurifaber and De Wette, which is probably just a typo.

6) Luther had not received an answer to the letter No. 1280. On the other hand, Catharina Hornung had sent a messenger, Valentin Graff, with a letter dated August 13 to her husband, in which she wrote that she was inclined to get along with him and to formally divorce him. The messenger was to continue oral negotiations in Wittenberg. Graff reported that Catharina had sworn that she would never return, but would divorce her husband. But Wolf demanded the oath in his presence; if it happened in a place where they could meet without danger, he would be satisfied. In this sense, Luther wrote the present letter, which, however, remained unsuccessful.

may send her, be regarded suspicious and incompetent, as having been provided by E. C. F. G. himself and having gone out under her name. E. C. F. G. graciously wants to help and give me causes that I could spare the prince's ears, as I was quite happy to do. But if I am to paint whores and boys, as I must do, where I am otherwise to absolve and help Wolf's horns, then E. C. F. G. should not be angry about it, as I have now twice sufficiently suspected whether I would tear the princely hat into its lining, so that the hair would fall about. I ask for the third time that I may have a gracious master at E. C. F. G., and that it is not necessary for me to make an enemy, as E. C. F. G. has and can further inform Valtin Graffe. At Wittenberg, Friday after *Assumptionis Mariae* [Aug. 21] 1528.

E. C. F. G.
willing Martinus Luther.

No. 1287.

(Wittenberg.) (Towards the end of August)
1528.U

To Eberhard Brisger in Altenburg.

From the Leipzig diatribe about Luther's marriage and his response to it, etc.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 87; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 299 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 362.

Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale novellis, Pluraque doctorum sociabo scripta meorum. 2)

Spalatin offered me to write two verses, so far did he go in it that he did not want to return without something in writing

1) In Schütze and De Wette, this letter has the date: "April 8", which is in any case wrong, as can be seen from the content. A clue for the approximate timing we get from the fact that Spalatin was in Wittenberg for two days towards the end of August (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 996 and Luther's letter to Spalatin of Sept. 3), then suddenly left and took this letter with him. Knaake assumes that Luther wrote *fer. 4. post Anastas.*, and by wrong solution by using *Anast. episc.* (April 1) instead of *Anast. mart.* (21. Aug.), the date: "8. April" was set instead of: "26. August".

2) These are the initial verses of the medieval school grammar, the *Doctrinale puerorum* of Alexander de Villa Dei written around 1209. - Spalatin had asked for two "lines" (voraus); Luther here jokingly takes the other meaning of the word and writes the above two "verses".

Therefore, I have written these two, since he would not be satisfied that he would be a living letter au you for me. You will therefore hear everything from him. With regard to your house, I am satisfied, because I have it healthy, that it was promised 3) to another (which I did not know), so that Bruno's 4) faithfulness and belief would not be endangered. There you have the *imaginary* book, 5) "the shitty book Bruno (I mean) sent over. The donkeys in Leipzig want to have such an answer". May the Lord keep your son. I have another little daughter 6) on the way. God give his blessing and you pray, [? August] 7) 1528.

. Your Martin Luther.

No. 1288.

Weimar. August 30, 1528.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Luther is repeatedly reminded that he should prepare the concerns about the marriage matters so that they can be followed in the chancellery. He was commissioned to win Melanchthon as visitor for Thuringia and to conduct the visitation in the district himself.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, fol. 50. V. 5. 1528. 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 140 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 364.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We have received from our council and dear faithful Benedict Pauli, licentiate, the visitation trade, which we have ordered you and several others to move on, in addition to your objections, and because we have found from this that you have a need to raise your objections for the sake of matrimonial matters, as we have indicated to you in our previous letter, so our gracious request is that you should prepare it, if you can do it, and send it to us, so that our councilors and the registry may have it at hand, so that they may then decide in advance on the matter.

3) Here, we have to deal with the Erl. Briefw. Förstemann's Conjectur: *voto* instead of: *volo*.

4) Bruno Brauer, pastor at Dobien, to whom Brisger had transferred his little house for administration when he left for Altenburg.

5) The "Neue Zeitung," which was only fingirt. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 766.

6) namely instead of Elizabeth who died. Luther's hope was fulfilled by the birth of Magdalene, on May 4, 1529.

7) As already noted, in Schütze and De Wette: *April* 8; in Erl. Briefw, a gap.

We have also noted that it was considered good that Doctor Jonas, the provost, should be ordered to visit Thuringia among others. After we also note that it was considered good that Doctor Jonas, provost, should be ordered to the visitation in Thuringia along with others, we also consider it good for several and various reasons that Magister Philipp Melanchthon could be used for this. Therefore, we would like to talk to him about it and indicate that he would like to be at leisure for such a visitation for fourteen days or three weeks, in addition to Justo Menio and others assigned to him, because, according to our understanding, the visitation is to take place in that time. And if he will allow us to do so, as we wish, then let us know in a favorable manner. We also want to send you a recent order and the visitation order, so that you may then 1) also do and carry out the visitation. In our gracious opinion, we do not want you to do this, and do us a gracious favor. Date Weimar, Sunday after Augustini [Aug. 30] Anno Domini 28.

No. 1 289.

(Wittenberg.)

Early September) 1528.

To an Unnamed Person, Report of Both Shapes 2c.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1344. - There, the time is determined: "After June 14", but already in the note it is stated that this document "should perhaps be set some months later". In the meantime, a letter from Röer to Roth has come to light (Buchw. No. 45), dated September 6, in which it says: "Another book is being printed, which D. Martinus has written about both forms of the Sacrament against the Bishop of Meissen, which will also be completed for the Mass.

No. 1290.

(Altenburg.)

(After September 2) 1528.

Spalatin to Luther.

Request for Luther's Concerns in a Matrimonial Matter.

Printed from Spalatin's papers in Kapp's small Nachlese, vol. II, p. 714 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. VI, p. 365 f. - Only up to Spalatin's signature is this document in Latin, the following in German. Answered by Luther on Sept. 8. For the sake of this answer, we share the document here.

Heinrich Einsiedel urgently requests that you answer either him or me about this marriage matter. For apart from these things, which you

In my letter to Heinrich Einsiedel, H. Einsiedel assures me that the younger Aerger still absolutely denies that he has promised the girl marriage, but he was ready and is still ready to marry the girl, if only the father consents, but the father quite stubbornly refuses. Therefore, S. Einsiedel asks whether the girl should be given to the young man even without the will of his father 2) or whether she should be left to someone else. Answer therefore, I ask you for the sake of Christ, and that is so that a greater evil does not occur here. For you see that Satan does not rest in these matters. Write again, therefore, venerable Doctor, also in regard to this matter, together with the Lord Philip, even if only very briefly. G. Spalatin.

Think piece.

Heinrich von Einsiedel writes and tells me that Aerger's son has let himself be heard against him that he is not in denial that he wants to have the virgin; there should also be no lack of him, if only his father would not be repugnant to him in this, or to be persuaded of it. But that he should have promised her marriage, he, the von Einsiedel, could not bring out of him.

The old and young Aerger's statement.

Matth. Aerger said, first of all: if the woman can make it true that she would have been prevented from another marriage by him, then he will suffer what is right.

Secondly, he has also decided that he will not ask for it; his son may take it or leave it, he will not refuse him, and there is no fault in it; but he does not want it in his house.

Thirdly, he knows that she is not to blame, because she is quarrelsome and wicked, and he fears that she will not let him have his son when he needs him.

Fourth, he complains that they have nothing. This is a useless sorrow.

I. Thus he, the old wretch, said before the Lord that he would not ask anything about it, his son would take it, so he would gladly do his part and help to arrange the wedding. The son also said to our lord that he would not take an oath, so that he would not be accused by others of having taken a false oath 2c.

2) It is a marriage promise which Brosius Aerger had given to Cath. Gockritz, his father's servant, in Janshain (Kapp, p. 710).

1) namely in Churkreis, Wittenberg 2c.

Of a matrimonial affair among the von Einsiedel family. ¹⁾

I ask that this be returned at the same time as the reply.

No. 1291.

(Early September?) 1528.

Heinrich, von Einsiedel to Luther.

(Regest.)

He asks for Luther's concern in a marriage case. Margaretha Hofmann is said to have vowed marriage to Pancratius Kupfer without the knowledge of her father, but afterwards, with the knowledge of her father, a public betrothal of the virgin to Urban Kune took place. Before Heinrich von Einsiedel, when Kupfer was sued, she denied the engagement with him, but when the matter came before the official at Zschillen, she admitted it. When she was asked why she had concealed the secret engagement in public, she answered that she had not been allowed to say and confess it for fear of her father. She asked the official not to reveal anything, because her father and brother would kill her. When her father and brother were summoned before the official, they said that they had not forbidden her anything, but had asked her more than once whether she was engaged to someone before; then she should have said no [to the new engagement]. This official did not want to issue a verdict. However, "recently" another official came to Zschillen, to whom Einsiedel turned with the request: because the virgin had pledged marriage to the copper, and in his opinion she had not had the power to be joined to another, because she also had more inclination to the first than to the other, and the latter also to her again, the official should act so that the first betrothal was carried out. The official does not comply with this request, but "urges Pancratius Kupfer with his supposed ban" to appear before him and to hear a verdict, "in which Kupfer fears and suspects to be divorced from the virgin". At his request, Kupfer did not obtain a postponement of the ban in order to recover advice from the official. During the various interrogations that were conducted with the virgin, she soon confessed the first engagement, soon denied it, even under oath, but finally, after she had been admonished again, she admitted it again. - Now things stand like this: The virgin's father, as a hard man, does not want to consent to the first, secret engagement. Urban Kune, to whom she is publicly engaged, insists that he does not want the virgin. The official pretends that he wants to continue with the ban against Kupfer in order to get him away from the virgin, and perhaps he also wants to urge the Lord of Einsiedel to instruct Kupfer as his subject to settle this matter before his so-called spiritual court, since both Kupfer and the virgin are in Duke George's principality, who perhaps also wants to urge him to do so. Now Luther's advice and concern is desired to write again to the present messenger: which of the two above-mentioned is entitled to the virgin for a conjugal spouse, especially because

1) It is doubtful whether this is the signature to the preceding or the signature to the matrimonial matter discussed in the following number.

the present official at Zschillen has rejected the first betrothal by saying that they are to be spouses, also 2) that the public betrothal is to be preferred to the secret one. Likewise: What Einsiedel and his family should do to get out of this matter. Finally, what Einsiedel and his family should do or refrain from doing upon the official's further request and demand in Zschillen, so that they all act in a Christian manner.

The original concept from Spalatin's hand is in the Einsiedel family archive. Printed in Erlanger Briefw., Vol. VI, p. 367.

No. 1292.

(Altenburg.)

(After September 2, 1528.)

Spalatin au Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

About the occupation of the parish of Gnanstein. After Spalatin has explained the circumstances, he continues: "Therefore, it is requested, for the sake of God and His Christ, that you, considering their [the von Einsiedel's] so many dangers, answer through this messenger, who will return immediately. First, what you think should be done. Whether one should allow the Count of Leisnig to send a priest to the von Einsiedel? Or that the Einsiedel themselves should accept someone? And if it seems to you that one should be accepted from the Einsiedel, that you send an unmarried, godly and learned man to the Einsiedel, who is to be presented by them to the Count of Leisnig.

From Spalatin's manuscript printed in Kapp's small Nachlese, vol. I, p. 159; in *Bindseil, Supplementum ad Corp. Ref.* 1874, p. 31 (set in January) and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. VI, p. 371 f. - Burkhardt, who gives a regest of this document on p. 131, has already recognized that the objection to Spalatin, which we communicated on Sept. 8, 1528, is the answer to this, but he places both incorrectly in January. In our letter there is a twofold clue for the time determination; at the beginning in the words: "Now Abraham von Einsiedel has come to talk with Leisnig, as the local feudal lord, in past Lent." The fasting began in 1528 on February 26. From this it appears that "January" cannot be correct. The second time determination is found in the words: "As soon as Wednesday after Egidii [Sept. 2] a writing came from the count of Leisnig to the Einsiedel." After that our dating.

No. 1 293.

(Wittenberg.)

3. September 1528.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Request to award the completed parish position in Lochau to Michael Stiefel.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, fol. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 54; in Walch, vol. XXI, 266; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 370 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 34.

2) In the text, probably erroneously: "on" instead of: "also".

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sincerely, Reverend F., gn. F., gn. Lord! M. Franciscus, 1) pastor of Locha, is deceased in God: so the villagers have asked me to confirm the old castle 2) there. But since I have nothing to do in this matter, I have referred them to E. C. F. G.. Now I would like to keep Michael Stiefel in the country, 3) considering that he is pious and almost skilled in writing and preaching. Where it would please E. C. F. G., some of us have considered that it would be good if he were to become pastor of the Locha. Locha parish priest, until perhaps something else happens; for the good man makes him feel as if he were complaining that he is with me, and always wants to leave, so that I have enough to keep. For I would rather see pious, learned people stay around us, otherwise there will be too many of them. If he were to become a pastor, one might try whether he would also accept the poor abandoned wife, the pastor's wife, with two children 4) for God's sake, who is truly in great misery, and if misery will henceforth be more, if not, then God's will be done; put all this in the home of E. C. F. G. and ask for a gracious answer, and ask for a gracious answer; but please understand that the name of Michel Stiefel is known to E. C. F. G., who was traveling with us to Weimar, and E. C. F. G. is a friend of his. C. F. G. gave him five guilders 2c. Christ be with E. C. F. G. always, Amen. Dornstags nach Aegidii [Sept. 3] 1528.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1294.

(Wittenberg.)

3. September 1528.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Request for a free apartment for an old servant.

1) M. Franciscus Günther.

2) "The old locksmith" is Thomas Windisch according to the Elector's answer.

3) Michael Stiefel, expelled from Austria, had been staying at Luther's house since February.

4) As pastor in Lochau, Stiefel married Günther's widow in October.

Ans dem Weimarschen Archiv 5) in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 55, no. 76; in Walch, vol. XXI, 261; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 371 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 35.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Mr. Jakob Eißling, who also served at the monastery in Wittenberg for a long time, in his ninth year, has asked me to make this intercession to E. C. F. G.. He asks for the house, which has now died unmarried by L. Sebastian Schmidt of Chemnitz, formerly the Lord of Wittenberg, that E. C. F. G. graciously grant him and his wife, who now remains well aged and heirless, to live in it for the rest of his life. Since the man is almost pious and deserving, and may live for a short time, I do not know how to refuse him such a request: I therefore humbly ask that E. C. F. G., if it could be, would graciously consider his request, as I am sure E. C. F. G. will do. God be with E. C. F. G. always, amen. Thursday after Aegidii [Sept. 3] 1528. Mart. Luther.

No. 1295 .

(Wittenberg.)

3. September 1528.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther longs for contact with Spalatin, who has just returned home; he gives news of the visitation and exhorts him to overcome the weariness of his office.

The original is in Gotha, *Cod.* 122, fol. 31. The manuscripts contain only the second paragraph, namely *Cod. chart. Goth.* No. 16, Quart, p. 639 (as from the year 1524); in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Aug.* 11. 20, fol. 230b (see d.) and in Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, p. 98 (as from the year 1524). Printed in Aurifaber, the first paragraph (as a special letter) vol. II, p. 3875; the second paragraph vol. II, p. 2395 (as from 1524); in De Wette, vol. III, p. 372, completely after the original, and likewise in Erl. Only the second part in De WetteSeidemann, vol. VI, p. 52 (from 1524) and (likewise) in Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe", p. 23 (after Aurifaber). German in Walch, der Anfang Bd. XXI, 1119, the rest ibid. 912.

To his at the same time extremely dear and highly admired brother, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the very faithful servant of Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! This messenger came desired, my dear Spalatin, because since

5) Both De Wette and Burkhardt say that he did not find this letter there.

After your departure, I wished nothing more than that as soon as possible a convenient messenger to you would show up, through whom I could get going again with mutual letters what was prevented by your sudden departure. I am therefore pleased that you have returned home safely with your Eva. God would have wished that I could have been in contact with you longer, or at least that I would have been able to do so more often. The visitation has been ordered; the prince has written that those who are ordered to do so are to leave soon.

See to it that you overcome or despise the thoughts of weariness with which you are plagued because of leaving your office. Christ has called you; yield to him, serve him, and conform yourself to his good will; what you do you do not know now, but you will know later. It is a mere temptation; why you suffer it, you do not know sufficiently; we, who are spectators, see it better. Therefore, you must believe not yourself, but rather us, who speak to you in the Lord and before the Lord; indeed, the Lord speaks to you through us, comforting and admonishing you. For we have nothing else in mind than the honor and the will of the Lord in your profession, not our own advantage or anything like that. Yes, it is a sure sign that your ministry is not displeasing to God, and not unfruitful among men, that you are so contested with displeasure against it. For if your ministry were displeasing to God, you would rather long for it and seek it, as those do who are displeasing to God and go against his will, since they are not sent, speaking since they are not commanded. Hence it is that Satan regards those whom he sees to be pleasing with disgust and weariness to retain the office, but incites those whom he sees to be displeasing with zeal and impetuosity to obtain the office. Therefore, you must be a strong man and heartily despise the spirit of displeasure. But ask Christ and he will help you; we will pray with you. Fare well in the Lord. September 3, 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1296.

After September 3, 1528.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Response to Luther's letters of Sept. 3, No. 1293 and 1294.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 141 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 377.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! Your letter, which you have now sent for Ern Michel Stiefel, that we wanted to appoint him as pastor in Lochau, we have read its contents, and do not want to conceal from you that before this letter of yours, we were also requested and asked by the village authorities to confirm the old Schösser Thomas Windisch as pastor. Thereupon we wrote to our bailiff there to send him to you and to Magister Philipp Melancthon against Wittenberg, and, if he was found by both of you to be sufficiently qualified for this after interrogation, it would not be contrary to us that he, since he had already been appointed, would be accepted and confirmed as pastor. However, since we would like to have the above-mentioned Stiefel in our principality, and since we are concerned that the parish with its income in the Lochau area might be somewhat too small for him according to his skills, and that he would have difficulty maintaining it, we would like him to move to a different and more convenient location. After the visitation starts again shortly, [he] will be able to be accommodated and used, on which you will also know how to think for yourselves, which we graciously did not want you to do. *Date.*

When you also asked Jakob Eiseling, who served for some time at our monastery in Wittenberg, in another letter to let us introduce him to Sebastian Schmid's blessed dwelling, we were also asked about this beforehand, and wrote for instruction, which we also did not want to leave undisclosed to you, *date uts.*

No. 1297.

(Wittenberg.)

4. September 1528.

To Wilhelm Reifenstein in Stollberg.

Request to take care of a poor orphan.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* 6, fol. 236 and in Copenhagen, Lls. 1393, p. 141. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 283; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 3736; in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 444; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 555; in Walch, vol. XXI, 267 f.; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 373 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 36.

To the prudent and wise Wilhelm Reiffenstein,
Rentmeister zu Stollberg 2c., my friendly dear
brother-in-law, Martinus Luther.

Grace and peace in Christ. Friendly dear brother-in-law! You know how God in Scripture [Ps. 68:6] allows Himself to boast of a father of orphans and judge of widows, of course not without cause, because He knows the world so well that it not only relies on the orphans, but also persecutes and envies them: as this poor Lorenzen Rieber's case well proves, who is so completely abandoned by his friends, and is also persecuted, that one should be justly hostile to the world,¹⁾ flesh and blood before God and men.

But because God has so richly gifted you that you not only confess His word, but also love it, I could not refrain from commanding the above-mentioned Lorenzen (whom you have now and recently also done well) to you, and I ask that you continue to be the father of a poor, enfeoffed orphan and help him, so that he may also get on his feet.

I do not think it would displease God if you fell into his office and took hold of it, and also supported you to be the father of an orphan, yes, it would enlighten him that he should communicate such a title to you, because you would become the witness to it, by which he would become the father of this orphan, and would come to such a title and honor through you, so that his fame would be confirmed and truly found in the Scriptures; how you can mean all this better than I can write.

So I ask you kindly, because you can serve God with words and works to such honor and title to the good journeyman for the best, want to prove your Christian heart, so that such an example of light shines into the North-House darkness, to much improvement; and if the darkness would not understand, that they would be disgraced by it, Amen. Friday after Aegidii [Sept. 4] Anno 1528.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1 298.

(Wittenberg.)

September 8, 1528.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Response to No. 1292, concerning the Aergers marriage case.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 216. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 3885; in Kapp, kleine Nachlese, vol. II, p. 716 and in De Wette, vol. III, p. 374 (incomplete in all of these). Complete in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 379. German: handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Aug.* 20. 2. p. 147 (without address and date!). Printed by Kapp l. c. p. 718 (in Spalatin's translation, with inserted note, whether by Luther?). As "Bedenken in einer Ehesache, Anno 1528," in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 417; in the Altenburger, vol. III, p. 893; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 434; in Walch, vol. X, 964 and (as a letter to Spalatin) vol. XXI, 1119, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 64, p. 285. Further, as "Luthers Bedenken, da einer eine Magd geschwängert," in sämtlichen deutschen Ausgaben der Tischreden, Cap. 43, § 109, with the exception of the St. Louis edition, in which we have referred to the 10th volume, where this "Bedenken" is printed according to Walch's old edition. Therefore, we give here a new translation, which is made and completed according to the original.

To the venerable man in Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin,
your servant of God at the Gospel in Altenburg.

Grace and peace in the Lord! First of all about the marriage matter. Mail must first urge the young man (if it cannot be done otherwise), even by an oath, to confess whether he has pledged marriage to the girl; if he denies it under oath, he must be free, because no one who is accused only by a man's mouth may be judged; if he should confess, then his father must be summoned, especially for this reason, that (as is said) the son has prevented her from being married by another. Because he should plead paternal authority, he may be told that he must have shown the same in negating the son, and that he should have prevented his son from harming someone else, namely by preventing the marriage; therefore he is obliged to restitution and satisfaction. For paternal authority should not be against but for the love of one's neighbor. If in the one case he has not done what he is obliged to do as a father, by which the neighbor has been harmed, he must in turn give way in the other case, in which he follows his head, and be deprived of his right as a father.

1) "Shall of the world" put by us instead of: "of the world shall".

2) Stollberg is 2-1/2 German miles northeast of Nordhausen.

"It would be fine thing to use and let go paternal authority of my liking to corrupt my neighbor." Paternal authority is friends, those of Einsiedeln, any better, because they granted only where everything is uninjured, namely, have expressed themselves against the one from Leisnig, where a third person with yours is not injured 2c.; that they will leave it at that, and ask for one, the better he therefore, he may be cornered with this reason of proof: can be obtained. For if they should dare to appoint a priest Why did he fail to govern the son so that he did not harm again, it might become much worse. But that they are the girl? 2c. 1) Moreover, lest I forget, if thou shouldst concerned that a priest might be forced upon them, I think, charge me anew with a matter, beware that thou appoint should be due to the fact that the von E[insiedel] have not not so short a time for the Boteu to return. For you know freely handed over the power to confer the parish, but this that I am not only busy with writing letters, nor do I sit idle time, in a petitionary manner (for reasons), have or ready, as if I were waiting for the future messengers. requested such from the Count of Leisnig, and would still Fare well in the Lord with your wife. In haste. On the day like to make such a request, or keep it with fine words and of the Nativity of Mary (Sept. 8, 1528).

Martin Luther.

Inserted note (whether from Luther?).

But if the parents do not want to grant it, then you can let us know if there is still any advice to be found. But it would be best if the parents could be persuaded; that would be for all of them. For in the same case my most gracious lord confirmed the marriage, but when the parents did not want to grant it, he imprisoned and held the bride and groom for several days as punishment for their disobedience.

We do not know how to advise my dear lords and indicate: that, although they had the power, and also did not know how to arrange, to confer the parish out of their own power and authority, 2c., 2c., the necessity and cause that they must ask the count to appoint a parish priest there 2c. Thus the court and power would not be handed over, and yet for a time unused for the present need 2c. With not let mau Duke Georgen give pastor. If, however, he who comes from the Count of L[eisnig] is not evangelical, they may let it go until God makes it otherwise. It can not go in need, as in the Willköhre 2c.

D. Mart. Luther.

No. 1299.

(Wittenberg.)
1528.)

(September 8,

(Wittenberg.)

II September 1528.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

To Spalatin.

This is the answer to Spalatin's letter No. 1292, concerning the filling of the parish in Gnanstein. Spalatin sent it to Einsiedel on Sept. 10. Perhaps this answer is only an enclosure to the previous letter.

It has been brought to Luther's attention that Agricola brings up the new doctrine that faith can be without works, and he therefore warns him against erroneous teaching.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 250b; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 318b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I V, p. 369ff; in the Leipzig, ed. Vol. XIX, p. 662 ff; in Walch, Vol. XXI, 238; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 278; in Kapp's Nachlese, Vol. I, p. 163 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 53, p. 437. Ueberall undatirt.

1) The following is missing in all editions except the Erlangen correspondence. Because Spalatin wrote it out and sent it with the next number to Heinrich von Einsiedel on September 10, Seidemann assumed in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 617, that a letter from Luther to Spalatin of Sept. 8 or 9 was missing.

Handwritten in Cod. Rathend, and in *Cod. Jen.* B. 24. n, fol. 161. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 387b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 375 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 381. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1121.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, M. Johann Agricola, the faithful instructor of the youth at Eisleben.

Grace and peace! Someone told me a story about you the other day, my dear Agricola, so persistently that he did not cease to assert it until I said I would write to you and inquire about it. But the story was this, when

Whether you began to contend with a new doctrine, and to assert that faith can be without good works. And this thing (he said) thou didst make a show of it, and soldst it with a great deal of oratorical artifice and arguing with Greek words. But I, who am instructed by the drudgeries of Satan, am compelled to fear sure things also, and write not only because I promised it, but also to warn thee earnestly to take heed of Satan and thy flesh. For thou knowest that nothing is sufficient for protection and preservation against the wiles of Satan, if I am not always guarded anew by heaven, and that in his wiles there is so much poison and danger, that from a spark there ariseth a conflagration, or, as Paul is wont to say, by a little leaven the whole dough is leavened [1 Cor. 5:6]. Therefore, in this so great a matter, there is no playing or trying, be it ever so little, since this enemy is wont to penetrate through the smallest cracks, and does no less harm than if he had broken in, since all doors are open. This memory, from which you see from which heart it arises, take for the best, and I ask you to give me (if you have time) news of how this matter stands. For what did I fear less than that Oekolampad and Rhegius and others would fall? and what do I not fear now for ours here, who are the most trusted? It is not to be wondered at that I fear also for you, of whom I would least of all like to see him depart from us. Fare well in the Lord and greet your Elsa with her grapes. The Lord has taken away my Elsa so that she would not see any misfortune. September 11, 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1301 .

(Wittenberg.)

September 11, 1528.

To the knight Martin Baumgartner at Kufstein am Inn.

Luther consoles him over the hostility he experiences because of his adherence to the gospel.

Printed in: "Christliche Predigt bey der Leich und Begräbnuß des Edlen und Besten Christoph Philippsen von

Baumgarten [son of Martin Baumgarten] on Allmannshaußen and Graßelfing 2c. who died blessedly in God at Wiseud, the XVII. day of May. Ao. M. D. XCIII. In the sibentieth of his gloriously risen age. Held by M. Christophoro Donauern, pastors there" 2c. "Printed at Nuremberg in the Gerlachische Truckerey, by Paulum Kauffmann. L1. D. X6III.", page 16 f. From it in "*Continuatio IV. Et Vltima Spicilegii etc.* given to the light by Jo. Zachar. Gleichmanno" etc. Jena 1727, p. 20; in Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe," p. 31 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 382 f.

To the strict and honorable Martin Baumgartner, Knights zum Kopffstein, my favorable lord and friend in Christo.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear, dear Lord, most solemn, most honorable one! I have been informed of your concern, which is now taking place, because of the gospel; 1) I have also seen your scripture, in which you desire comfort. May Christ our Lord, who has begun his word and work in you, comfort and strengthen you by his Spirit, so that you may suffer and do the very best and dearest will of God his Father, amen and amen. But you know without a doubt that our cause, if we have the word of Christ, cannot stand in any other way than that we have to suffer hardship and misfortune because of it. It is a word of the cross, and it remains a word of the cross. That is why it is also called a word of the cross. But St. Peter says [1 Petr. 4:12]: "Let it not seem strange or odd to us whether such a heat comes against us, because it is a temptation, whether we have accepted the word with earnestness or not. It has happened to all the saints and to the head of all the saints, and we will not have it any better if we want to be partakers of grace and life with him in any other way [2 Cor. 1:7]. If they called the father of the house Beelzebub, how much more his household [Matth. 10, 25]. These and many other sayings can comfort you, which you will find in abundance in the Psalterio, which you must diligently have in your hands, read and practice. Let it be enough for us, whether all men are enemies to us, that Christ is our friend, who so warmly and kindly promises us [Matth. 11, 28 f.]: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden.

1) This refers to the persecution of the Protestants in Austria as a result of Ferdinand's mandate of Aug. 20, 1527, which was renewed on March 24, 1528.

take my yoke upon you and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is sweet." I hereby commend you to GOD, the Father of all comfort and strength, Amen, Amen. 11 Septembris 1528.

Martinus Luther.

No. 130 2.

(Around mid-September 1528.)

Chancellor Gregorius Brück to Luther.

On behalf of the Elector, he asks Luthern to provide actliche Nachrichten and his expert opinion on Carlstadt's recent position.

Handwritten in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, p.367. N. 183. 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 143 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VI, p. 385.

My willing services before. Venerable and highly respected, especially dear Mr. Gevatter! Some weeks ago D. Carlstadt had a messenger here and had a letter 1) sent to me, in which, when I opened it, I found a supplication to my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, which I humbly sent to his electoral graces and also read to his electoral lord. And when his churfürstl. G. noted his impropriety and that he would not allow himself to be turned away from his error, his Elector G. did not want to hear anything about the long document and convention that he had written to me, as I myself did not know how to regard it as good, 2) but ordered me to send you such documents to read out and to move, as you will find them enclosed. However, since His Lordship may not know how the conversation between Carlstadt and you is supposed to have been, His Lordship has graciously asked you to inform him about it and what has happened between you. His Elector. G. also wanted to provide you with the answer that Magister Georgius Spalatinus gave to Carlstadt three years ago, ³⁾

The author has kept a copy, which is now not to be found in the Chancellery for the sake of insanity. Thus, his lordship also desires a copy of them, if you have some, and after his lordship has sensed so much from his supplication that the Carlstadt of fear, which he received from the next peasant outrage, has to some extent been forgotten again and has been somewhat bold that he might be accepted elsewhere, he will also perhaps know, for which reason he also, as you are to decide, asks for a farewell. For this reason, his Lordship requests that you, after reading and moving his writings, indicate your concerns, and what Carlstadt should be given in response to them, and what you should do and undertake for his sake, as well as what you consider to be his intentions and requests,⁴⁾ and send this, along with the above-mentioned report of your conversation and action, together with Carlstadt's writings, to the appropriate embassy. You will do his Lordship a gracious favor. As my dear lord and godfather, I did not want to leave this undisclosed to you on the order I received, for I am quite willing to serve you. Date.

No. 13 03.

(Second half of September) 1528.

Agricola to Luther.

(Regest.)

Agricola answers the letter No. 1300, and apologizes for what he should have preached in Altenburg, since he was on the journey to Bohemia with the younger Prince of Saxony. After a long discussion (three closely printed pages), he summarizes this in the following sentences: "I have mainly insisted on three things: first, that faith alone justifies man, without our gratifications and works; second, that it is blasphemy if one wants to claim that faith justifies with works; third, that faith, the gift of the Holy Spirit, is something other than the demonstration of faith. Now if these are oratorical devices, I will gladly suffer to be called a rhetor, but, I hope, a Christian one, and I will rejoice if it be said that I have concocted Greek words, since I have preached what the apostle himself wrote." (Cf. St. Louis ed., vol. XX, ing., p. 47 b.)

From *Cod. Ratzenb.* in Brecher's Zeitschrift für historische Theologie, 1872, 375 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VI, p. 386.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2076, no. 701.

2) "to look at" put by us instead of: "looked at".

3) This answer is not known; compare, however, No. 908. Perhaps the answer written by Spalatin on the basis of this instruction is meant.

4) This that Luther on Sept. 24. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2089, no. 702. Compare the introduction to the 20th Baude, p. 27.

No. 1304.

(Wittenberg.)

September 18, 1528.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks that the request of the Brunswickers to keep Bugenhagen for another year be rejected, but that his leave for Hamburg be extended beyond Martinmas.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, p. 153, HHH. Handwritten in *Cod. 452.1, Bibl. Goth.* Printed in De Wette, vol. III, p. 376 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 37.

G. and F. in Christ. S., esteemed F., gn. H. Those at Brunswick write here to grant Johann Pomerania another year, as they have done to us, and ask us to help them obtain it from E. C. F. G.. We ask, however, that E. C. F. G. refuse such a request, 1) considering that we cannot do without this man, and so far can hardly do without him, because in addition to the visitation, our work and business increase daily. So, praise God, their cause is done, and fine people have gotten enough there, and care that they perhaps think to attach and keep him with them in time. So there is more to Wittenberg at this time than to three Brunswicks. He Johann also complains almost very much, as he writes to us, and asks with concern that we are working at E. C. F. G., that the Brunswick request at E. C. F. G. will not be heard. Thus our most humble request is that E. C. F. G. will graciously consider our request, as we have no doubt that E. C. F. G. will do. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Friday after *Crucis* [Sept. 18] 1528.

P. S.

He Johann Pommer also requests, because E. C. F. G. have allowed him to be outside until St. Martin's Day, and it is impossible to make such a request to Hamburg, that E. C. F. G. graciously grant him a longer period of time, so that he can satisfy his conscience, that he does not drive according to his own will without obedience or command.

1) The request of the Council of Brunswick, dated Saturday after *Nativ.* (Sept. 12), the resolution, datirt Druckenborn (Trockenborn, old hunting lodge near Hummelshayn) from Tuesday Mauriti (Sept. 22); it was negative (Burkhardt).

No. 1305 .

(Wittenberg.)

September 22, 1528.

To Wolfgang Fues, pastor in Colditz.

About a marriage case and another matter,

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 389; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 377 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 391., German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1122.

To the faithful servant of Christ, Wolfgang Fues, Bishop of Colditz, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! It is up to you, my dear Wolfgang, to judge in this matter of the man, because if the matter is as he says, that his wife has transgressed and she has followed the adulterer against his will, then he is free. But see that all this is known to the neighbors, for the unworthiness of people is extraordinary nowadays, which no one can sufficiently believe or guard against. In your and the elder Vicar's matter I have certainly acted, and I wonder that nothing has been written; that is what these noises and preoccupations do at. Court. If the older vicar still has no answer, I ask that you both send me another petition. For I have handed over the earlier petitions; but I will keep this one, so that I can pursue it through them, for we hope that the chancellor will be here soon; I would certainly not like to forget yours and yours. Give my best regards to your vine with its grapes, and farewell in Christ. On Tuesday after St. Matthew [22 Sept.] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1306.

(Wittenberg.)

September 24, 1528.

To Chancellor Brück.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2089, no. 702.

No. 1307 .

(Wittenberg.)

September 29, 1528.

To Leonhard Beier in Guben.

Luther asks that he help Paul Heinz, former schoolmaster in Gaben, to get his outstanding, earned money.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* B. 24u, fol. 47. Printed in the "Trostschriften und Predigten," Jena by Rödigers Erben, 1556 or 1557, bl. diiij; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 95 and in the Erl. Edition, vol. 65, p. 236. In all these editions inaccurate, without the name of the addressee and instead of the names in the letter merely "N.". According to a copy from *Cod. Jen.* in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 392.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear M. Leonhard! You know without a doubt how the good fellow Paulus Hentz, about your schoolmaster, still owes some citizens of Guben a debt in blood, which he has not been able to get with much effort and expense, and yet he is quite poor, has nothing else to eat this winter, because his father is afflicted with fire in Lübben. So I kindly ask you to take Mr. Licentiate Pichen to you, and both ask the honorable council of Guben for my sake, that they would do a good work of mercy and, considering his poverty, pay such a debt from the council's money and give it to him, and take the trouble of reminding the citizens, as they would owe it to themselves to do so, since they are their citizens, and should not suffer anyone to hold their own against them, which sin calls to heaven, and is as much as stolen and robbed. Dear, judge this well, because you also owe to do this, so that you do not become a part of their robbery. Give my friendly regards to Ern Licentiat Pichen. I hope you are well with your Eva and Abel. God has taken an Elsin from me. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. *The Michelis* [29 Sept.] 1528. *M. L.*

No. 130 8.

(Wittenberg.)

September 30, 1528.

To the Zerbst City Council.

Lckther promises to look for a preacher for Zerbst.

The original is at Zerbst in the city archives. Printed in Sintenis, *Denkschrift*, p. 43; in Erl. Ausg., Vol. 56, p. 179 and in De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, p. 96.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Zerbst, my favorable lords and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! Lest I leave E. W. without an answer now, it is true that in

Such a journey is not easy to get preachers, and I have none available. However, I will answer E. W. again in eight days, what I have done or can do in the meantime. For I am inclined to help E. W. and the whole city. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Wednesday after Michaelmas [Sept. 30] 1528. Martinus Luther.

No. 1309 .

Wittenberg.

October 5, 1528.

All the Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg.

After Luther's letter of August 21 (No. 1286) had also remained unsuccessful, he now publicly calls on the Elector in this printed letter to do justice to Wolf Hornung, and at the same time confesses himself as Hornung's previous advisor.

The first printing appeared under the title: "An den kurfürsten zu Brandenburg Marggrauen Joachim, Christliche vermanung. D. Martini Luther." Without indication of place and time. The printer is Hans Luft in Wittenberg. In the editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 286b; in the Jena (1566), vol. I V, Bl.470d; in the Altenburg, vol. I V, p. 453; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 660; in Walch, vol. XXI, 262; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 381 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 41.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Mr. Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, Elector and Chamberlain of the Roman Empire, Duke of Stettin, Pomerania 2c, Prince of Rügen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! First of all, I humbly request that E. C. F. G. will not be surprised that I am writing to E. C. F. G. by printed letter, and that they will hear my just cause and excuse. I have now written twice in my own handwriting to E. C. F. G., and sent it, and would have liked to have put my matter in writing; but I have not received an answer, so that I do not need to know how it is done. Thirdly, I have also had my request submitted verbally by Valtin Grafe, who was then made by E. C. F. G. in Wolf Hornung's matters, which also went unanswered, as did Wolf Hornung. Finally, because this matter cannot nor should be kept silent, or left untreated, I have sent the

last council invented to address publicly before everyone E. C. F. G. by printing.

It is true that, at the request of Valtin Count, E. C. F. G. wrote to my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, to present me together with Wolf Horning, as if we had let ourselves be heard with disgraceful words, I with disgraceful writings, Wolf Horning with my fist, to touch E. C. F. G.; and I wanted to be Wolf Horning's counselor. Thereupon, S. C. F. G. ordered both of us not to undertake any of these things, but to refrain from them; all of which would not have been necessary for E. C. F. G.. But I will interpret it, in honor of God, as if E. C. F. G. had not invented such things maliciously or carelessly. For Valtin Grase cannot have applied for such a thing with truth; but that E. C. F. G., for the sake of these dwindling runs 1), has taken care of the piece for abundance, since there is no worry. For I (praise God) have so far not been afraid to write disgraceful books; I am also still so skilled that I may, as before, affix both my name and the name of the person to whom I am writing to the page, and offer myself justly, which are not, nor may be called disgraceful writing, according to all law.

And if I had wanted to write defamatory letters, I would have been so prudent as to leave nothing of my letter to E. C. F. G., or to report my person, but rather, as is the way of the blasphemer, to bring the blasphemy to light before anyone knew who had done it. In addition, even if I wanted to do it, I would not know with all my heart how I should write a special defamatory letter from E. C. F. G.. The praiseworthy country cry from the armory 2) is probably so great that I would not be able to obtain it. That is why E. C. F. G. might well have overruled me in such disgrace against my superiority. Nor shall (whether God wills it) the world with all princes and kings become so good to me that I shall have my soul disgraced for its sake.

or any other such bad habit. I say this in my apology.

Thus Wolf Horning, who has been my guest from time to time, as a poor, outcast fellow, has been so highly graced by God that he has obeyed me and others who teach and counsel according to the Gospel, quite willingly, and has never been neither willing nor able to do anything against E. C. F. G.; even if the country cry were true, he would have been justified in doing so by E. C. F. G. according to imperial and papal law. C. F. G.; if, however, the land cry were true, he would have been able to carry out such a thing in accordance with imperial and papal law, and there would have been enough people who would have offered him money and strength.

And certainly, if he had ever been willing, E. C. F. G. would have long since learned something else from him. But I, I say, I have defended myself here, and faithfully counseled against, not E. C. F. G.'s beautiful hair, but poor people; but especially the Gospel of God, which teaches us to command revenge and justice, to suffer violence and injustice. That is where it has remained. I also promise him that he will let it remain so forever, especially because Wolf Horning has already smelled too much, whether the matter comes to repentance or not. This is for our excuse against my superior and for everyone.

But that I am his advisor is now indicated enough, what I have advised him. And if I only knew a lot of good to advise him further, I would know myself guilty, and hope that E. C. F. G. would not hold it against me; and if they did hold it against me, they could well mean how much I would give to it. But that we come to the point, why I wrote and knocked, and now knock and write publicly, is the cause:

Wolf Horning is in misery now into his fourth year, driven away from wife and child, from house and court, from property and honor, from friends and brothers-in-law, and no one shall say why? And is also in truth no guilt not there, and E. C. F. G. will not hear nor answer how much one calls and cries. In addition, two councilors have recently written to Wolfen Horning that he should leave E. C. F. G. in peace. 3) Such un-

1) This refers to the Minkwitzian Febde.

2) In the morning after the first night in which Hornung's wife had been out of the house, the Elector told him that she had been with the armorer overnight, but the next day the Elector confessed to him that she had been with him.

3) Compare No. 1280 and 1281.

Wolf Horning has had to suffer increased hardship, and is still suffering. Over this is another trouble, he is a young fellow, who hovers in peril of youth and flesh, but can neither come to his wife, nor be divorced from her (as is proper), that he might start something; must therefore be in peril of his conscience every hour and go astray. This last piece (I say) is what compels me to write. There I am obliged to advise the wretched conscience with what I can; but I cannot do otherwise than in such a manner. For whether E. C. F. G. is a minor eighth, where Wolf Horning remains, we cannot regard it as minor. I want to spare E. C. F. G., and still nothing of the country cry and public deed and E. C. F. G.'s own letters, but rather rely on the next writing of the two councilors.

E. C. F. G. is obligated by princely sovereignty to keep the wife to the husband, and not to suffer that they remain from each other without cause. But E. C. F. G. does not allow this alone, but approves of such unchristian divorce, as the counsel's writing entails; does not approve of it alone, but defends it; does not defend it alone, but plugs the ears, and calls Horning to silence. What will the length become of it? Now this must break in the end, that I know for sure.

Since we have neither authority nor power over E. C. F. G. (for such should be done by the bishops, if they wanted to be what they boast of), we hold ourselves to the duty of love; and first of all we admonish and ask for God's sake that E. C. F. G. should let Wolf Horning follow his wife and child 1) together with all that is his, and the wife also hold to it, as E. C. F. G. owes and she herself has often requested. C. F. G. is obliged to do, and she herself, the wife, has often requested and asked; or, where this should not or cannot be the case, help to ensure that a legal and public divorce takes place, so that the poor journeyman may come out of the carriage of his conscience, and make provision for himself. On the other hand, we proclaim to E. C. F. G. the commandment and judgment of our all Judge Jesus Christ, who has given such to E. C. F. G..

F. G. has the power to command, demands through us, and will even judge severely, and commanded us to report such in his name (as neighbor to neighbor) to E. C. F. G..

But we do not want to have an umbrella 2) that a writing and power of attorney are sent here in the name of the woman, as has now happened. For this will not be enough for a public divorce, because we know who has written such a document, and if we know, we may not act in it with a clear conscience. She herself shall deal with him personally. If it turns out that she does not want to go to him, we should not be so eager for her, and with a clear conscience we want to draw up a letter of divorce. Of course, she is not allowed to take care of escort, because she does not forfeit anything in the Saxon principality, and Wolf Horning, for the sake of his person, has previously attributed escort to her.

If E. C. F. G. does not do so, we will have to suffer; but we nevertheless want to warn E. C. F. G. of this and have warned him seriously: we do not want to do anything offensive or blasphemous, but rather diligently ask God, our Father, against E. C. F. G., that he have mercy on the imprisoned conscience and bring the Elector of Brandenburg to justice, and we certainly want to be heard. After that, we will present ourselves before God and the world, and publicly disclose E. C. F. G.'s own letters and the councilors' writings, so that Horning's cause and conscience will be publicly recognized, and I will also gain the ability and space to further advise in his cause. However, we want to be justified in all this, even before our enemies, so that E. C. F. G. will not have cause to denigrate us against our superiors. If we do injustice to E. C. F. G., they can only accuse us confidently; if we do not answer, we want to suffer our right.

And E. C. F. G. shall know that I have not intruded into this matter wantonly. I have been asked from Berlin, and immediately from the armory, with high words, since I did not yet know where Wolf Horning was, that I should help to advise whether one could bring the couple together. But I ask God Almighty to let E. C.

1) Wolf Hornung had a little daughter, Anna, from his marriage.

2) "Umbrella stroke" == Fencing stroke, feint.

F. G. enlighten
and move him to
do what is right,
amen. Given at
Wittenberg,
Monday after
Francisci [Oct.
5] 1528.

E. C. F. G.
willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 1311 .

(Wittenberg.)

October 12, 1528.

To Friedrich Pistorius, Abbot at Nuremberg.

Luther asks him to be helpful in reimbursing Johann Hofmann for the costs he had incurred in obtaining his master's degree.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 389; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 387 and in Erl. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1124.

To Mr. Friedrich, head of the Aegidien Monastery at Nuremberg 2c.

Grace and peace! My dear sir, Johann Hofmann, who has recently become a master, has asked me to intercede for him with your dignity, so that he could obtain the money, which he has paid for the master's degree or still owes, through your requests, indicating that it would be of benefit to him if you, asked by me, would ask and work for him; therefore, I recommend his cause to you. 1) Perhaps tomorrow I will write more and more extensively with the book guide, for now I am busy, and that with more than one thing, and am forced to be brief. Be well in the Lord and pray to the Lord for me. October 12, 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1312 .

(Wittenberg.)

October 14, 1528.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

On the persecutions and oppressions of King Ferdinand. He recommends the Ll. Stenzel goldsmith.

Handwritten in Hamburg, Ms. 1, fol. 38. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 389 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 388 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 396. German

Walch, Vol. XXI, 1124.

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Mr. Johann Heß, pastor at Breslau, his brother who is exceedingly dear in Christ.

"Grace and peace in Christ." I am surprised that you, knowing that these worthy citizens were traveling to us, did not give them a letter to us by which you would make us happy or at least certain about their fate. For we hear that Ferdinand or rather his governors (*satrapas*) are extraordinarily angry against Christ, 2) but the second psalm is their tyrant, again also our comfort. I ask you to decree that your church should pray for all of us, because Satan is pursuing us with all his might and with all his troops, therefore we too must join hands and hearts in fervent prayer that the Lord may tread Satan under our feet, amen, 3) Jonas Justus and Philip greet you reverently. Then I commend to you "Master Stentzell Goldsmith," whom we have endeavored to plant; you set about watering. For he has bravely disputing full of the providence of God. Farewell and greet Moiban and all brothers in the Lord. October 14, 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1313 .

(Wittenberg.)

October 15, 1528.

To the Zerbst City Council.

Luther has not been able to raise a preacher for Zerbst until now.

The original is at Zerbst in the city archives. Printed in Sintenis, Denkschrift, p. 44; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 180 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 97.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Zerbst, my favorable lords and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear sirs! I have given my

2) On July 24, a strict edict was issued against Lutheran books; book printers and book keepers were to be punished with deaths, and the goods were to be burned 2c.

3) The following has been added by the Erl. Briefw. inserted after the manuscript.

1) Hofmann received 10 gulden as a gift from the Nuremberg Council.

I have been looking for a preacher, and even without your current letter, I was willing to answer you today. For I am not able to find one now for the winter and in such perilous times, even though I thought I would not have missed it. Therefore, you may have patience with the present ones of your deacons until the deaths are somewhat alleviated; so I hope they will be well received again. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Thursday after Calixti [Oct. 15] 1528.

" Martinus Luther.

No. 13 14.

(Wittenberg.)

October 16, 1528.

To Michael Stiefel in Lochau.

Luther wishes him luck with his new position in Lochau.

Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 59; by De Wette, Vol. III, p. 388 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 397. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1125.

Grace and peace! We have received the ten pennies, my dear Michael, which we also handed over to the impudent and profit-seeking carter. Such are these people, hard and clumsy, that we must tolerate them if we want to live. However, I am glad that you are provided with food and lodging in the castle, but especially that you have the parishioners and the parish itself healthy in a different way than we had believed. Of course, I would like nothing better than for it to be invented in such a way that it could feed you well, so that you would have the desire and reason to stay there and persevere. You have not yet written to me about this, perhaps because you have not yet explored the matter; therefore inquire, and indicate what your will is. For as far as the widow is concerned, 1) it is entirely up to you to consider this and to fast a counsel in it, but above all to implore the Lord in prayer that he may rule your heart and move it for his glory and your salvation. Be well in Him. Philip 2) left yesterday to take upon himself the burden of the visitation. You pray for him. On the day of St. Galli [Oct. 16] 1528.

Martin Luther.

1) The widow of the previous pastor, Günther.

2) Melancthon was absent from Wittenberg on the visitation in Thuringia from October 15 to January 23, 1529.

No. 1315 .

(Wittenberg.)

October 20, 1528.

To Gerhard Wilskamp in Herford.

Luther thanks him for gifts received and promises him that he and Montanus will receive his writings in the future.

Printed in the *Bibl. of Bremen*, Cl. 1, fasc. 2, p. 138; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 123; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 389 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 398. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1126.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Gerhard Wilskamp from Xanten, 3) the pure and loud lamp in Christ, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! We received both the letter and the cloth with pleasure, my dear Gerhard Light Giver,⁴⁾ because the gift was sent to us out of such great honesty of mind and inclined heart, so that I have done right and believe to have done right that I have called you, I do not know by what fate or counsel, a Light Giver. For thou shinest altogether by sincerity, and glowest with love in the frail shard of thy womb. Yes, constantly every night, until this day, we, my Käthe and I, use your lamps, and we are sorry that there is no gift from us or can be sent, which would also keep our memory alive with you, and we are very ashamed that you were never at least given a paper gift, since we could have easily done so. But when [people (for promotion)] are there, nothing new is published; meanwhile, the booksellers seize your purse beforehand. But I do not want to be guilty of this, that I should not finally send, even if only a bundle, books, may I come later or at the same time as the booksellers. And now I would have sent the Isaiah 5) which recently

3) "Xanten" actually means *Santena*, but here it is given by *de Santis*, so that it could also be translated by: "of the saints". - In No. 1116 Luther writes: *Xantheni*.

4) *Lampadarie*. We did not dare to use because of the two. The meaning of the word is to translate it by "lampstand". *Lampadarius* is a lamp or torch bearer, one who shines there.

5) The Prophet Isaiah, German. Wittenberg. 1528. quarto. See St. Louis edition, vol. VI, 4, note.

German has been finished, but the copies have gone so as my housemate with two virgins, one of whom, far that I have none for myself. From now on, I will order Margaretha Volckmar, is the daughter of a citizen of a box for you and Montanus, in which the copies to be Leipzig, the other, Dorothea, of a citizen of Freiberg, who sent to you will be placed, of everything that has come from her father's inheritance has brought 1400 gulden 2) to the monastery. She has left that in the lurch, and follows

I gladly accepted Hermann von Lippe, whom you poor Christ with her wife 3) Ursula; all together they have recommended, and offered him my care and help not brought even a penny. Here Duke George plagues our wherever it might be needed. My extremely dear Käthe prince; what will happen I do not know. For she is a relative and her little son respectfully greet you. For Elisabeth has of Duke George, which you know, as I believe, namely both bid us farewell and has gone through death to Christ into were born of two mothers,⁴⁾ who were sisters. They say that life. May the grace of God be with you. October 20, 1528, Nicolaus von Minkwitz is recruiting a large army, and I do not know where he will invade. I wonder what the princes your Martin Luther. who see and allow such things may think, since one must fear that from this spark a dangerous conflagration will arise in Germany. Some say that he will give it to the Woi-

No. 1316 .

(Wittenberg.)

October 20, 1528.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther recommends a young man to him, reports the escape of Duchess Ursula von Münsterberg from the convent, etc.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* 196 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 216. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II. Bl. 390d; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 390 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 1. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1128.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Bishop of Altenburg, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! This young man, who is poor and displaced, is looking for some place where he can devote his work to teaching the children to write German, for he understands little Latin. However, he seems to have a good and skilful head. Therefore, he desires to be recommended to you or to another friend, whether he could be of use to you through his work, as you will learn from him, my dear Spalatin; therefore, you will do what seems good to you. For there was no opportunity for him to earn his living here.

I believe that you have heard the new news that by a great miracle the Duchess of Münsterberg has escaped from the convent at Freiberg, 1) she is now staying with me.

1) Ursula of Münsterberg was a daughter of Duke Victorin of Troppau, a son of King George.

Podiebrad. The daughter of Podiebrad, Zdena, was married to Albrecht of Saxony, and mother of the dukes George and Henry of Saxony. According to this, Ursula and Duke George were probably siblings, but not, as Luther says later, the children of two sisters. Ursula had lost her parents early; her aunt Zdena and her son, Duke Georg, took care of her and brought her to the convent of the order of St. Mary Magdalene at Freiberg. On October 6, 1528, she escaped from the convent, and Luther published not long after that the writing in which she justified herself for this step. (See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1694.) She remained with Luther until the end of the year 1528, then she went to a married sister in Marienwerder in Prussia, followed by her faithful companion Dorothea Tanberg. In 1530 we find her with her cousin Duke Frederick II in Liegnitz, where she was not much pleased because of the Schwenkfeld doctrines prevailing there. Therefore, she turned to Elisabeth von Weyde, abbess of the Protestant monastery of Gernrode, for admission to the same. Whether her request was granted is unknown, also her further life fate is not known. The information that she was married to the Baron von Biberstein is based on a confusion with a daughter of the same name of her cousin Carl von Münsterberg. Tanberg later married M. Georg Scharff, pastor at Brißnitz near Dresden.

2) a significant sum for that time; the duchess brought only 500 gulden as a dowry.

3) In the monastery, the Duchess Ursula was called "das treuichen", which Seidemann, "Erläuterungen", p. 108, explains by princess.

4) This information of Luther is followed by Seidemann (Erläuterungen, p. 106), likewise by us, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 64. The information given in the first note to this letter is according to the Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 2, note 1.

1) others that they are armed against the margrave, who, however, is surely snoring. 2) Pomeranus has traveled to Hamburg, Philip to Thuringia. We 3) will start our part of the visitation on the day after Ursula [Oct. 22]; I hope that you will also do the same,⁴⁾. Christ help all and give His blessing, Amen. Greetings M. Eberhard and Erhard 5) and the other fathers who may still be with you. October 20, 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1317.

(Wittenberg.)

October 21, 1528.(?)

To Caspar Aquila, pastor at Saalfeld.

On the doctrine of providence and predestination, that one should refrain from futile brooding about it, on the occasion of the disputation of a certain friend.

Handwritten in Copenhagen, Dls. 1363, p. 144, and again p. 343, dated Oct. 21, 1530 and addressed to Doctor Caspar Lindemann; in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod.*

Aug. 34. 2, fol. 101 and (in part) in *Cod. Aug.* 11. 10, fol. 246b (in the former codex Lindemann is the addressee; both codices are undated); in Gotha, *Cod.* 402 (from 1530) and in *Cod. Closs.* (now in London, *British Museum*, *Addit.* 12059). Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 392 d; by Schütze, vol. II, p. 91 with the superscription: *Incerto* (of Oct. 27, 1528), and again Vol. II, p. 199 (of Oct. 27, 1530); in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 391 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 4. German in bad translation in sämtlichen Ausgaben der Tischreden, Cap. 2, § 162 (only omitted in our edition and referred to this letter); in Schlegel, "Vita Aquila," p. 202 (Oct. 21, 1530) and in Walch, vol. XXI, 1129. - Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 465, note 3, says: "This is one of the many letters that have been frequently addressed."

Grace and peace in Christ! I am a little late in replying to your letter, my dear

Caspar, but not through my fault, because no certain claimant demanded the letter, and I had no certain messenger. But our Ulrich took this letter to make sure that it would be delivered to you. 6) That first disputation of the brother (of whom you write that he is now 7) your guest) about the hidden works of God is the so-called challenge to blasphemy, in which many have perished, and I have been in danger more than once to the point of death. And what is it that we exceedingly wretched people, who cannot yet grasp the rays of the divine promise by faith, or grasp the sparks of God's commandments by works (both of which He Himself has confirmed by words and miraculous signs from heaven), nevertheless allow ourselves to be carried away in our impurity and weakness to grasp the majesty of the sunlight, yes, of the incomprehensible light of God's miraculous works? Do we not know that He dwells in a light that no one can approach? [1 Tim. 6:16.] And yet we approach, rather we presume to approach. Do we not know that his judgments are unsearchable? [Rom. 11:33] and yet we presume to search them out. And this we do before we are penetrated and filled with the rays of the promises and the sparks of the commandments, plunging with mole's eyes into the majesty of this light, which is revealed neither by words nor by signs, but rather is hidden and not made known. What is it to wonder if the glory crushes us as we explore the majesty? What is it to wonder if we, in perverse order of light, ourselves perverse, desire the brightest light before the morning star? First (as Peter says [2. Ep. 1, 19.]) the morning star rises in our hearts, then we will finally see it resting in the noonday [Hoh. Lied, 1, 7.].

It is true that the inscrutable will of God must be taught in order for us to know that it is such, but if one strives to understand it, that is an exceedingly dangerous

1) The "Voivode" is John Zapolya of Transylvania, according to which the troops would have been intended against King Ferdinand.

2) When Joachim I learned that 800 men were gathered in Lauenburg, he sent his son with troops to the Elbe to protect the border of the Mark, while he himself made new armaments in the Mark.

3) namely Luther, Hans Metsch, Benedict Pauli and Hans von Taubenheim.

4) Spalatin and his comrades did not begin until Nov. 22.

5) Either Erhard Steinbach, Diaconus in Altenburg, or Erhard Schaubis, preacher at the Nicolaikirche there.

6) Here the table speeches begin the letter.

7) Here we have with *Cod. Clossius*: *jam* read instead of: *Gajum*.

Abyss. Therefore, I keep myself in check with this word of Christ, which he said to Peter [John 21:22]: "Follow me. What is it to thee, if I will that he tarry?" since Peter also discoursed of a strange work of God that would come to pass with John. And [I restrain myself] by the word to Philip, who said [John 14:8, f.], "Show us the Father, and it shall be enough for us," whom he restrained by saying, "Believest thou not that the Father is in me, and I in the Father? He that seeth me seeth the Father also." Namely Philip also wanted to see the majesty and mysteries of the Father, how GOD was far above Christ by promises and commandments. So also the wise man says [Sir. 3, 22, f. Vulg.]: "Do not seek after things that are too high' for you, but be constantly mindful of what you are commanded." And, beloved, supposing that we already knew these hidden judgments of God, what fruit could the commandments and promises of God still bring us? Therefore, watch and tell that man that if he wants to have peace of heart and avoid the dangers of blasphemy and despair, he should refrain from such thoughts, since he certainly knows that they are incomprehensible. Why does he let Satan trouble him with such things, which are impossible? Just as if someone were concerned with how the earth could stand above the waters, so that it would not sink, or something like that. But first let him exercise faith in the promise and the works of the commandments; when this is done, he will see if he has to concern himself with impossible things. If he does not want to hear this, he may see to it that he does not regret it too late, since there is no other remedy than to let go of these thoughts, although it is very difficult to refrain from them because of Satan's insistence, for he makes it a necessity to investigate these things. Therefore, here one must fight with him no less 1) by contempt than with disbelief, despair, heresy, or any other approach.

1) Here we have added *eo* (that is, to Satan) to make sense. That this passage has already been offensive to many others can be seen from the fact that in three manuscripts and two prints *pro* is read instead of *cum*.

temptation. Most of them are mistaken, because they do not believe that these thoughts are temptations of Satan; therefore, almost no one despises them or fights to despise them, even though they are the fiery darts of the most evil spirits under heaven [Eph. 6:12, 16]. For by them Satan fell out of heaven, wanting to be like the Most High and to know all that GOD knew, not satisfied with knowing what he needed to know. That is why we have to fight by fleeing, and not to think more highly of ourselves than is proper, but to think moderately of ourselves [Rom. 12:3]; whoever does not do this will be defeated. For one cannot think of Christ where these thoughts prevail. Thus he brought Adam down by challenging him, since a tree was forbidden, with the wisdom and the supreme will of God. This is the most noble and actually devilish temptation; therefore it is enough to be challenged with human temptation.

With this you can also answer the other question, that the preacher may administer his office, which God has commanded him to do, and leave in order what God has not commanded him to do, namely, to know why one hears and another does not. What is it to you (says Christ), you follow me; me, me, follow me, not your questions or thoughts.

About the Jews, that I should remember them in another book, I will see when I have time; now I have other things to do. Farewell and pray to the Lord for me. 1528, October 21. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1318.

Eisleben.

October 23, 1528.

Agricola to Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

Agricola asks that another teacher be sent for the sons of Count Albrecht of Mansfeld after Erhard, from Holstein, has left.

No. 1319.

(Wittenberg.)

October 25, 1528.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

About the teacher desired by Agricola. Luther reports that he is about to leave for Lochau in order to marry Michael Stiefel there and to introduce him into his office.

Handwritten in *Cod. Ratzeb.* Printed in Aurifaber, vol. 11, p. 386; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 394 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 9. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1123.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Johann Agricola, the extremely faithful head teacher of the youth in Eisleben.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Philip is absent as visitator in Thuringia, my dear Agricola, therefore I could not use his advice and help in determining a teacher. I will therefore deal with Milich 1) and Georg Major to see if we can find someone and send him there as soon as possible, although I have already been told that Veit, 2) who already administered this office, is staying with you; I do not know what the reason is why you are not putting him in the position for the time being. Within eight days we will answer what we have arranged. At this hour I am traveling to Lochau to marry Michael Stiefel to the widow of the bishop of Lochau, M. Franz, whom you may have known, and at the same time to hand over the parish to him. It is to be wondered how one thing pushes the other. I have not been able to keep the man with me, he is so overly ashamed, fearing that I will be weighed down by the worry of feeding him, so that he has preferred to live elsewhere under any circumstances, until I, tired of fighting, have been forced to let the man go, albeit very unwillingly. He also sends letters here, which were delivered to me, by which he invites some of you to the wedding, but I was only able to send them late; you will see to it that they are delivered. And now be well in the Lord with your dearest Hans.

Albrecht 3) and all the grapes of your lovely vine. On the Sunday after the eleven thousand virgins [Oct. 25] 1528. Martin Luther.

No. 1320 .

Dresden..

28 October 1528.

Duke George of Saxony to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 425. - The locations of this writing are given there in the introduction, col. 422.

No. 1321 .

Wittenberg.

October 29, 1528.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther consoled Spalatin about the blasphemies he had suffered because of his marriage; because of his preaching ministry and his livelihood.

The original is in Gotha, Cod. A 122, fol. 33. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 391; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 395 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 11. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1133.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Magister Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful servant of God.

Grace and peace in Christ! That your marriage is notorious as fornication,⁴⁾ my dear Spalatin, you must not only not grieve over it, but rather rejoice, since you know for certain that this state is approved by God, praised by the angels, honored by all the saints, and then this seal is added to it, that it is distinguished by the cross, namely that it is blasphemed by the devils and godless people, also by false brothers, as it happens to every work and word of God. Therefore, see to it that you do not regard these blasphemous words of ungodly people, who are outcast against you, any differently than precious gems, by which you are indeed stained before the world, but glorified before God, considering that the world is not worthy to see the glory and honor of this work of God, which you see and have. The same is to be kept and much more to be kept of your preaching ministry. Let the world have a

3) Not the town clerk Hans Albert, as Burkhardt p. 144 assumes, but Agricola's son.

4) by the canons of the Georgenstift in Altenburg.

1) Professor of Medicine in Wittenberg; he died there in 1559.

2) Veit Amerbach. Cf. no. 1006.

good year together with its prince With its foolish, sacrilegious, blind, furious judgments and slander. It is written: The wicked shall be destroyed, that he may not see the glory of God, but "the heavens declare the glory of God" [Ps. 19:2]. There is no doubt that the world spews out shame against God.

I don't understand what you write about the danger to your livelihood. For I also do not believe that the Bethaven monks are troubling you. But they may be whoever they want, so you now have the office of visitation, then a very gracious prince who will not suffer that you are deprived of what is necessary for life. May the Lord Jesus strengthen you with His Spirit and guide you in this direction of the episcopal office (xx xx xxxxxxxx xxxxx), Amen. I ask

you, pray for me. Wittenberg, Thursday after Simonis and Jude [Oct. 29] 1528,

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1322 .

(Wittenberg.)

October 29, 1528.

To Eberhard Brisger in Altenburg.

Luther apologizes for not sending books and complains about his many businesses.

Handwritten in Gotha, *Cod. A 1048*, fol. 75 and in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. 6n6*. 214, fol. 64. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 391b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 396 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 12 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1134.

To the most esteemed brother in Christ, M. Eberhard Brisger, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Indeed, I do not think of the books that are to be sent to you, nor have I thought of them, my dear Brisger, because I rely on your manager (*factorius*) Bruno to take care of these things; therefore, you may lay it on him if nothing is sent. My Kätke sends you her love, together with your wife and children; she is pregnant, but the fruit does not yet show any life. Pray for us. I write under a lot of business as a visitor, 1) lector, preacher, scribe, listener,

1) On that day Luther went with the others to the visitation in Kemberg and Schmiedeberg.

Worrier, runner, lawyer, and what else. Greetings to all of us. Thursday after Simonis and Jude [Oct. 29] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1323 .

Wittenberg.

October 31, 1528.

To Duke George of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 426.

No. 1324.

Wittenberg.

November 1, 1528.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther complains about Amsdorf's silence and gives news about the plague and the visitation.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 394; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 398 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 15. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1135.

Grace and peace in the Lord Jesus Christ! Your silence is astonishing, my dear Amsdorf, compared to your wisdom and my merit, especially in this time, which is full of temptations and dangers. The plague does not reign with us, but still it appears from time to time and shows itself in some corner. But Christ keep you healthy in the midst of this conflagration, amen. We are visitors, that is, bishops, and we find poverty and lack everywhere; may the Lord send laborers into his harvest, amen. You, I pray, pray to the Lord for me and be well. The rest of us greet you. Wittenberg, November 1, 1528
Martin Luther.

No. 1325 .

(Hamburg.)

(November 1, 1528.) 2)

Bugenhagen to Luther.

Bugenhagen reports on the success of his work in Hamburg, on the religious conditions there, and asks that he be helped to remain there for some time.

The original is in the archives at Weimar. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 145; by Vogt, Bugenhagens Briefwechsel, p. 76, No. 26 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 15.

2) This letter was apparently written at the same time as the following one and arrived together with it at Luther, whereupon the latter wrote to Brück on Nov. 11, and on Nov. 17 the Electoral Resolution was sent to the Council of Hamburg and to Bugenhagen that Bugenhagen could "persevere a little longer in the name of God". (Burkhardt, p. 145.)

His father and master, Doctor Martin Luther.

May the Lord be with you forever and ever, dearest Father, who begat me for Christ through the gospel. I am now producing the fruit that God intended. But because I fear that the former messengers may have deceived me, for it did not appear from your letter, which I received through Matthew 1), that my two letters from Hamburg were handed over to you, - now receive the history and account of my preaching ministry here, which I have written quite carefully, namely as follows: After I had come here through the help of the most illustrious Prince of Lüneburg 2),³⁾ I wrote to you the next day, namely Dionysii [Oct. 9]. I first began to doubt for several days what kind of fruit I would produce in this place; I had reasons to doubt and was even challenged, although I was brilliantly received in all respects by this city.⁴⁾ Now, at last, God has begun to show me that my work will not be without fruit, since not a few are beginning to love the Gospel and to attend the sermons even on weekdays, and nowhere have I seen among religious, both monks and nuns, a favor that seemed to fall more to me than here. For the whole Franciscan convent accepts the Gospel, and the convent of the preachers does not seem to resist; the third convent is that of the virgins, who are called "the blue sisters" 5). In this convent, all the virgins, both the older and the younger ones, have changed the upper garment and the veil 6) by which they were at least unattractive, and they walk like bourgeois women. The other garments underneath they have as before, for they are respectable garments and a skirt almost like yours in the Augustinian order, so that they can go out to the sermons, and so are safe.

1) Matthäus Dillius or Delius, now second teacher, and 1537 Rector of the Johanneum in Hamburg. - Both letters of Bugenhagen and the mentioned letter of Luther are missing.

2) Duke Ernst, the Confessor.

3) Here Burkhardt offers: *venerabili* instead of: *venerum*.

4) Upon his arrival, he was led by two councilmen to "the Doctorei", which was assigned to him as an apartment. In the evening he was deliciously entertained. On the following day the three mayors, Dietrich Hohusen, M. Gerd van Holte and Joh. Hülpe, welcomed him in his apartment and honored him as a gift an ohm of wine, a fat ox and two tons of Hamburg beer.

5) The Begrünen or Beghinen, whose task was nursing the sick and burying corpses, especially dressing the dead.

6) By *peplum* here will be understood the thick curtain with which the Begins covered their faces.

from the mockery of the children. All of them seem to be favorable to the Gospel, and they have not reserved any superstitions from their order, or rather from their disorder. All these monastic clergy, both women and men, are free to leave their religious habit and become married, which some have already done and live quite respectably. I now urge this against all, that those should not be without laws who demand an honorable life, who wish to remain in the monastery either for a time or forever, so that Satan does not one day cause trouble for the Gospel through idle people. And it is precisely this that those who preside over the monasteries, the *Garri Anus*, *Pejor* and *Maystro*, 7) that is the Master, demand and want the most, people who are certainly much too good to deserve these names. Moreover, there is a virgin convent of Benedictine order, two miles from here, in the Duchy of Holstein, 8) in which the virgins, except for the outward appearance of dress and the chanting of psalms, yet not out of the order of the prescribed ones, have left nothing of nunhood with them, even against the will of the provost. The superior (*Domina*) and two virgins have listened to my sermons here for several weeks, twice conversed with me and once dined with me. She is there a learned instructor (*magistra*) of all in the Gospel, and has already sent out six into matrimony, one of whom is the wife of the burgher who is here appointed administrator of my house 9), a very beautiful and sedate woman who already bears the fruit of marriage with her. That matron has only asked whether she may remain in this ungodly larva until she has advised all of hers; for she fears that through this appearance she would give an example to others who are still willing to push their noble virgins into such Vulcan caves. I advised her to stay. She is anxious to consult as soon as possible the two friends whom she had taken to me, until, after all or many had been taken out, she could follow herself. She fears nothing more than that the convent will remain a convent. But of this only so much. We have already begun to talk about the schools, and about the care of the pre-

7) Common names for guardian, prior and mestersche, head of the convent.

8) Reinbeck, a Cistercian convent. Priori was Anna von Plesse.

9) The senior Diedrich Bodecker, formerly a Dominican in St. John's Monastery.

and the care of the poor. Those who were sent to me last Sunday [Oct. 25] in the name of the council and the entire citizenry asked me to preach about the schools in the evening. This I did, of course, since I would otherwise do it at another time of my own free will. In the following week, God willing, we will get closer to the matter. But since I fear, my dear father, that I will have more trouble here between the council and the citizens than was the case in Brunswick, even though it was more than enough there as well, why was I sent here, and am forced by obedience to our most noble prince, the Elector, to return immediately to an unjustified matter? It would have been better that I had not come here through so many dangers on the journey, in order rather to put everything into turmoil than to establish peace. You did not obtain a respite from the prince through your letters. For so his Serene Highness wrote to me in Brunswick, which I read on the day before Michaelmas [Sept. 28]: We want you to leave there as soon as possible for Hamburg, and you will have to finish the matter before Martinmas or at the latest two weeks thereafter. I rather believe that through your letter you have given the Prince the reason for this, so that I would be forced to return sooner. If I were free to return immediately, I would not need an admonisher. If I were to stay here the whole winter, I do not believe that I would accomplish enough. Therefore, I ask you, in accordance with the letter of this senate, 1) to write to the most noble prince, and even, what he likes to suffer, to prescribe a time by which you will not give advice for my hasty return, but advise this cause of the holy gospel of Christ, so that the prince may rejoice, so that you and the brothers may rejoice, so that Pomeranus may rejoice that I have not been here in vain. Moreover, my dear father, see not only the distress of this cause, which alone should move 2c., but also mine and that of my family. For it is not safe for me to go away when it pleases me 2) because of the ambushes on the roads that may be laid for me because of the gospel proclaimed in these places; let alone the inconvenience of the time. What should I do with my

n pregnant woman who, if God gives grace, will come down at the beginning of March 2)? 2c. But if it should please you that a shorter time should be granted by the prince (for the petitioners do not prescribe a time, but the letter written to the prince is like yours, and there is nothing else in it), then you must remind the prince that his Serene Highness should not find it a burden to be asked again, if it should be necessary, until the work of the Lord is accomplished this winter. I ask you to write quite diligently to the Prince, and what God is doing through me now. You understand the matter, only that you take care 2c. If now the messenger should again bring such a letter as before - O over me wretched, in what distress I would get! Perhaps you are surprised that I do not indicate in the letters that I am worried about the parish office there, even though I write often. But what should I be concerned about, since you are a pastor? You have decided that you would rather work yourself to death than let me go free; you promised me that earlier. There is no need for you to recommend our Matthew to me any further; I will do for him what I have already done for our Philip by letter. God help your visitation. I have left writings with Diaconus John 4) to be handed over to the visitors. Take care of the starrer at Beltitz, 5) who is absent, and of his Diaconus. Greet your fellow visitors, Hans Metsch and Hans Taubenheim, from me and let them know all these matters of mine, if there is leisure to do so. I wish our Michael Stiefel luck as the twofold successor of the bishop of Lochau. Commend me to my mistress, the Duchess Ursula, and her two virgins, and let her know the story of my nuns who are here by telling it to her. You were quite right to write to me about the danger of your little Hansen and, if you want to suffer it, mine and his, our Barbara, so that no one else, with his lies stitched together from it, as it is wont to happen, would like to put something on me. Here in the vicinity, as they say, many warriors are staying these days, about whom there are many different opinions, and many say that they are in the Brandenburg

1) The next following document.

2) or perhaps anch: "dem Churfürsten"; in Latin only: *quando libet*.

3) *Martius Adria*; the *Cisio Janus* for early March. Bugenhagen's wife gave birth to a dead son in Easter week 1529.

4) Mantel; not Rörer, as the Erl. Briefw. states.

5) Johann Boldewan.

Mark will invade, some, at the instigation of Minkwitz, others, the whale 2c.

Certain people have said that that Christian 1) is doing something, I don't know what. And those at Salzwedel (*Soldwedelii*) are said to have broken off the dwellings they had outside the city for fear of enemies. Yesterday some said that the men of war had not received their pay, and therefore, since this nerve is not present, the enervated will be easily separated. A certain doctor told me that three weeks ago, I don't know where, princes had met, ours, the Margrave, the Brunswick 2c., and that they had gone away with enraged tempers; therefore, our Elector is now gathering an army; but since you have written nothing about this, I consider it a lie. Please, write to me about it. May God be more merciful to us than that this should happen. Fare well with your beloved wife and sons, with D. Jonas, D. Stackmann, D. Augustin, our deacons, Cruciger, Hohendorf, 2) Benedict Pauli, Christian, Lucas 2c.

Your Johann Bugenhagen Pomeranus.

No. 1326 .

Hamburg.

November 1, 1528.

The Council of Hamburg to Luther.

The council asks Luthern to grant Bugenhagen another leave of absence.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, O, p. 153. HHH 1. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 148 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 20 f. We give the text after Burkhardt.

a. In Lower Saxony language.

The bailiffs are to receive all good things, valuable, highly respected, and respectable here, favorable good things. We consider J. a. w. of the anghekorden getruwen vlytes, so J. a. w. vnße vnde the vnßen written vnde muntliche forderinge by the durchluchtigsten hochgeboren fursten vnde Hern, Hern Johan Hertogen tho Sasszen sie. They, and the commoners, the mayors, the council and the community of the city of Wittemberge, have demanded that the most illustrious highborn prince, H.H. Johann Bugenhagen, and the town's mayor, be summoned to the

1) The expedition of Christian II of Denmark did not take place until 1531, after he had regained the favor of his brother-in-law, Emperor Carl V, by resigning to the papal church in 1530. In the process, he fell into captivity in 1532.

2) Mayor in Wittenberg. Cf. Tischreden, cap. 26, 62, St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 824.

The first part of the trade is still in such a way that it is not possible to find the right evangelical preacher's office and the reformation of the abuses, which are demanded of him by the principals of the church. In the trade first of all, there is still a lack of such a thing, that the church, by the people (of whom God will be remembered), as it exists among us, is in such a way that the church, with its embroidered term, is in the same way as the church itself, and the church itself is in the same way as the church itself. The affirmation of this law against the law of the land, the right of the law and the affirmation of the law of the earth 3) and the necessity of the two and other articles of the law, so that they may be easily executed, that many things are and will become more difficult, so that the things begun in the market will be done with the help of the time, and so that the time will be used to establish the business in this good city, because it is open 4). w. nye hie thor 5) stede gekomen were. Wente nhu to godes erhen alle syner churf. g. lande vnde stede vnde sunderlinges syner churf. g. lofflike vniuersetet tho Wittenberg mit ßo wythberompten 6) gelerten, ßo mennichfoldich vorsorgeth, 7) dat ock eyne rumhe tidt des affwesweswes vilgemelten Hern Joannis Pomerani darsuluest gar weynich leiten vnde nicht allein in dußer guden stadt den ock bybelegen konigkrichen, The princely courts, lands, and estates of the city are therefore fundamentally inferior to the ones that, by the grace of God, could be used and demanded for the best and most valuable things, so that J. a. w., by the grace of God, could be used and demanded for the best and most valuable things, so that J. a. w., by the grace of God, could be used and demanded for the best and most valuable things, so that J. a. w., by the grace of God, could be used and demanded for the best and most valuable things, so that J. a. w., by the grace of God, could be used and demanded for the best and most valuable things, so that J. a. w., by the grace of God, could be used and demanded for the best and most valuable things. a. w. by hochgemelter churf. g. ock gemeiner vniuersiteten und der stadt Wittenbarg nochmals geliken vlyt willen anwenden, dat ore churf. g. werde vnde erßamheide willen hochgemelten doctorem Pomeranum, ßo ilich vnaffgerichteder ßake von hir nicht forderen. den svner a. w. de tidt in an. 9)

3) "erdome" (error) put by us instead of: "erdeme" in the prints. Cf. further below: "furstendömen".

4) It seems to us that "effte" should be read (if).

5) "hie thor" put by us instead of: "hiethor" in the prints.

6) "withberompten" (far-famed) put by us instead of: "withbenompten" in the prints.

7) Here, the printers mistakenly put a semicolon.

8) Instead of: "allßo" will read "allße" (as).

9) "nhageuen" (to yield) put by us instead of: "nhagenen".

The office and all my reverence therein noted, and the preceding congregations, principalities, lands, and estates in honor of which may be regeth and used, that we have provided for ourselves tho J. a. w. by sinful grace of grace from the hymns before the demand of god's will and will with all thankfulness J. a. w. (de wy gode almechtich, luckzelich beuelen) stedes vorschulden. Ghescreüen vnßem signet am dage *Omnium Sanctorum Anno 1528.*

Burgermestere vnde Rathmanne der Stadt Hamborch.

b. The same script translated into High German.

Our kind service with desire of all good before. Worthy, highly learned and respectable gentleman, especially favorable, good friend! We thank E.¹⁾ A. W. for the faithful diligence, so E. A. W. on our and ours written and verbal request to the most noble, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Johann, Duke of Saxony 2c. 2c., and the common university, as well as the mayors, council and community of the city of Wittenberg, to bestow the highly learned Mr. Johann Bugenhagen here. So, thanks be to God, his A. W. has come here fresh and healthy, even without any driving, with his A. W. servants, [has] started the right evangelical preaching ministry and reformation of the abuses, therefore his A. W. mainly (principalich) demanded here. In this business, however, everyone is still so unskilled that his ministry among the diverse people (that God wants to be remembered) that is present with us, in such a short time, as his ministry by the high-minded Elector, with the date set for his ministry's departure from here. Without further instruction from God's Word, the presentation of the right truth and the removal of errors, and what the necessity of the two and other articles would demand, may accomplish so little that it would be and become much more deplorable to cut off things so noticeably begun for the sake of brevity of time with uncreated finality, and thus to cause more confusion than harmony in this good city, than if his A. W. had never come to this place. Since, to God's honor, all of his lordship's lands and cities, and especially his lordship's praiseworthy university at Wittenberg, have been so abundantly supplied with such widely renowned scholars that even a considerable period of absence of the much-mourned Herr Joannis Pome

1) The "I." in the original is to be resolved by "Iwe" - Ew., Eure.

rani suffered there very few, and not only in this good city, but 2) also in nearby kingdoms, principalities, lands and cities, by thoroughly pursuing the intended action, by divine grace something special would be useful and beneficial for the best, and for the souls' salvation as well as for peace and harmony: therefore ask once again, E. A. W. at hochgemeldter churf. G., also to the common university and the city of Wittenberg to apply the same diligence once again, so that their churf. Dignity and Honor do not want to demand the Reverend Doctorem Pomeranum from here in such a hurried, unjustified matter, but 3) may yield to his A. W. the time in grace, under which his A. W. may not only write or order a constant order of Christian activity in these places, but 4) may thus constantly arrange with all necessity, that first and last God's honor, his Reverend Doctorem Pomeranum's praise and honor, and all people's honor, may be guaranteed. Praise and Glory, and all people's blessedness may be increased from it, and the kingdoms, principalities, lands and cities, together with their inhabitants, may be peacefully governed and used, that we, in E. A. W., by special grace, bestowed by God from Heaven for the furtherance of divine work, are undoubtedly provided for, and will always owe it with all gratitude for E. A. W. (which we blessedly command to God [the] Almighty). Written under our signet on the day Omnium Sanctorum [Nov. 1] Anno 1528.

Mayor and Rathmannen of the city of Hamburg.

No. 1327.

(Wittenberg.)

November 8, 1528.

To Spalatin.

Recommendation of a young man and news about the visitation.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* A 197 and in *Cod. Jen.* a, Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 394; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 398 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 22. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1135.

To his exceedingly dear brother in Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Visitor and Bishop in Meissen, the exceedingly faithful servant of Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! This young man, who was told to you before by our Philip

2) The "den", which the text offers here, must have (if it is not read differently) here and following still twice the meaning of "but".

3) In the prints: "den".

4) Burkhardt: "den"; Erl. Briefw.: "denn".

Melanchthon is recommended to you, my dear Spalatin, I again recommend to you, only so that you do not forget him, to promote him at every given opportunity to the office you seek; but I know that you will do it even without remembrance. And I thank you for standing by the young man who wanted to lead a German school.

We have nothing new here, except that Minkwitz's war has melted away, praise God, and his men of war have run out of each other, except for a few who plague the citizens of Sonnenwalde. Our visitation has progressed. What misery we see there, and how often we think of you, who will find equal or greater misery among that hard Voigtland people! Dear, let us ask the Lord to help us all and to be helpful even to the extremely miserable bishops, he, our best and most faithful bishop against all arts and violence of Satan, amen. My Kätke and Justus Jonas respectfully greet you. And be well in Christ, the victor over all your temptations, amen. On the eighth of November 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 132 8.

(Wittenberg.)

, November 11, 1528.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther asks him to obtain an extension of the leave for Bugenhagen from the Elector, and sends the two letters No. 1325 and 1326, also the letter of the Council to the Elector, which was sent to Luther.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, 0.152. Manuscript in *Cod. chart.* 452. f. *Goth.* Printed in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 399 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 49.

Gratiam et pacem in Christo. Respectable, Most Reverend Doctor! Here is a messenger sent from Hamburg voigt Rath und Er Johann Pommer, to ask for further and longer time full of my gracious Lord, as you may hear from enclosed writings. Although I have previously written to the good man that he should not be so anxious about the time set, because necessity and God's word demand otherwise; for our gracious Lord is undoubtedly not inclined to do so. Lord is undoubtedly not minded to hinder God's word, where

it is necessary to advise his, the Pomeranian's, person longer: but the man does not have peace until he is assured of it by our Lord himself. Lord himself of this. Therefore, it is my friendly request that you send a letter to him from our Lord, in which it is requested that he return as soon as he can and wants to, but provided that he does not harm and hinder the word and work of God with his haste, but, if necessity so demands, has the power to stay there longer, as E. A. will well know how to do, and to send it with this messenger. Hereby commanded by God. On the day of St. Martin [Nov. 11] 1528.

E. A.

willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 1329 .

(Wittenberg.)

November 11, 1528,

To Spalatin.

Luther sends a letter from Argula von Staufen and gives news about the visitation.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 259. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II. Bl. 394 b; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 400 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 24. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1136.

To his brother in Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful servant of Christ in the Gospel.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although I am very busy, I did not want to let this school teacher, who was recently recommended to me by you and is returning to you, come to you empty-handed. Of course, there is nothing I could write, since I wrote everything in my last letter. I am sending the letter from our Argula to you, so that you may read it instead of a letter from me, and see what the extremely godly woman tolerates and suffers. My Kätke greets you respectfully with your little Eva and your extremely dear Hindin.

During our visitation in the Wittenberg district, only up to now have all the pastors found themselves in harmony with their peasants, but the people have been sluggish to the Word and Sacrament. Pray for us. On the day of Martini [Nov. 11] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1330.

(Wittenberg.)

November 24, 1528.

To Michael Stiefel in Lochau.

Luther asks him for news and expresses his surprise that he does not claim his debt.

Printed by Buddeus, p. 59; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 40t and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 24. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1138.

Grace and peace! I am sending you, my dear Michael, what belongs to you, as you will see from the enclosed letter. I wonder, however, what it is that you do not write anything to us or ask us to do anything, as if you had forgotten ours, since you know very well that we still have money that is due to you, which you should demand, unless you have found some treasure besides your wife and children. Therefore, write immediately and indicate whether the marriage still pleases you, and at the same time pray for me that my faith will not cease. Fare well in Christ. The day before Catharina [Nov. 24] 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1331.

Wittenberg.

November 25, 1528.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2235, annex, no. 8.

No. 1332.

(Wittenberg.)

November 25, 1528,

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Duke Georg sent Luther's answer (No. 1323) together with a copy of Luther's letter to Link to the Elector and demanded his intervention against Luther. The Elector sent the letters to Luther through Brück, who was traveling to Wittenberg at the time, and asked him to send him an answer that he could deliver to the Duke. Luther gave this answer by the present letter, which, however, he somewhat expanded and softened at the request of the Elector. The thus modified letter was sent to Duke George. Therefore, there are two originals of this letter, one in the archives at Weimar, the other in the archives at Dresden.

According to the original in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, p. 71, 6. no. 18. 7, printed in De Wette, vol. III, p. 404, with the wrong date: "November 30," and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 52. According to the original in the Main State Archives in Dresden, locat 7268, fol. 32, printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 55, no. 78 (not according to the Weimar copy, as De Wette states); in Walch, vol. XXI, 270 and in Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe," p. 36. We give the text of the first redaction, the changes in notes.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Johans, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have received E. C. F. G.'s letter together with the complaint of Duke Georgen of Saxony, a copy of which is my letter to D. Wenceslaum Linken, as if I had let it be known that I considered him 1) too low, that he should ask me for an answer. herewith the copy of the answer I gave to Duke Georgen, which I will leave at this time as well, and it was also quite proper for me to give such an answer to S. F. G.'s writing, as I do not know any other way; but that I should consider him too low to ask me, will not, whether God wills it, be found in my answer. 2) Methinks he has thought himself too great and has not written to me as Duke George. However, it is necessary, I can still answer more to S. F. G.'s writings, but I do not know how to do it, as the matter stands. I am willing and obliged to serve E. C. F. G.. God keep E. C. F. G. mercifully, amen. On the day of Catharine [Nov. 25] 1528.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1333.

(Wittenberg.)

November 26, 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

From the visitation and two marriage cases.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 270. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 395; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 403; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 51 and (entirely German) by Walch, vol. XXI, 1137.

1) Instead of "him": S. F. G.

2) Instead of the following, the second redaction continues thus: "Thus I have written to His Fl. I have written to His Grace in such a reply that H.F.G. will undoubtedly inquire from those who have received and handed such notes, even without my knowing, what such writing is. However, if it should be necessary, I can answer more to H. F. G.'s writing. I would like to ask for this, however, because if I also have to report my need, no one can blame me for it. E. C. F. G. to serve" 2c.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church in Zwickau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I wonder what it is that you seem to know nothing at all about the visitation of the churches, my dear houseman, since I know nothing else than that you yourself are a comrade and one of the visitators of this region 1) with Spalatin, Dolzig and Planitz, and I had hoped that you would have begun the visitation long ago. We at least have already spent almost a month with visitations in our part. Also, your region is not indicated by the prince as being in our district. Everywhere Satan is Satan, but we hope for good, although the contempt of the word is great. 2)

The marriage case with the virgin, who got engaged behind the knowledge and will of her step- and right parents 2c., I see in such a way that the journeyman or beadle sought money, and thus wanted to steal the child from the parents secretly, which example is no good at all. Therefore I would do according to the word of God in this matter, and let the parents keep their right here, and such a thief of the journeyman should be punished as an example to the others, and the maid should also have a distemper; because where this would break down (as before), [no] 3) alum would keep his child.

I give the blind man and the blind woman together in God's name, considering the journey of dumb sins and other mischief. Whether children were born of it, or it would be difficult to feed them, one must accept it as an accident, to praise and honor God. Such a case rarely happens, like another accidental evil. Perhaps God is trying our faith in this way, eight also, so that we can find a job, so that such blind persons can be trained. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Thursday after Elizabeth [Nov. 26] MDXXVII.

From the heart, your Martin Luther.

1) However, Hausmann (No. 1276) was initially taken into consideration as a visitator, but later he was dispensed with; Joh. von Dolzig was also not a visitator of this district; Christoph von Planitz, however, belonged to the visitators of the Thuringian district.

2) As far as the letter is Latin, the following is German.

No 1334.

Wittenberg.

November 26, 1528.

Luther, Metsch and Pauli to the Elector John of Saxony.

The visitators of the Churkreis ask to leave Hans von Taubenheim with them.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Ji, fol. 54b. A 5, 1528. 33. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 450 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 27.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince! Ew. churf. G. is ready with all will beforehand to render our owed, subservient services. Most gracious Lord! The honorable House of Taubenheim 4) has indicated to us from a letter Johann Riedtesel sent to him, as if your lordship had been informed that we would be finished with the visitation of the districts, which we were ordered to do, on Elisabeth [November 19], therefore your lordship would demand and humble him to the land accounts. Thereupon we ask your Lordship to know that only up to now the district of Wittenberg has not yet been completely settled due to many inaccuracies, and find that good caution and diligence must be used in all places. Thus, the church accounts are presented to us very darkly and erroneously, and there is no one among us who understands them according to necessity. Should we not have our friend from Taubenheim with us, we would be spoiled and would have to deal with the matters for a longer time. Therefore, our submissive request to the Lord Mayor, where it may be with honor and without special disadvantage to the Lord Mayor, is that the Lord Mayor allow von Taubenheim to remain with us until the end of our visitation. We are quite willing to do this for the sake of E. churf. G. in all submissiveness about the duty to deserve. Date Wittenberg, Thursday after Elisabeth (26 Nov.) Anno 1528.

E. churf. G. unterthänige gehorsame Martinus
Luther, Doctor. Hans Metzsch,
Captain. Benedictus Pauli,

Licentiate at Wittenberg.

4) Taubenheim, the Laudrentmeister, was attached to the visitation commission for accounting, and for the time after the visitation he had already been recalled to the state accounts. At this request, the Elector left him until the end of the visitation. - Riedtesel was the churf. director in Weimar.

5) "Zehren" - Zehrung, costs. The Erl. Briefw. has added a question mark to this word.

No. 1335.

(Wittenberg.)

26.1) November 1528.

To Melanchthon.

Luther sends him letters from Augsburg, complaining about his challenges; also von Brück "s presence in Wittenberg.

Handwritten in Gotha, Cod. A, 1048, fol. 3b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 3955; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 405, with the date: "November 30," and also in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VII, p. 28. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1139.

To his exceedingly dear brother M. Philipp Melanchthon, the exceedingly faithful [man] in the work of Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am sending letters here, which are addressed to you as well as to M. Lucas 2) and have lain with me for a long time; the Chancellor 3) will tell you the other. You shall tell your Lucas that here are gloves and a black cap, sent from Augsburg with other things; if he should find in his letters to whom they should be given, let him write it. For we have received what is ours, but I have not wanted to open his letters. My temptation has afflicted me today, please, pray for me as I pray for you, that my faith may not cease in this sighting. We honored the chancellor in the Saxon manner; your family is healthy, and we all are. My Käthe greets you reverently and wishes your return. ⁴⁾ May Christ be with you and may you also remember me, amen. May all our people be with you in good health. On the day after Catharine [Nov. 26] 1528.

Your Martin Luther.

I wanted to send the letters of Erhard from Holstein so that you would remember to help him elsewhere. I see that we are all becoming spiteful, but Christ be ours and with us, amen.

1) See the last note to No. 1206, where we proved that *altera post* should be resolved by "the day after", not by: "on Monday after".
2) Probably Lucas Edenberger from Edenbergen near Augsburg, who had gone to the Electoral Court as an educator in May of this year.
3) Chancellor Brück, who was in Wittenberg around this time, and perhaps took this letter with him together with the letter No. 1332, which he had to receive from Luther according to the order of the Elector (No. 1339) and to deliver personally.
4) Melanchthon was on the visitation.

No. 1336.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of November) 1528.

To Michael Stiefel in Lochau.

Luther expresses his joy about Stiefel's marital happiness and apologizes for not being able to come to the Schoesser's wedding in Lochau.

Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 60; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 405 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 29. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1141.

Grace and peace! I am very happy, my dear Michael, that you like your wife and children so much, and that she loves you; Christ keep this agreement on both sides forever. By the way, you may tell the castle that I can in no way be present at his wedding, because there is no day, no hour free. I had hoped that we would be in the neighboring Schweinitz at that time and thus could steal half a day for his honor, but the business of the visitation has grown in such a way that the whole way we had planned is thrown over. Therefore, you will excuse, not my good will, but my distress. And greet your Eva with the fruits ordered to you. In the evening, having received your letter. 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1337.

(November 1528.)

To Balthasar Thüring, pastor in Coburg.

Postscript to a letter that does not exist.

The original is in Coburg, in the Haus- und Staatsarchiv. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 151 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VII, p. 30.

Also, dear Mr. Baltzer, the good man Er Johann desires, 5) that after the investiture, if it could be, he would be allowed to move in again quickly, because he is in need of food, and has not yet filled his dinglein, so that he can bring out his wife easily; he would like not to let much food go, so that he would not be annoying to the Franconian "squire" and squires, so that they should put so much on him first.

5) Cf. no. 1283.

No. 1338.

(Wittenberg.)

2. December 1528.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther asks him to exhort the Zwickau council to refrain from intervening in matrimonial matters, since the Elector has reserved them for his office.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 29. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 396; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 406 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 30. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1140.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr.

Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of Zwickau, the servant of the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I beg you, my dear householder, to suffer this act of your council until the prince has decreed otherwise; but you may privately and publicly ask that they henceforth do nothing of the kind, because the prince refers all difficult marriage questions to his office until a certain form is established, as the instruction given to the visitators expressly contains, as you will see; therefore you will admonish them that they, for fear of your prince, henceforth avoid such examples. You will have given them credit for it once, but they do not want to give cause to accuse you again. I am glad that you have been relieved of the office of a visitator for the sake of your Zwickauers. There is nothing new with us. Only pray for me; call upon Christ with petitions and in Him be at ease. December 2, 1528.

Martin Luther.

No. 1339.

Weimar.

December 2, 1528.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector asks Luther to copy the answer drafted for Duke George with the changes made and to send it back. (Cf. No. 1332.)

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, fol. 30. Q. Printed in Burkhardt, p. 151 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 31.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! After we have sent you through our chancellor, Doctor Brück, when he was in Wittenberg, a copy of a writing which you should have given to Doctor Wenceslaen Linken, which copy was sent to us by our cousin, Duke Jörgen, and next to it

to make your answer to it and to send it to us, as he brought us your answer and read it out. Since he then reported to us that you had submitted the same answer for alteration, we have made a small change in it, but to the extent that it is not contrary to your writing and opinion, but that it also contains and maintains the same, only that it is described with a few other words, so that our cousin may not easily be induced to write and dispute further. And so that such an answer is your handwriting, it is our gracious request that you rewrite it in your own hand according to the copy enclosed, seal it with your seal 1) and send it to us by this messenger, and we will then have it immediately made out to our cousin and written next to it. In your gracious opinion, we do not want you to do this, and do us a gracious favor. Date Weimar, Wednesday after Andreä [Dec. 2] Anno 1528.

No. 13 40.

(Weimar.)

4. December 1528. 2)

Chancellor Brück to Luther.

Brück reports that in the meantime a letter of Link to the younger prince has been received, for the sake of the letter matter, and asks whether under these circumstances the answer given to the Elector (and thus to Duke Georg) should remain.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, H, fol. 30. Q. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 152 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 32.

My kind, quite willing service before. Venerable and highly respected, favorable dear Doctor and Godfather! My most gracious lord writes to you 3) for the sake of the answer, concerning Duke Jörgen, as you will hear from S. F. G.'s letter and will know how to keep to it. However, I do not want to keep your honor from the fact that Doctor Wenceslaus Link has now written to my gracious young lord 4) for the sake of the same matter.

1) On the second original mentioned in No. 1332 is Luther's seal, on which the rose is only indistinctly visible, but above it the letters M. L. are all the more clearly visible. (Seidemann, "Lutherbriefe", p. 35.)

2) According to Burkhardt, this time determination is *in tergo*.

3) According to this, it seems as if the previous letter of the Elector was sent to Luther only two days later than his date laMet, namely at the same time with this letter. Luther's answer for Duke George (No. 1332) was sent to him only on December II.

4) Duke Johann Friedrich.

written and reported, in which manner Duke Jörg had his secretary Thomassen von der Heide now at Nuremberg with advertisement to the council there, and what he gave him in reply, which report I send to your honor by order of my gracious young lord here [Copei] 1). The traitor is said to have been Doctor Scheurl, whom God forgive, for our princes have ever shown too much mercy against such and such. 2) Doctor Wenzel runs almost long in the answer, to that, that he could not have avoided it almost well, because Thomas von der Heide saw our handwriting. How your honor now thinks about the previous report that the answer should be, your honor will know from your high intellect to consider, because for (vir) my foolishness I would think that it is again with such an opinion, as also attributed to my lord, and with the handwriting of Thomas von Heide. Lord, and to leave it at the Drava 3). For if Duke Jörg ever does not want to let up on such a warning, what moves him afterwards and is indicated, then he has given great cause for it, and wants to keep it highly and have it so. I do not want to let this opinion go unreported to Your Honor as my dear lord and dear godfather, and I am willing to serve him in any way I can. (Weimar, Fridays of Barbary [Dec. 4] 1528.)

No. 1341.

Milau.

6 December 1528.

Joseph Levin Metzsch to Luther
 (Regest.)

Metzsch wanted to marry a relative, Catharina, the daughter of Günther von Büнау zu Elsterberg, which was also permitted by the Elector Johann. About this marriage, Metzsch had sought advice from Luther, who had instructed him (in No. 1226) not to seek permission or dispensation from the bishop in his case. Now new difficulties had arisen, in that the jurists declared that children produced in a marriage that was contracted in forbidden degrees without the permission of the pope or his clergy were to be considered illegitimate according to the law. Now he asks Luther to send out a short teaching on this matter in print. - This, however, Luther had already done in 1522 with the "Sermon on Marital Life", St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 598.

Printed in Weller, *Altes und Neues*, Vol. I, p. 119 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 33.

1) Supplemented by us. Burkhardt remarks: "Completely illegible word in your already difficult concept of D.Brück."

2) namely when Scheurl was professor at Wittenberg, 1507 to 1512.

3) "Drava" == threat.

No. 1342.

Wittenberg.

December 15, 1528.

To Margarethe N.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2032.

No. 13 43.

Schweinitz.

December 30, 1528.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

About a marriage case and Duke George's writing Against Luther, which will receive their response.

Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 118; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 408 and by Schirmacher, *Briefe und Acten zu der Geschichte des Religionsgesprächs zu Marburg*, 1876, p. 23 (after a Rostock codex).

Grace and peace in Christ! I very much wish that this would be determined and decided by the authorities, that if one of the spouses were lepers, the other would be free, with reservation of the right of maintenance and the promise of the same for life. I would decide with a good conscience that such people are free, since also according to the Mosaic law it is determined that a leper is civilly dead and should be separated from the household. But if we now want to judge the same, who will carry it out? who will keep it? since our secular regime sets the opposite. If he therefore wants to marry at his peril, he may marry (that is my opinion) with a clear conscience, if everything else is right. But we do not promise him protection and defense. We concede the hidden right; from where he obtains the public right, he may see for himself, since it is not in our power. That is my judgment. There is no news. I am busy with the visitation. Duke George has written against me; you will see the news at mass. ⁴⁾ The same duke has separated himself from our duke in the joint minting of the coin; likewise, he is breaking the general agreement ⁵⁾ of the princes; he thinks

4) In the New Year's Fair in Leipzig in 1529, Duke George's writing: "What shape we George, by the grace of God, Duke of Saxony 2c. Luther des gedichteten Bündnisses halben in Schriften unerfindlich angegeben und darauf unsere Antwort", was thrown on the market. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 21.

5) We do not know what *forum* actually means here. Should it perhaps refer to the coin association?

and does nothing but the very worst. I beseech thee, beseech Christ with thy church, that he may cast down or take away this troublesome and exceedingly pernicious instrument of Satan: for why doth he afflict our very good Prince, and afflict heaven and earth without a cause? Amen, Amen. I again come forth against him,¹⁾ as you shall see. Pray, pray, it is time. Fare well in the Lord. At Schweinitz. On Wednesday after the birth of Christ 1529 [30 Dec. 1528].

Martin Luther.

No. 1344.

(Wittenberg.) (Towards the end of December) 1528.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1790, annex, no. 15.

No. 1345.

Wittenberg. December 31, 1528.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1816, anh., no.22.

No. 1346.

Schweinitz. January 7, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Request for the citizen of Mühlhausen, Michael Koch, to be allowed to settle in the Elector's lands.

From the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, fol. 108.41, printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p.56, no. 80; in Walch, vol. XXI, 270 ; in De Wette, vol. III, p.416 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 60.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! 2) Michel Koch, a citizen of Mühlhausen, has once again asked me to petition E. C. F. G. on his behalf, after the intercession he desired to receive in Mühlhausen did not succeed.

1) By the writing "Of secret and stolen letters", St. Louis edition, Rd. XIX, 518, No. 100.
2) Here we have deleted a superfluous "me".

help the council of Mühlhausen that E. C. F. G., considering his, his wife's and poor children's misery, will graciously allow himself to be taken into E. C. F. G.'s care. C. F. G.'s lands and to nourish him safely, as E. C. F. G. will further hear from his enclosed letter: thus I have had to take pity on his misery and write to E. C. F. G. on his behalf. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously treat him. Hereby commanded by God's grace. Zur Schweinitz, Dornstags nach Epiphan. [7 Jan.] 1529.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1347.

Schweinitz. January 9, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

The Elector had ordered Metsch and Taubenheim, who were among the visitators of the Electoral District, to accompany Margrave George of Brandenburg on his journey to Silesia through the Electoral Lands. Now all visitators ask the Elector to let them stay together, so that the visitation can be continued. - This request was denied, and the visitation was interrupted.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. Ji, fol. 55. A 6. 1529. Printed in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XX and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 98. The statement there that this letter is also printed in Spalatin's correspondence of Neudecker and Preller is erroneous.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord Johannsen, Duke of Saxony 2c.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince! Your electoral graces are subject to our owed services: Obedience with will. Most gracious lord! Because we have been in violation of the blessed work of the visitation at Schweinitz ordered by your churf. G. and want to move to Herzberg, your churf. graces have issued an order to us, Hans Metsch and Hans von Taubenheim, that we accept Margrave Georgen, our gracious lord, at the border and move from one hostel to the other through your churf. g.'s lands, where his princely grace would pass through. Grace would pass through. Thereupon we have encountered an impediment to our intention, that we depart, and announce to the one whom we have decided upon

must have. For there was no means available to us by which we could have given both orders at the same time. And yet the utmost necessity of the order of the church service and the pastoral care of the poor admonishes us, to the point of pitiful pity from the discovery of dangerous inaccuracy, to persevere most diligently with the promotion of the work. And may Your Lordship's humble opinion indicate that we hold, believe and know that Your Lordship could not have ordered a better work than the visitation, so there is also nothing that can weigh us down about such work. And after we see that it is to be prevented by all the lists of the enemy, so it is to Your Lordship our most humble and diligent request and request that Your Lordship let us, where we are noted in the work, and by some way others know how to order their business through other persons, to remain unchallenged with each other. For where one way allows us to be separated, we worry about one cause over the other and so much that we would not want to come to it again in a long time. Thus many souls would be missed, whom we hope to counsel by means of divine grace. Your Lordship will graciously note our letter for the best. We are indebted to Your Lordship for this in all loyalty. Date Schweinitz, on Saturday after Epiphaniä Dni [9 Jan.] *Anno eiusdem* 1529.

E. churf. G. unterthänige gehorsame
Martinus Luther, Doctor. Hans Metzsch.
Benedictus Pauli and House of
Taubenheim.

No. 13 48.

(Wittenberg.)

January 15, 1529.

To Martin Görlitz, pastor in Braunschweig.

Luther thanks for a gift of beer and reports his writing against Duke George and the Catechism.

To the highly venerable brother, Mr. Martin Görlitz, the faithful and wise overseer of the church at Brunswick.

I was happy and grateful to receive your very pleasant and agreeable letter, my dear Martin, not only because of the kindness it showed me, but much more because of the news that it indicates that your church, the work of our Pomeranus, is doing well. May Christ strengthen what he has worked in all of us, amen.

I have written to Doctor Levin von Emden 1) and may you also thank him for me many times over. Your Torgau beer has been well used and drunk with such praise 2) as never before with me. For it has been reserved and served only for me and the visitors, who could not praise it enough above any they had ever tasted. But I, as a very fine farmer, have never thanked you and your Emilie, indeed, as I am a householder who does not care about things, I have forgotten and no longer knew that it was in my cellar until my servant drew attention to it anew. Therefore, even now I say great thanks for this certainly useful and pleasant gift, and that for your fortune is very large and too much. Greet all your brothers, especially your Emilie and your son, namely the exceedingly lovely Hind and her beloved Deer. May the Lord bless you and make you grow into many thousands, both according to the seed of the spirit and of the flesh.

I bravely answered Duke George, which I believe you have already seen, so that his flatterers and worshippers would not become too confident, hopeful and boastful. Now I am busy making the catechism 3) for the unlearned peasants. You and yours pray diligently for me, and be well in Christ. Given on January 15, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

1) Levin von Emden from Magdeburg was Stadtsyndicus of Braunschweig.

2) Erl. Epist. : lute instead of: laude.

3) This refers to the Large Catechism, which appeared in April; the Small Catechism did not come out until May.

No. 13 49.

(Wittenberg.)

(Around mid-January?) 1529. 4)

To Spalatin.

From the visitation.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, 201. and in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 221. Printed by Buddeus, p. 80; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 424 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 44. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1197.

To his extremely dear brother, Magister Georg Spalatin, the faithful and completely sincere servant of God in the Gospel.

Grace and peace! We also wish to know what you are doing at the visitation and what progress the matter has, my dear Spalatin, and it is to be wondered why you are silent about it when you write. We command, where it is necessary, a contribution; although it is only small, it helps somewhat the poor priests who have two yokes (oxen) and arable land; moreover, we strictly demand offering money (*offertorium*) from each one. Incidentally, the appearance of the church is very miserable everywhere, since the peasants learn nothing, know nothing, pray nothing, do nothing but abuse freedom, neither confess nor communicate, as if they had become completely free from religion. For thus they have neglected their papist things, they despise ours, so that it is frightening to contemplate the administration of the papal bishops. The rest Bruno will tell you. Greet Eberhard and all the brothers, and pray for me wretched man and sinner. Christ be with you.

Martin Luther.

No. 13 50.

Weimar.

January 18, 1529.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector commands Luther to refrain from writing and pressing against Duke George and to subject his other writings to the conventional censorship.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, H, fol. 30. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 155 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 45.

1) This letter, which De Wette has dated: "Perhaps in February", the Erl. Briefw. in the middle

Our greeting before. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We inform you that the Reverend Prince George, Duke of Saxony, our dear cousin, has now had his dear councillors 2) here with us, and complains about the booklet that you have recently issued against him 3). Because this is something sharp, and it should be considered where such booklets should be made and printed more, that it wants to bring about unfriendly will between his love and us, moreover, that it is not useful, now from the alliance, because we therefore with some, Our request is that you do not print anything concerning our cousins or other princes and persons, unless you have sent it to us beforehand and we have agreed to print it. 4) But in other matters, in which you deal with Christian doctrine, you will know how to abide by the order that went out from the former Duke Friederich of Saxony, Elector, our dear brother blessed, that nothing be printed unless previously overlooked by the Rector and some others of our university. We did not want to leave this undisclosed to you, and in all of this we offer you our complimentary opinion. Date Weimar, Monday after Antoni [18 Jan] Anno 1529.

No. 1351 .

(Wittenberg.)

January 21, 1529,

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther recommends the licentiate Premsel and the physician Ebeling Alemann. From his writing Wider Herzog Georg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, 1720, p. 895; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 126; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 418 and in Erl. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1143 (not 1113, as the Erl. Briefw. has printed from De Wette).

January, because Bruno Brauer, the administrator of Brisger's house in Wittenberg, delivered this letter, and on Jan. 20, Röser writes to Roth: "Give my best regards to Mr. Spalatin (who was in Zwickau for visitation these days), and tell him that I sent everything he asked of me last week through our Bruno."

2) namely the marshal Heinrich von Schleinitz zum Sathan (= Saathain) and Wolf von Schönberg, Amtmann zu Meißen.

3) Here we have deleted a superfluous "itself".

4) The bailiff and the council of Wittenberg were also ordered in a separate mandate to urge the printers to observe this regulation.

-- The Alemann 1) are returning to us, my dear Amsdorf, and we thank God that the plague not only died out, but was also so mild. My Käthe had collected cress to send to you, but it is thwarted by the cold that has set in; she will send at another time, if she can. Now I ask one thing, that you send it in my name. The licentiate Premsel is finally trying to practice his art; he has asked me to recommend him to you. I would have done the same for Ebeling Alemann if I had not been prevented by chance. But you will expend all the more effort and diligence for the good and quiet man, as you know. However, he is seeking employment as a physician in your city, and will go there if he can obtain it through you. Answer me what you have arranged.

I believe you have seen Duke George's booklet against me and mine against him. Our people also judge me to have treated this extremely tyrannical enemy too unseemly and harshly, but I let it seem to me that I have let him, who deserved much greater things through his manifold rages, get away with a lot. It is written that the cause of the Landgrave at Worms 2) stands a little better due to the efforts of our Chancellor, praise and thanks be to God. I ask that you pray to the Lord for me, and strongly urge your church to pray, because Satan is roaring, raging and racing and attacking us from all sides. In Christ you are well. January 21, 1529.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 1352 .

Cassel.

January 23, 1529.

Otto von Pack to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 433, no. 842.

No. 1353.

January 30, 1529.

To the City Council of Memmingen.

Luther recommends Johann Schmelz, who is studying in Wittenberg, expresses his joy that the city has accepted the Gospel, and warns against the red spirits.

This letter was first published by Joh. Georg Schelhorn from the autograph, which is in the Memmingen archive, in the Reformation History of the City of Memmingen, p. 139; from it in the Leipzig Supplement, p.57. In Walch, vol. XXI, 272; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 419 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 61. From another (alleged) original at Hildburghausen in the Meyer collection (formerly in the possession of a Patrician family from Nuremberg) reported in the Deutsches Museum, vol. I, Jena 1842, p. 336, by Ludwig Bechstein, who assumes that the letter was written to the council of Nuremberg; then in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XIX (as to the council of Nuremberg) and by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 99. - Since we consider the original at Memmingen to be the real one, and since we find the readings of the other original worse, we give the text according to the former.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear gentlemen! Johannes Schmelz,³⁾ your relative, who is held here in the studio by E. E., has asked me for this writing to E. E., after God has graciously counseled your praiseworthy city with His holy Gospel, to admonish E. E. to keep faithfully to it, and to diligently guard themselves from the erroneous spirits. Although I am now well assured that God, who has begun such a work with you, will also keep and preserve E. E. without me and without my admonition, I have not despised Johann's request, nor have I refrained from showing my will and service to E. E.; for it is truly, as it now stands in the world, my greatest joy to hear where a city has the divine word pure and diligently with it. Therefore my heartfelt prayer is in God, the Father of all miserable people, that he may strengthen and preserve you and all who have his dear word by his Spirit against all the evil spirits and, as they are called, mad saints, whom the devil now sends out everywhere, so that E.E. and your subjects may be found pure, active, fruitful and blameless in his word, in his day and in the future, amen.

3) Schmelz is usually called M. Memminger. He died at the beginning of 1539 as schoolmaster at Grimma.

1) Thomas, Ebeling and Heinrich Alemann; they were inscribed in Wittenberg on January 13, 1528.

2) In Worms on Dec. 30, 1528, the disputes between the Swabian League and the landgrave, which had arisen as a result of the Pack quarrels, were settled amicably through the mediation of Prince Frederick of the Palatinate.

Please also, E. E. want to help us to do this with diligent prayer and constant attention, so that we may all remain in faith and quiet in peace. May Christ our Lord and Savior give us his blessing and grace, amen. Please hold such writing in favor of me, and E. E. Johann Schmelz, as he is truly honest, and by God's grace shall become a great man, for the comfort and improvement of many people, amen. May God's grace be with E. E. for the blessed regiment, Amen. At Wittenberg, on the Saturday after St. Paul's conversion [January 30] 1529. Martinus Luther.

No. 1354.

(Wittenberg.)

January 31, 1529.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

Lament over the raging of the enemies of the gospel. About a northern light. About one of Luther's illnesses.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in *Cod. Goth.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1720, p. 896; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 127; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 420 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 50. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1144. This evidence is missing in *De Wette* and in *Erl. Briefw.*, which relied on *De Wette* at all and also printed his incorrect proofs (cf. no. 1351).

Grace and peace in Christ! That our tyrant 1) is furious, we also learn from elsewhere, although there no Faber admonishes; but the more he afflicts, the more the diligent prayer of a good man is necessary. 2) For under the papacy we were not used to praying, since no one noticed that Satan kept his own in peace; it was all a game and a joke. But now that he has been stirred up by the stronger one, the

1) "The tyrant" is Satan; the "from elsewhere" will refer to Duke George; the one whom "Faber admonishes" is King Ferdinand, who, at the instigation of Faber, his court preacher, had tightened the mandate of August 20, 1527, by a decree of November 16, 1528, "for the exploitation of the new, damned, seductive and heretical teachings" in his hereditary lands.

2) The preceding words: *quamquam Fabro nullo monente; quanto magis urgente, quo magis opus est optimi viri sedula oratione* Walch translates: "if also no blacksmith said, how much more, since he's treibet? and must therefore the honest man pray the more". The previous editors have taken it the same way, as their interpunction shows, for they have a comma before *quanto* and a colon after *urgente*.

comes upon thu [Luc. 11,21. f.], he rages and rages earnestly, and not without cause, for he suffers much from us through the deprivation of his weapons. Therefore let us be confident; he that is in us is greater Jn. 4:4., who hath said, and saith yet [Jn. 16:33.], "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world: in the world ye are afraid, but in me ye have peace." Amen.

In our region there was a great northern light, by which the whole night was illuminated, on Saturday after Epiphany [Jan. 9], at the ninth hour, and it has been seen in many areas. What it means, God knows. It is said to us [Jer. 10:2], "You shall not be afraid of the signs of heaven." The wicked may watch what they despise. I have been suffering in my head for more than eight days; I am troubled by dizziness and a dull sound; whether it be weariness or a temptation of Satan, I know not. Pray for me, I pray that I may be strong in faith. Christ be with you mightily and a sweet comforter, Amen.

I have received and handed over the Polish tablets (*tabulas*) and the gilded letters. All our brothers greet you. On the last of January, 1529, Martin Luther.

No. 1355.

(Wittenberg.)

1. February 1529.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

Luther apologizes for his silence and invites Agricola to come to Wittenberg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rattzenb.* Printed in *Schütze*, vol. II, p. 96; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 421 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 51.

To in the Christ highly venerable brother Johann Agricola, the faithful and diligent educator of the youth at Eisleben.

Grace and peace! Caspar Müller 3) reported to me that you are surprised about my silence on your letter,⁴⁾ in which you gave me an account of your sermon in Altenburg. But I believed for sure that you understood sufficiently that I did not dislike your account. For otherwise

3) Mansfeld Chancellor.

4) No. 1303.

I am guilty of nothing less than that I did not admonish you; since I have not even raised any suspicion against you by the pleading of others, I would suffer even less that this should happen through your own letter. By the way, the fact that I write less often is due to the fact that there is no necessity or useful reason for writing, and I am otherwise already busy and overloaded with many things, and since I also have a headache from time to time, I am somewhat negligent. This same Caspar has also given me hope that you will come to us this Shrovetide; but if you want this, it must happen next week. For on the eleventh we will leave immediately to resume the work of visitation. ¹⁾ Farewell and greet Elsa and the little son together with the daughters. My Käthe greets you respectfully, who, if God is gracious, will perhaps enter childbirth after Easter. ²⁾ Pray for us. On the first of February 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 1356.

Wittenberg.

February 1, 1529.

To the Zerbst City Council.

Luther sends Henry of Lemberg as a preacher.

The original is in the city archives at Zerbst. Printed in Sintenis' Denkschrift, p. 45; from it in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 181 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 100.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Zerbst, my favorable dear gentlemen and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! Your mayor, who also spoke to me of your command on that occasion, has now again asked me for a preacher to be sent to your city of Zerbst. So I have spoken to the letter-writer Er Henrich von Lemberg and urged him to accept such an office. He has consented to this and has joined your city at your request. May E. W. try him and, if he is willing, accept him. Please forgive me, E. W.

- 1) Due to Luther's illness, this did not happen.
- 2) Magdalena was born on May 4.

will let the same be ordered to her, as it is due, well knowing Christian, both with quite entertainment and need. For I am willing to serve E. W. and the whole city. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Monday *prima Februarii* 1529.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1357.

(Wittenberg.)

February 12, 1529.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther thanked him for his favorable opinion of the writing of Wider Herzog Georg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch*, and in *Cod. Goth*. Printed in Unschuldige Nachrichten 1720, p. 897; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 128; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 422 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 52. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1145.

Grace and peace! You have pleased me extraordinarily by your verdict on my booklet against Duke George. For all of them unanimously condemn me and do not care what he has sinned against me; they look at me, but at him as if he were innocent. I do not show them your letter because they want to condemn you also with me. I have been persuaded not to answer your tyrant henceforth, because he himself also testifies that he does not want to touch me henceforth. Extraordinary things are said here about Ferdinand's tyranny and oppressions. Pray for me with yours that the Lord may strengthen me and not leave me in the hand of Satan. May the Lord Jesus uphold and bless you, Amen. February 12, 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 1358.

(Wittenberg.)

February 13, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Of the visitation; of the establishment of the church service; of Luther's health conditions and of his writing Wider den Türken.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Francisceum*, Ms. 26, fol. 29 b. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 97; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 129; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 422 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VII, p. 53. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1369.

To the venerable brother in Christo, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the exceedingly faithful bishop of the church in Zwickau, his superior.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am extremely pleased, my dear householder, that the visitation of yours has been accomplished so happily by the grace of God. It is to be hoped that all the rest of the church's necessities can be arranged in the same way in time.

The litanies are sung in the church in Latin and German; perhaps the notes or the manner of both will be published. The fasts, the excommunication and other important ceremonies will follow in due time, although there are already enough for the beginning.

I have suffered from dizziness or from the head so far, except for what the angel of Satan puts into work. You ask God for me, that He may strengthen me in faith and His word.

Your Duke George I will no longer answer.

About the war with the Turk, I hope to publish a booklet 2) in a short time; it would have already appeared, if the first sexters had not been lost through the negligence of the servants; therefore, it was difficult to "find" the train of thought and the first draft again; that is why it has been delayed so much. My Käthe greets you respectfully, as do D. Jonas and Philippus and all of us. We fear that Pommer will hardly return before Pentecost, because his wife is expecting her birth around Easter. Christ be with you, Amen. February 13, 1529.

Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1359 .

Coburg.

February 19, 1529.

The visitators in Franconia to Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The preachers at Hildburghausen, M. Joh. Birnstiel and the Vicarius Andreas Menser, have in their preaching

1) The Erl. Briefw. reads after the original: *gravitatis ceremoniae*, Schütze: *civitatis*; De Wette: *quaaedam tales*.

2) "On the War Against the Turk." St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2108.

They have been quarreling with each other, making themselves unpopular with the people and causing division in the congregation, so the visitators have seen fit to remove them both. Now they are asking Luther for a suitable preacher to be appointed there.

The original is at Coburg in the Haus- und Staats-Archiv. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 156 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VII, p. 55. - Improvements: "that they both have nothing to improve". Instead of: "über Last" read: "Ueberlast".

No. 1360 .

(Wittenberg.)

February 28, 1529.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Of Melanchthon's and Agricola's journey to the Diet of Speier, and other news.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 98; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 423 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 57.

I believe that you know that a month ago the wife of Cisaus^ Bildsenhauer^ died, as is believed, from lack of marital duty. Philippus has gone with the prince to the Imperial Diet in Speier, M. Eisleben is called to the same; he goes with the same our prince. You let your church pray, that is a worthy and necessary thing. Ferdinand is deprived of Hungary, and, since he has been defeated by the voivode, he has to fear the Turk, who, as they say, is attacking Germany in three places with an enormous armament. Your bishop will perhaps be one of the popes after this last one dies (according to my divination). I believe that the last day is here. Fare well in Christ, and do not cease to pray for me miserable ones. Sunday Oculi [28 Feb] 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1361

(Wittenberg.)

February 28, 1529.

To an unnamed person.

About a marriage case.

Printed in Schleußner, Anfänge des protestantischen Ehrechts, in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, VI, 413 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 57.

Grace and peace in Christo. Good, good friend! On the question of marriage, this is my good opinion: I do not advise in any way that the journeyman should divorce his wife.

but to keep her in marriage, even if she was given to him against his father's will or against the law of the pope. For although a child should not be free against his father's knowledge, if it comes to this and so far that the son sleeps with another's daughter, or gets her pregnant, or is involved in the marriage, then the father's authority has been too long outside, and the other's harm to his daughter is not to be suffered. Father shall be father, if it is without harm and disadvantage to another. Thus, according to the Pope's law, I do not regard this marriage differently than if one impregnates a maid, because this woman is free before God and may not be the wife of the first husband, even though she is innocent as the deceived one, *et sic titulus ille vel casus ille de ea, quae prius per adulterium polluta est*, 1) has neither place nor reason here. And Summa, even if there had been ten errors in this, because the things now come to light that the former husband has a wife, she is free, and this other man's lawful wife, and shall keep her, because before God he cannot leave her now. Hereby commanded by God. Sunday Oculi [28 Feb] 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 1362.

(Wittenberg.)

March 1, 1529.

To the visitators in the Franconian district, Hans von Sternberg from Callenberg, D. Nicolaus Kind, pastor at Eisfeld, and Paul Bader, Kastner at Coburg.

Luther has not been able to find a pastor for Hildburghausen in a hurry, but hopes to send them a pastor before Easter.

The original is in the Coburg House and State Archives. Printed in Georg Paul Hoen's Coburg Chronicle; in Christian Schlegel's *init. reformat. Coburg*; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 57; in Walch, vol. XXI, 273; in De Wette, vol. III p. 425 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 62.

Guad und Fried in Christo. Gentlemen, dear friends, worthy ones, dear sirs! In the absence of M. Philippi, who went with our most gracious Lord to Speier to the Imperial Diet, I have read your writing and request to demand a priest to go to Hildburghausen. Weilen

1) *Decreti P. II, caus. 31, qu. 1.* (Erl. Briefw.)

but the bot may not wait here, I have not been able to inquire in a hurry who would be the most suitable for this, because there are quite a few of them in the country. I have thought to ask Johann Fröschel or Michael Stiefel, who are not far from us, but I do not know what I will do. However, there should be no lack of possible diligence, whether I could muster one or another skilled person, whom I want to send to you before Easter to Coburg, with God's help, whom you then have to try or accept. There is a shortage of people everywhere, and what can be maintained here in Wittenberg is reluctant to be taken away. I am willing and ready to serve you. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Monday after Oculi [March 1] 1529.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1363.

(Trebsen.)

1. March 1529.

Nicolaus von Minkwitz to Luther.

Minkwitz informs Luther that he wants to go to Speier to the Imperial Diet and is prepared to represent the cause of Wolf Hornung there, who is therefore to travel with him. He asks Luthern to prepare a draft of a supplement in this matter.

The original is in the Marburg State Archives. Printed by Kolde, *Analecta* p. III; by Zimmermann, in the *Zeitschrift für preußische Geschichte*, XX, 333, and in *Erlanger Briefwechsel*, vol. VII, p. 59.

[To the respectable, highly learned Martino [Luthe]rn, my good friend, [for his] own hands.

My kind service before. Respectable, esteemed, dear doctor, special good friend! I do not know how to keep you in my good opinion, that I intend to go shortly near Speier to the present Imperial Diet to attend to my necessities. Since I am partly aware of the hardship encountered by the poor journeyman Wolf Hornung (Hornig) from Margrave Jochim, and I am willing to help and advise him with my utmost ability and understanding, even though he has not asked me for it, 2) I am therefore

2) Minkwitz was sued by the Elector Joachim at the Imperial Chamber Court in Speier for breach of the peace, and could not escape the summons there. On the other hand, Minkwitz now sued Joachim in the name of Wolf Hornung before the imperial governor, Count Palatine Frederick, because of the violation committed against Hornung.

my concern that the said Wolf Hornung, as I am also writing to him enclosed, will go to me immediately towards Trebsen, that he would ever be there for the longest time now the next Friday after Dato [March 5], [so] I will take him with me and transfer him with horses and food, hoping to God that he shall obtain on his supplications and requests, also on the demand of my lords and friends, that the Margrave shall be ordered and commanded by the estates of the realm to let his wife follow him. But how the first application should be made, I ask you not to complain and to make a concept of how it should turn out in your esteem. That I do not know how to behave you in good opinion, and command you into the grace of God. Dated Monday after Oculi [March 1] 1529.

Please to keep all this secret with you. Nigkel vonn Myngkwicz 2c.

No. 1364.

(Wittenberg.)March 3. March 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

The large catechism will soon be finished. The booklet Against the Turk is in print. Luther complains about his health and proposes Conrad Cordatus as preacher in place of Paul Lindenau.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 50. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, No. 26, fol. 30. Printed by Schütze, Vol. II, p.98; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p.130; by De Wette, Vol. III, p. 426 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 60. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1370.

To his brother in Christ and Lord, Nicolaus Hausmann, the exceedingly faithful bishop of the church in Zwickau.

Grace and peace in the Lord! The catechism is not finished, my dear houseman, but it will be finished shortly. The booklet against the Turk is already being printed, and shall, if Christ gives grace, be completed before Judica [March 14] 1). I am almost constantly compelled to work as a ge

right, and demanded the surrender of the woman and the return of the confiscated goods. Count Palatine Frederick took up the matter, but Joachim knew how to drag the matter out, so that Hornung got into great trouble and on May 6 had to ask the Count Palatine for an advance of four florins in order to be able to stay in Speier for another eight days. Finally, the Count Palatine set a date for his trial for June 30 in Regensburg. The trial against Minkwitz continued slowly until the Court of Appeal declared him eight on Oct. 24, 1530.

1) However, this writing did not appear until April 16.

sunder to be sick, since Satan is plaguing me, hence I am much prevented from writing and doing other things, because I must have company, so that I do not get into danger through loneliness. You pray for me.

Since your Paul has been dismissed, 2) Spalatin has also written that thought must be given to who should take his place. I have advised that if you do not have another, then our Conrad Cordatus would be suitable, for he is a very good, learned man and has been a brave witness of the faith. Let it be done what pleases the Lord. Fare well and pray for the future Reichstag. My Käthe sends you her best regards. March 3, 1529, Martin Luther.

No. 1365.

(Wittenberg.) March 7, 1529.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Ueber Erasmus und von mehreren Himmelszeichen, die Luther aus den bevorstehenden jüngsten Tag interpret.

The original is in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 285. B. Manuscript in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Dolmst.* 108; in *Cod. Rostoch.* and again as from 1530. Printed in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1720, p. 1063; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 132; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 426 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 62. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1150.

To the most esteemed brother in Christ, Mr. Wenceslaus Link, the faithful servant of the Lord in Nuremberg.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have received two letters, my dear Wenceslaus, which are full of news. But I have begun to despise my Moab 3) and will no longer answer his invectives. Erasmus does what is worthy of him, that he uses the Lutheran name. Erasmus is doing what is worthy of him, that he so persecutes the Lutheran name, under which alone he now lives safely. 4)

2) Soon after the visitation, Lindenau's dispute with a party of the council, headed by Mühlpfort and Roth, broke out again, this time over the reintroduction of the apostles' days and the ringing of the church bells, which Lindenau opposed. Although there were quite a few pending against him, he nevertheless, tired of the dispute, asked for his resignation, which was granted on February 27.

3) Duke George.

4) Perhaps Luther is aiming at Erasmus' writing: *Contra quosdam, qui se falso jactant Evangelicos, epistola Des. Erasmi Rot. jam recens edita et scholiis illustrata. Ad Vulturium Neocomum dat. Frib. 1529, 8. See Herm. v. d. Hardt, III, 184 (De Wette).*

Why doesn't he go to his Dutch, French, Italian and English? "He rakes mice." He tries to prepare a place for himself by these flatteries, but he will not find it; he will sit down between two chairs. If the Lutherans hated him as much as they hated his own, then he would indeed endure Basel with danger to his life. But may Christ judge this atheist and epicurer Lucian.

With us there is nothing new. Of the apparitions (*visionibus*) praised in Bohemia there is nothing certain, many deny it. But of the northern lights that were here, which I also saw on the Saturday after Epiphany at eight o'clock in the evening, it is certain that they were seen in many places as far as the ocean. Moreover, that in December at night over the main church in Breslau the sky was fiery, writes Hess, and in your other place two fiery floors (*contignationes*) were seen and in their center a fiery broom. I think that by these fire signs it is indicated that the last day is before the door. The empire will fall, the kings will fall, the popes will fall, and clearly the whole world will collapse, as a great house that is about to collapse is wont to begin its fall with small cracks; only that first the Turk, as Ezekiel [Cap. 38] prophesies of Gog and Magog, must be found to boast of his exceedingly great victory, and be corrupted with his comrade, the pope. Pray for me a sinner, and greet the Lord Abbot, 1) and command me to his prayers. Christ give a happy outcome to the birth of your wife. May grace be with you. On Sunday Lätare [March 7] 1529.

Martin Luther.

I do not want my letters of despair 2) to be printed, because they might have been overlooked and increased by me before, so that they could come to light and to the public in a more dignified way. You can therefore send them back, because I have not kept a copy.

1) Friedrich Pistorius.

2) Among these letters is perhaps the one found in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1532 ff, where the section §10 to §16 deals with despair.

No. 1366 .

Wittenberg.

March 7, 1529.

To Caspar Aquila in Saalfeld.

A short letter in which Luther refers him to the oral reports of the bearers of the same.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1720, p. 1066; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 133; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 428 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 63. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1151.

To Mr. Caspar Aquila, pastor at Saalfeld.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although you are worthy, my dear Caspar Aquila, that I write you a very long letter, the amount of letters to be written and other things do not allow for your dignity to be satisfied. Therefore, give me credit and take my will for the deed. But the place of my letters, if you want and desire them, will easily be filled by the rich stock of these men who deliver this letter, who will report to you in detail what is and is done with us, and you know that they are not only worthy of faith, but also of all honor and love. See that you pray to the Lord for me, that he will not leave me in the teeth of Satan. Greetings from our Jonas, my Käthe and all of us. Fare well in Christ. Wittenberg, Sunday Lätare [March 7] 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1367.

Wittenberg.

March 7, 1529.

To Balthasar Thüring in Coburg.

Luther sends one, pastor for Hildburghausen.

Printed in *Schlegel, vita Langeri*, p. 199; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 131; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 428 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 64.

Grace and peace in Christ! This man, Johann Webling³⁾, I recommend to you, my dear Balthasar, whom the

3) The Erl. The Erl. correspondence assumes "Wehbringer" from Landshut, which is correct, who in *De Wette*, Vol. V, p. 16, in the letter of Aug. 16, 1529, is called "M. Johannes Beybringer". Likewise Seidemann in *De Wette*, Vol. VI, p. 702 s. v.

At the request of all, the Lord is now sending him from our midst as a pastor to Hildburghausen. He is poor, [from Bavaria] 1) driven out for the sake of the Gospel; he had a low salary in the office of a preacher at the castle. Therefore, you will be right if you make an effort to reimburse him from the congregation's treasury for the expenses he was forced to borrow here, so that he does not serve there on someone else's pay. You know our poverty, which is daily exhausted by the refugees arriving from all sides, so that I cannot provide for all of them; indeed, if we did not have these refugees and displaced persons today, we would also lack suitable persons. I hope that the papists will also feel this lack soon, since so many preaching places have been done away with and the best people have been driven away. I beg you to pray for me and to exhort your church diligently to pray for this Diet and for all the affairs of Germany, because Satan is loose, raging and raging. The grace of God be with you, Amen. Wittenberg, Sunday Lätare [March 7] 1529.

In the place of his Lordship, he ordered us to hold such meetings in the church and not otherwise, for reasons that some articles should be among them, against which he had previously preached; and for this reason he asked us to give him a favorable leave, which we then did, because otherwise he would have disobeyed our most gracious Lord. Order. But since we need another preacher in his place, so that the murmur that exists because of his departure may be quieted, we are asking E. A. W. very kindly, E. A. W. would be so helpful to us and help us at your place in Wittenberg or otherwise according to E. A. W.'s wishes. A. W.'s opportunity, 2) that we be provided with another preacher who would be pious, skillful, peaceful, and always fit in our present circumstances. We would like to kindly ask E. A. W., who would like to be found unburdened by this, to do this, and we expect the described answer from our messenger E. A. W., so that we have to act accordingly. Date Dominica Lätare [March 7] in the 29th.

To Doctor Martinus Luther. Rath.

No. 1368.

(Zwickau.)

March 7, 1529.

The Council of Zwickau to Luther.

The council asks Luthern for a preacher in place of Paul Lindenau, who had been dismissed.

The original is in the Zwickauer Rathsarchiv, Conceptbuch 1527 to 1529, fol. 257 b. Printed in Buchwald, Wittenberg in der Reformationzeit, p. 56 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 65.

Our kind services before. Venerable, Respectable and Esteemed, Especially Favorable Sir and Friend! From our preacher at Our Lady's, Paul Lindenauer, we have been petitioned in a few different days and have been told, among other things, how it would be burdensome and against his conscience for him to proclaim what our most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c, has left behind him, the councilors and visitors who have recently been here, and who have been sent to

1) The Erl. Briefw. presumes: *e Bavaria*; the other editions offer: *Carnaria* (Carniola); Strobel conjicirt: *Carinthia* (Carinthia).

No. 1369.

Hamburg.

March 8, 1529.

Bugenhagen to Luther, Jonas, Melanchthon and the Diacones (Mantel and Rörer).

About the ecclesiastical situation in Hamburg. He asks for advice on whether he should make the journey to Friesland. Wish to return to Wittenberg soon.

The original is in Hamburg at the Stadtbibliothek, Ms. I, fol. 82. Manuscript in Dresden, *Cod. C 342*, fol. 7 b. Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1745, p. 316; in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 112; in Kawerau, *Jonasbriefe*, vol. I, p. 122; in Vogt, *Bughagens Briefw.*, p. 84; in Mayer, *Evang. Hamburg*, p. 307 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 66.

To the highly learned and worthy men, Doctor Martin Luther, Doctor Justus Jonas, Magister Philippus and the Deacons of the Word, his lords and brothers at Wittenberg.

The grace of God through Christ! I have already written to you three times, my dear Father, but I ask that you all write to me through this messenger, each of you that which he knows I care to know. The people here have already returned to the highest harmony.

2) "und rathen" put by us instead of: "nit entrathen".

My order, which was previously handed over to the Council, will be presented to the people today, so that they can see whether they think there is anything in it that would be unsuitable here; then it will be issued. ¹⁾ Do not cease to pray for us, we pray here privately and publicly for you and for the peace of Germany. Advise what is good for you concerning the journey to Friesland; it does not seem advisable to some that I go there. However, I have begun to pursue the matter by letters and sent treatises, and if the Count should urge, I will see to it that, if it is possible, this pernicious trade is pursued by others. ²⁾ I realize that I have already exceeded my time more than enough, and the count wants to go to the assembly of princes ³⁾ beforehand. I wish to see you. The unconquered need of the Gospel still keeps me here; it has cost many efforts, but, thanks be to Christ, not in vain. But Christ will lead his work out of here soonest. My wife is already expecting her birth, God grant that it may go out happily. Greet my Lord Captain, the Mayor Hohendorf, Benedict Pauli, D. Augustin, D. Stackmann, Christian Goldschmied (*Aurifabrum*, Döring), the painter Lucas 2c., together with their wives, except the wife of the Captain. ⁴⁾ Greet your wives and families and sons 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ keep you all. From Hamburg, 1529, the day after Lätare [March 8].

Your J. B. Pommer.

So great an effort did it cost 2c. [*Virg. Aen., lib. I, v. 32.*]

But "a woman when she gives birth" 2c. [Joh. 16, 21.]; I am not talking about my consecration. Thanks be to Christ. Orally we will say it.

1) The church order for Hamburg, which was modeled after the Brunswick church order, was adopted by the council and the citizens on the Saturday before Pentecost, May 15; however, it was not printed in Bugenhagen's time.

2) Count Enno II of Friesland had sent an embassy to Bugenhagen in Hamburg and asked him to come to Friesland for a short time, to preach there and to confront the heretics and rebaptizers who were there in large numbers. Bugenhagen did not go, but sent Johann Pelt and Johann Timann from Bremen.

3) to the Diet at Speier.

4) Hans Metsch was unmarried, but lived in a lewd relationship. Compare Tischreden, Cap. 21, Z1. St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 611.

No. 13 70.

Weimar.

March 12, 1529.

**Duke Johann Friedrich zu Sachsen to Luther,
Jonas, Hans Metsch and Hans von Taubenheim.**

(Regest.)

Luther and Hans Metsch, because they cannot get away from other business, are relieved of the office of visitors, and "in their place" the bailiff of Bitterfeld (Sebastian von Kötteritzsch) and the pastor of Colditz (Wolfgang Fues) are appointed as visitors to finish the visitation. - This order was issued at the request of the captain of Wittenberg, Hans Metsch, who had reported on February 8 that the visitation could not be finished yet, because he and Taubenheim had been prevented by the escort of Margrave George of Brandenburg (see No. 1347), but Luther had not been "vlast gesundt" for more than fourteen days. In the opinion of Brück, Pauli and Melancthon, who were in Wittenberg at the time, it did not seem at all likely that Luther would be used for the visitation, since during Luther's and Melancthon's absence more than 100 students had left Wittenberg. The presence of the captain there was necessary because of the construction of the fortifications. In passing, Metsch noted in his petition that not much more was left of the 60 florins granted for the visitation.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. Ji, fol. 55 a. A. 6. 1529. 2. printed by Burkhardt, p. 158 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 68.

No. 13 71.

Wittenberg.

March 13, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther consoles Hausmann because of the annoyances he encountered in Zwickau, again recommends Conrad Cordatus, sends the German Litany, and recommends to the Freiberger his writing against the Bishop of Meissen's mandate.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, Na. 51. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, fol. 316; at Gotha in *Cod. 186* and in *Cod. Jen. b*, fol. 108. Printed by *Buddeus*, x. 60; by *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 429 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 69. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1147.

To the in Christ venerable man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful and quite loud bishop of the church at Zwickau.

Grace in Christ and peace, not which the world gives, but the Father of mercies in secret. My dear househusband, you comfort me, as you are a faithful brother in Christ, so comfort yourself instead of me!

ner gratitude, the LORD JESUS, Amen. I know the kind of people who are in your parish. But be faithful and strong until death, and you will receive the unfading crown when our Arch Shepherd comes. He that despiseth, let him despise at all times; he that is unclean, let him be unclean at all times; he that is ignorant, let him be ignorant at all times. Follow me," says the Lord, "what is it to you where those remain who will not listen? Thus the word of the 22nd Psalm must be fulfilled [v. 7.]: "I am a worm and not a man, a mockery of men and contempt of the people," and [Ps. 69, 9.] "unknown to my mother's children," and [Ps. 31, 12.] "a reproach to my kinsmen." Blessed are you, since you perceive these testimonies about you.

Your council has not yet written to me. ¹⁾ Looking in every direction, I see no more suitable man for you than the Cordatus, a learned, serious, wise and godly and sedentary man. About that Paul of yours I wonder why he may have refused to obey the decrees of the prince and the visitators. I fear that he is dealing with some monstrosity. Christ will help us, who has begun his work in us.

The German Litany comes to you, which seems very useful and salutary to us. Yes, the melody, which is sung by the boys in the middle of the church on Wednesday after the sermon, has an extraordinary effect on the people. For we sing the Latin melody in the choir on Saturday after the sermon in a different melody, which is not yet printed.

The book against the Turk will be finished around Palmarum.

To your Freibergers ²⁾ I cannot write anything more useful in the matter of the Sacrament than my last booklet against the bishop's to

Meissen Mandate,³⁾ especially the last quatern H. For many reasons it seems to me not advisable to write more. It must be prayed, because in this piece, as in the whole matter, we are not fighting with flesh and blood, but with the evil spirits, who, even because they are convicted, do not give way to the victorious truth; therefore, according to the apostle's counsel, they must be let go, as perverse people and who have condemned themselves [Tit. 3, 11]. Christ's grace and Spirit be with you, amen. Pray for me. Wittenberg, March 13, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 13 72.

(Wittenberg.)

March 15, 1529.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Of Magdeburg affairs; of the Diet; of the Turk; that Luthern's visitation was taken away 2c. ____

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in *Cod. Gothan.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 8; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 134; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 430 f. and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 72. German in Walch, BV. XXI, 1149.

Grace and peace! We have received the money. By the way, we wrote the other day that you should come to us, which you did not mention in your letter, as if you had not received the letter; therefore, we do not expect you before Easter.

I have not seen Fritzhaus, nor do I know if he is here, but I will soon find out. After the two schoolmasters, and if you should order any other things, we will gladly look around and give an answer. What the matter of Fritzhaus is, will perhaps become clear when he shows himself.

With regard to the Reichstag, I have good hope, nor could a concilium do much harm if it came about, although it is neither probable nor credible to me that it will happen.

The Turk threatens to break in; I fear that he will be the Reformer, sent through

1) Luther had therefore not yet received Letter No. 1368.

2) Nicolaus Hausmann was from Freiberg, and his brother Valentin lived there. Through him, the people of Freiberg (under Duke Heinrich of Saxony, the evangelically minded brother of Duke Georg) may have recovered from Nic. Hausmann Rath's.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1344 ff. The passage referred to is found *ibid.* col. 1390, § 107 ff. Cf. No. 1289, where this writing is set "early Sept. 1528".

the wrath of God. I am deposed from the office of visitation, and this work is being hindered by Satan with extraordinary artistry, but I hope that it will be resumed as soon as possible. I will also 1) do what I can for the virgins in Plötzke. Longicampianus 2) has died; after fervent, terrible and unbearable suffering, he has gently passed away through the wonderful mercy of God. Pray for me, a sinner, my dear Amsdorf, and be well in Christ. Given on March 15, 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 13 73.

(Wittenberg.)

(Around mid-March) 3) 1529.

Alk Hans Metsch, city captain of Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 288.

No. 1374.

(Wittenberg.)

March 21, 1529.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther sends him a letter from the Duke of Holstein in which he requests that the Wittenbergers cooperate in getting Amsdorf to go to Holstein to work against Carlstadt and Hofmann and their followers.

Handwritten in the oock. Uogtood. Printed in Innocent News 1720, p. 1067; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 135; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 431 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 74. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1152.

Grace and peace in the Lord! From this letter, my dear Amsdorf, you will see what the Duke of Holstein desires from us for your sake. But because I believe that it is neither safe nor godly for you to be torn away from Magdeburg so suddenly, it does not seem to be advisable, and it must be

1) We have adopted the conjecture of De Wette, *etiam* instead of *enim*. - The monastery of Plötzke is located in the district of Belzig; during the visitation, the nuns declared themselves ready to accept the new doctrine (several of them already had Lutheran books), although they wanted to remain in the monastery, except for 6 or 7.

2) Professor of mathematics.

3) This approximate time determination results from the letter of Menius to the Duchess Sibyl, which is dated: Gotha, March 8, 1529.

He can be served in another way. However, I send the letter for the sake that you may show it to your stones and blocks in the council, and stand as if you were urged, and you want and need to know whether they can perhaps be moved in this way to return to reason, and to be careful that they maintain schools and raise the children well. I beg you very much to do this with the greatest possible appearance of seriousness, and if they are so good, you may hardly be held back by great entreaties. For I doubt whether they will grieve over your calling away. Fare well. I believe you know that Longicampianus has died, and Marcus Schart⁴⁾ has also died in Hesse. Farewell, on the day of Palmarum [March 21] 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 13 75.

Weimar.

March 21, 1529.

Duke Johann Friedrich to Luther and Comrades.

Order to convert an Anabaptist, Hans Sturm in Zwickau, if possible, or, if this is not possible, to give an expert opinion on his punishment with the help of the captain of Wittenberg.

The copy that was sent to the Zwickau City Council is in the Zwickauer Nathsarchiv, Acten, Hans Sturm betreffend. Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 113 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 75.

By the Grace of God Johann, Hansfriedrich 5) 2c. Our greeting before. Venerable, worthy, highly honored and respectable, dear devotees, advisors and faithful! To the Highborn Prince, Lord Johansen, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., our dear lord and father, subjects, the Council of Zwickau, have, in the absence of his. Gn. a few days ago a trade, concerning Hansen Storm, 6) a

4) See No. 174.

5) In the prints: "Johan Hansfridrich", without a separating comma. But Duke John Frederick, as is clear from the following, left off this letter by order and "in place of his lord fathers", John, the Elector.

6) Hans Sturm, a cloth shearer from Freistadt near Linz in Austria. At first he was imprisoned in the castle in Wittenberg, where Luther often visited him, interrogated and instructed him. Since he could not be brought to recantation, he was finally taken to the tower at Schweinitz, where he died. See St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1070, Tischreden, cap. 37, § 99.

We have received a copy of the verdict from the Anabaptists, who were imprisoned by them for this reason, with a list of his testimony, and have then ordered the Council [that] they should put the story into question and send it to Leipzig to be discussed beforehand,¹⁾ They have now written to us, sending us a copy of the verdict, and have asked us to inform them what they should do about it, as you will see from the documents and copies in our possession.

After we have had misgivings about the Leipzig verdict, we have ordered those of Zwickau to bring the aforementioned Hansen Sturm to Wittenberg, and to place him in the custody of the captain there, Hansen Metzsch, and to deliver and hand him over to him, and this is our gracious request in place of our lord father: Because the judgment is affected, among other things, on the grounds that the storm is to be answered to the scholars of divine Scripture 2) [whether] he might be repelled from his error by the same, you shall, when he is brought to Wittenberg, require the said storm before you at several and as many times as you deem convenient and necessary, and use all diligence to see if you can turn him away from this error by means of divine help and the Holy Scriptures, and that he publicly confesses and recants it at Zwickau, as you would then, if he is moved to do so, make him a note as to what form he should take in recanting, considering the causes, as you may judge; If, however, you could not bring him from his error through your applied diligence, then, upon the consideration of our captain at Wittenberg, all of you should come to an opinion as to what punishment should be meted out to Sturm and what form he should be dealt with in the future, and also put this in writing and send it to us. In the meantime and until further notice, the captain there shall keep the storm under lock and key, for it seems credible to us that many people there are secretly attached to this error, for which reason it is to be moved to impose the punishment in particular, so that further trouble may, as much as possible, occur and be prevented by divine grace. In your gracious opinion, we do not want to deprive you of this.

and do it as a gracious favor to our Lord Father and to us. Dat. Weimar, Sunday Palmarum [March 21] Anno 29.

To Doctor Martin Luther and other theologians, also deans and doctors of the Faculty of Law at Wittenberg.

No. 1376.

(Wittenberg.)

March 29, 1529.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Amsdorf made good use of the call to Holstein; Luther invited him to the wedding of Bruno Brauer.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1720, p. 1066; in *Strobel-Ranner*, 136; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 432 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 76 f. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1156.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It pleases me very much that you have tried your boulders 3) in such a way and have found them so contrary to expectations. I will certainly, since I got this opportunity, write to them roughly and confidently, and remind and admonish them to promote the sciences and studies. You do what you do and push for this very work as much as you can.

By the way, the bridegroom Bruuo⁴⁾ has instructed me that I should inform you of the day of his wedding, namely on Wednesday after Quasimodogeniti [April 7], and invite you to the same in his name. It will also be on Monday after Quasimodogeniti the bride or rather the wife in my house, my Gersa of Quosse. 5) If now my Kätthe should give birth at the same time, you would certainly become poorer,⁶⁾ if all this coincided. Therefore arm yourself in any case, not with iron or the sword, but with gold and silver.

3) *saxa*, the Nathsherren of Magdeburg, compare No. 1374. Walch translates: "that you have so tried your stones, and next to faith so found".

4) Bruno Brauer, whose first wife had probably died of the plague in late August or early September 1527.

5) Seidemann remarks on this in *De Wette*, vol. VI, p. 453, note 8: "Presumably it is to be read: *Qusse* or *Queisse*. The von Quaz, Quaß, Quassow."

6) namely by wedding and godparent gift. - Here Walch translates: "so you would get into poverty, if it would break with everything", and makes the remark: "*concederit*, i.e. the wives, so with him logiren".

1) In the manuscript and in Kolde: "zuuor sprechenn"; in *Erl. Briefw.*: "zu vorsprechen".

2) That is: handed over.

and a money bag, because we will not let you go free without a shun. There is no news from Speier yet, but you will hear everything verbally. Fare well in Christ and pray for me. On Easter Monday [March 29] 1529.
Martin Luther.

No. 13 77.

(Wittenberg.)

March 30, 1529.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Recommendation of the Cordatus. About a marriage case.

The original is in Gotha, *Cod. X 122*, fol. 34. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 3326 (as from 1527); in *Buddeus*, p. 61; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 433 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 78. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1035 (after Aurifaber) and Col. 1153 (after Buddeus).

To the in the Lord highly beloved brother, M. Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful bishop in Altenburg, his highly esteemed [friend].

Grace and peace! Here comes the Licentiate Cordatus, preacher at Zwickau, my dear Spalatin, and delivers this letter to you; he is a man who is worthy that you talk to him, not to praise other things. The matrimonial case sent to us will follow soon; in it we have given judgment for the second husband, and condemned the first, fugitive husband, also according to the decrees of the pope. For we have begun to read and examine also the papist laws, in which we see that not even they themselves look to their rights or care about them, and we are surprised at the first judgment that has been passed by ours. However, I have decided to avenge the ingratitude of the peasants and the mob in such a way that, if those who have to do with any matter are not godly, I will refer them entirely to the officials and let the dead bury their dead. Therefore, I would also have referred this woman of yours to the officials and the lawyers, if she had not, according to your testimony, been a godly woman.

1) Here, too, the Erl. Briefw. reprinted from De Wette: "Walch, XXI, 1033" and, like the latter, did not quote the duplicate.

deserves to enjoy the freedom of the gospel, even though she herself later attained the same according to the Pope's law. For I do not want the swine and dogs to be worthy of the freedom of the gospel, and that only the timid and godly may enjoy our happiness. Otherwise, those will abuse the Gospel the most, to whom it is fitting to be subject not only to the pope, but also to the furies of hell.

You may read a great and good chapter to M. Eberhard, because he accuses me of not having answered your questions or letters. You may do the same against yourself, if he has this outrageous complaint from you, because through your Käthe, you both are either playing a game, or you have been deceived either by love or by the rule of your wives; I remember quite vividly that I have always answered you, even so much that the amount of the answered may have become burdensome to you. Farewell and pray for me poor sinner. Easter Tuesday [March 30] 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 13 78.

(Wittenberg.)

March 31, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther recommends Cordatus, who has been called to Zwickau as a preacher.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in Gotha, *Cod. 397*, fol. 33. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 99; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 434 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 79.

Grace and peace in Christ! Behold, the comrade of your care and the participant in your work, the licentiate Conrad Cordatus, is undoubtedly a faithful and good man, and I hope that he will not only please you, but also benefit the people. Although the wild rabble may not like him very much in the beginning, they will realize afterwards what a man he is. man he is. By the way, Christ comforts you in all your temptations. For thou art the leader of the people whom all the gates of hell hate: what is it to wonder if thou art touched by any part of so great a hatred?

Yes, it is a wonderful and great miracle that we are not devoured by it, nor given to its teeth to rob, who are so small, little and weak, so that the great miraculous works of God in us are sufficiently visible to those who have eyes to see that we, since so many and so great enemies rage, exist as such and so great people, however small we may be. Outwardly enemies, inwardly Satan plagues us among the children of God. But Christ, who reigns, truly triumphs even in us who are weak, and for those who are troubled, 1) he is mighty and sure, and will finally carry out us who suffer tribulation in his day, amen. Christ will tell all things more widely in and by the mouth of Cordatus. Fare well and pray for me a sinner. On the day after Easter Tuesday [March 31] 1529. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 13 79.

(Wittenberg.)

April 8, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Reply to a letter from Hausmann about Cordatus, and consolation because of his fretfulness.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 52. Handwritten in Zerbst in the *Franciscanum*, Ms. 26. Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 100; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 136 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 80. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1371.

To your husband, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, who is to be highly honored in Christ, the extremely faithful servant of God at the Gospel in Zwickau.

Grace and peace! Your Lord Stephen 2) gave me your letter, my dear householder, which was very dear and pleasant to me, 3) especially because it was full of hope that the service of our Cordatus in the preaching ministry would be a prosperous one, and indicated that

1) Instead of *perturbatur* in the editions, we have assumed with the *Cod. Rostoch.* *perturdatis* assumed.

2) The town clerk Stephan Noth in Zwickau had been offered the pastorate in Colditz by the visitators, and he probably traveled to Wittenberg for that reason to consult with Luther about it. He remained in his previous position.

3) In the original: *chariss. jucundiss.*, which Schütze and De Wette have added to *charissimas jucundissimas*, the latter with the note: "perhaps *charissime* is to be read". The Erl. Briefw. offers *chariss[ime] jucundiss[ime]*. We have assumed the former.

you like the man. May the Lord Jesus bless you both, who have been well afflicted so far, that you finally come with joy and bring your sheaves, whose delicious seed you have sown so long with tears and sorrow [Ps. 126:6], Amen. For so it must come to pass that God makes everything out of nothing, out of desperate things quite certain, out of despised glorious, out of shame the highest praise, out of sin righteousness, out of death life, so also out of your sorrowful householder a joyful and grateful son. For it is He who comforts the lowly and afflicted, says Paul [2 Cor. 7:6].

I thank you for your sincere love, that you are not unmindful of me with comfort and prayer. Christ will reward you again abundantly.

Except for this, we have no news. This storm that you sent has not yet appeared before my eyes. From what he has said, I suspect that there is something wrong with the man's mind, or that he is being driven by the raging Satan. Therefore, there is little hope that he can be set right with words. May the Lord have mercy on him, amen. Muenzer's poison has not yet been eradicated. Farewell and pray for me. Thursday after Quasimodogeniti [April 8] 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 13 80.

Wittenberg.

April 9, 1529.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

Luther wished him luck as he took up his preaching post in Zwickau and encouraged him to cheerfully take up the fight ahead of him there.

Handwritten in Gotha, *Cod.* 186 and in Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, fol. 163. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 63; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 437 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 81. German in Walch vol. XXI, 1154.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am glad, my dear Cordatus, that you have entered your preaching ministry safely. But it pleases me that this exceedingly savage people is angry with you.⁴⁾ You will have to put an end to this wickedness of the

4) Cordatus, who was even more vehement than his predecessor Lindenau, had already indulged in outbursts against the Zwickauers in his inaugural sermon, thus turning them against him.

Finally overcome the world and Satan through your patience and humility. Christ is in the habit of laying weak beginnings and weak foundations for His own, so that He may mock wisdom and the carnal mind through His weakness. I would not have wanted you to be received with applause and rejoicing from the beginning. For, dear God, how much danger would that have brought you! How much strife and battle against your flesh and Satan would it have exposed you to; of course, you would never have gained a share in the victory, since you had not fought in any cause, and also you would not have been able to exercise the power of grace and the spirit, and therefore you would never daily become greater than you are. Therefore, Christ has given you both work and struggle (so that you would not bear less fruit as an idle and unpurified vine), so that you would work diligently in words, suffer valiantly in struggle, and learn to devour words, gestures, and mockery with a completely eager spirit. You pray diligently for me poor sinner. Fare well with your Christina. Wittenberg, Friday after Ambrosii [April 9] 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 1381.

(Wittenberg.)

April 13, 1529.

To Gerhard Aecker, Augustinian at Osnabrück.

Luther promises him that he will take care of a young man. From an earthquake 2c.

Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1756, p. 297; in *Strobel-Ranner*, 138; in *Schütze*, vol. II, p. 101; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 437 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 82.

To the venerable man in Christ, Gerhard Hecker, 1) your truthful theologian, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Joyfully and gratefully I received your letter, esteemed man, which was exceedingly pleasant to me for the sake of your pure and pure

1) Gerhard Hecker from Bielefeld, since 1502 in the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt, a teacher of Luther and friend of Längs, was three times provincial in Thuringia and Saxony, later in Osnabrück, where he was active for the Reformation already in 1521, although he remained a monk. He died in 1536 at a ripe old age,

The unity of the mind against the teachings of God. May Christ keep us in this unity of His Spirit until the day of glory, undefiled by the uncleanness of the unholy spirits which Satan has sent against us into the world to deceive the unbelieving and unthankful, amen.

I will help the young man whom you, venerable father, have recommended to me as much as I can, although there is a very large number of poor people in our very great poverty. But Christ is rich enough. I commend myself to your prayers, holy man of God, because I am a sinner and exposed to many devils in great weakness. May the Lord Jesus be with you, amen.

We have not yet received any news from the Imperial Diet at Speier. However, there is a rumor of a very great earthquake in Carinthia and Istria, which devoured towns, cities and landscapes and broke the St. Marcus Tower in Venice into four parts. If this is true, these monstrosities are forerunners of the day of Christ. April 13, 1529, Martin Luther.

No. 1382.

Weimar.

April 13, 1529.

Duke John Frederick of Saxony to Luther.

Luther receives the order to examine Paul Lindenau about his teachings before he is confirmed as preacher in Elsterberg.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. LI*, p. 74, No. 59. 15. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 160 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 83.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! Our dear faithful, the von Bünauf of Elsterberg, have now informed us by means of a preserved document how they have accepted Paul Lindenau, who was previously at Zwickau, as a preacher, with the attached request that you hear from it. Now we have received all kinds of reports about his impropriety with the doctrine and other things in Zwickau, as we do not doubt that you have also received several writings and reports about him and are aware of them. Therefore, we give them, those of Bünauf, the answer and order them to report to the above-mentioned Ern Paulo that he is

Within 14 days after the date, he shall be brought to you, interrogated and examined. If a preacher of many names should present himself to you, you should let him hear what you have to say about his doctrine and other matters, and especially that he should let himself be heard in Zwickau: "he would know such as the visitators of the place have decreed, and not to preach against that which he had taught before, would also be against his conscience, therefore he departed from those at Zwickau", and interrogate and examine him thereon, and if you find, If you find that he should or should not be accepted, approved or confirmed as a preacher, you should inform us of your advice and concerns as to how to proceed, including the von Bünau document, and send it to us, after which we will have to show ourselves and be heard. In our gracious opinion, we do not wish to hold you to this, and you do this to please our gracious father and us. Date Weimar, Tuesday after Misericordia Domini s13. April] Anno 29.

No. 13 83.

(Wittenberg.).

April 14 (1529).

To Justus Jonas.

Luther tells Jonas, who is on a visitation, about his sickness and how things are in Wittenberg.

2) the adulterated malmsey that I drank to please Amsdorf, or that I made it so worse by persistent preaching after the lungs were tired. Thus, the school lies dormant and inactive. Since the voice of theology has been removed from the chair,³⁾ I will put Cruciger in its place. In the meantime, Pomeranus has been appointed,⁴⁾ and has gone to the Duke of Holstein to fight with Carlstadt, which makes me very angry. But they say that Carlstadt fled frightened and I don't know what he pretended. 5)

We do not hear anything from Speier yet. Pomer's wife had a miscarriage or gave birth to a dead fruit that died in childbirth itself. I have written that he should return immediately. The people of Hamburg are trying to keep him forever, for they wanted to give us such thanks for our love. Your house is safe,⁶⁾ also since I am not safe nor a healthy visitator. What do you ask me in these clear cases? but see my opinion in this note. Greetings to me all gentlemen visitators in Christo, and He be with us and will be with us, Amen. Given the 14th of April.

Martin Luther.

No. 13 84.

(Wittenberg.)

April 19, 1529.

To Justus Jonas.

About Luther's state of health; news from Wittenberg 2c.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in *Cod. Gothan.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1720, p. 1065; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 139; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p.441 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 85. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1155.

Grace and peace! I received three letters from the visitator Jonas, none of which I could answer. It is good that you look into the midst of the kingdom 1) of Satan, so that you can see at the same time how far the kingdom of Christ is. During the whole time you have been away, I have been plagued by a very severe and almost fatal catarrh, I have not been able to whisper or make a sound, but I have also not been able to cough, so that I despaired of the return of the voice, and the end is not yet here. There are many others suffering from the same ailment, but not to the same extent as I, be it null that I am suffering from it through

1) We have worked with the *Cod. Rostoch.*, the *Innocent News* and *Strobel-Ranner* assumed in *media regna* instead of *in medio regno*.

Handwritten in an old copy in private possession; in *Copenhagen*, Ms. 1393, fol. 164; in *Cod. Jen.* b, fol. 215 and in *Cod. Gothan.* 451. printed in *Buddeus*, p. 63; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 442 f. and in *Erl.*

2) *sophisticato*. The *Erl. Briefw.* raises the question, "but what is *sophistacatum*?" Here it will be: to add medicines to. In English, to *sophisticate* means to adulterate.

3) Luther was ill, Jonas on the visitation, Melanchthon at Speier on the Reichstag, Bugenhagen in Holstein to fight Carlstadt and Melchior Hofmann.

4) namely instead of Amsdorf. Cf. no. 1374.

5) Carlstadt left Holstein even before the Flensburg Disputation, which took place on April 8, and went to East Frisia.

6) Walch translates *Dominis salva*: "The house saves after all."

Briefw., vol. VII, p. 86 f. Only the first mentioned manuscript (which is reproduced in the Erl. Briefw.) seems to have been made according to the original, while all other redactions distort the text badly, partly by omissions, partly by taking sentences from the previous number.

To the most reverend Father in Christ and Lord, D. "It is right." Greet all your fellow bishops respectfully. Fare Justus Jonas, Archbishop 1) of Saxony, the faithful well in Christ. April 19, 1529.

servant of Christ and his ever-honoring superior.

The grace of God be with you, amen. I thank you for praying for me, my dear Jonas. For I am the one who is most in need of your godly prayers. Certainly, if it is an apostolic gift to fight with the devils and to be frequently in mortal danger, then in this respect I will naturally be either a Peter or a Paul, however the other gifts are not so apostolic, but belong to robbers, tax collectors, pimps and sinners. 2) I have begun to cough and whisper a little again, but I cannot speak yet. I hope for improvement. The admonition is not necessary. When I get well, I will visit your house. Your wife with her mother visited me, wanting to promote some cause, I don't know which, through my mediation; I did what I could. My father, my brother, the brother's wife and the sister's husband, the father of these boys, are with me; 3) they have an extraordinary desire for you. My Käthe is still walking around. The wife of Capellan Johann has happily given birth to a little daughter. The wife of Judge Teuschel was buried the day before yesterday, the wife of the barber (*Balborinna*) Andreas lies hopelessly low, the doctors are pronouncing her dead. 300 German proverbs of Eisleben have come out with rich interpretations. You write about the terrible ingratitude of the peasants. But it must be

1) "Archbishop" here is not a joking expression of Luther, but a word in earnest for Jonas as visitator, as he otherwise often dubbed the pastors as "bishops".

2) In Latin: *sed latronenses, et publicanenses, et meretricenses peccatoresque*. Presumably, this refers to the letter that Luther received from Jonas.

3) The brother is Jakob Luther, the husband of the sister will be Georg Kaufmann, whose sons Cyriacus, Fabian and Andreas were inscribed later, 1530 and 1533, in Wittenberg.

that word, Hebr. 11, 38, will be fulfilled: "The world was not worthy of them. "Yes, indeed, the world is not worthy of these men [the preachers], therefore they must kill them by hunger and thirst, where they cannot do it with the sword.

Martin Luther.

No. 1385.

April 19, 1529.

Wittenberg.)

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Intercession for a student, for further support.

The original is found in the Weimar Archives, Reg. N, fol. 108. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 57, no. 83; in Walch, vol. XXI, 274; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 443 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 66.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! The present letter pointer, He Conrad Leimbach, from the monastery Müncherode, has now three years to the studio of my G. H., Duke Johannis, Elector, E. F. G. father, 24 fl. Now he would like to study here for another year, moreover, he has not been able to produce either clothes or books so far. Because I feel that he has not been here in vain, and that we may use him as a good pastor, as we need more and more of such people every day, my humble request is that E. F. G., if it can be done, will 4) have such money graciously handed over from the monastery's property this year, or from what it has given so far. He indicates that the last year was given by Lic. Blanken, but the latter has no further order to give him. E. F. G. will know how to graciously keep it, because it is not badly invested. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. April 19, 1529.

E. F. G. subservient

Mart. Luther.

4) Added by us.

No. 1386.

(Wittenberg.)

April 23, 1529.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

Luther reports on the interrogation held with Paul Lindenau, and requests that he be confirmed in Elsterberg.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. LI*, p. 74. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, 'p. 58; in Walch, vol. XXI, 275; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 444 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 67.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! Paul Lindenauer, a preacher in Zwickau, has come to me to be interrogated by order of E. F. G.'s order to be interrogated. So I found that the greatest cause of his willing departure from Zwickau was that the discord between him and some others was growing, and he sought ways and means to avoid it. Thus it came about that after the visitators had left for 14 days (as he reported to me), an order was issued to re-establish the two things, namely the weather ringing and the celebration of the apostles' days, to which, as necessary things, he did not want to bind his conscience, and thus accepted the same reason to change. And I also think that there are some in Zwickau who were glad of his request to leave, and have hurried to do so, although it is not bad that he is gone, if the discord could be quieted. Because the city gives him such good testimony, and the visitators have let him stay, since they were present, and now he himself has cleared the discord, and such two pieces do not have much of a chance, and have been left free in the book of the visitators: I consider it good that E. F. G. has left the same. F. G. let the same Paul zur Elstern thus remain, so that the evil mouths would not be given further room to chatter, as if one pursues the wretch for the sake of trivial things, his repugnants for strength and defiance; considered, that, where he does not want rightly

E. F. G. is more powerful at Elsterberg and can be expelled more easily than at Zwickau. I humbly put all of this to E. F. G.'s attention. Christ, our Lord, grant E. F. G. his spirit to do his good will, amen. April 23, 1529.

E. F. G.
subservient

Martin Luther.

No. 1387.

(Wittenberg.)

1. May 1529.

To Andreas Kaugisdorf in Eilenburg.

Luther asks him to help his colleague to take over another parish as soon as possible.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch*; in *Cod. Jen.* B 24, n. fol. 184 and in *Cod. Gothan*. Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 9; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 140; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 445 f. and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 89. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1158.

To Mr. Andreas Kaugisdorf, pastor at Eilenburg, his brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! I will help the woman you recommended to me, my dear Andrew, as much as I can, if she can find a position for herself. Again I ask you to help Nicolaus Foranens, 1) your fellow servant, so that he leaves for the other parish as soon as possible. For it is to be considered that now is the most convenient time to dispose of property and fields along with the other domestic matters, especially since it is said that his people have another in his 2) place. For I have no one else so quickly with such a small income. Therefore, they may accept what is offered. He has served them long enough, more than half for nothing, though he was worth his wages as a laborer. Farewell and pray for me. The first of May 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

1) *Foraneus* == Märker (De Wette).

2) Instead of *eum* we have assumed with the *Cod. Rostoch. eju* assumed. - By populares will be understood his previous parishioners. Walch's translation is incomprehensible.

No. 13 88.

(Wittenberg.)

4. May 1529.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

About a marriage deal. Melanchthon's return from the Diet is expected. Luther has resumed his teaching activities, although he is still suffering.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in *Cod. Goth.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 10; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 141; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 446 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 90. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1159.

Mr. Nicolaus Amsdorf, pastor in Magdeburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! See, there you have the order, full of which you write that it was ordered to you by me, my dear Amsdorf: Do not believe what this faithless bridegroom has reported to you. I have completely approved of your opinion, and sent him back to you, even with displeasure, namely that he prove to you that the engagement is void (for that is what he claimed), or that he marries her, or remains eternally unmarried. This was my opinion. Well, if it is as you write, he must be forced to marry her or be punished with perpetual celibacy.

We do not yet have anything certain about the Reichstag either. We are expecting Philipp Melanchthon's return any day. My catarrh and cough have barely begun to restore my voice. Yesterday and today I read about Isaiah, but half hoarsely. Pray for us. Given May 4, 1529. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1389.

(Wittenberg.)

May 5, 1529.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf.

Luther asks him to be godfather to his daughter born the day before.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. II; in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1160; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 141; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 447 and in the *Erlangen edition*, vol. 54, p. 69. - The beginning and end of the letter are written in Latin, the intervening request for patronage in German.

To Mr. Nicolaus Amsdorf.

Grace and peace in Christ! The last letter of that sophisticated (*captioso*) brew

I wrote the letter I addressed to you in the presence of my Käthe, who immediately began to writhe and feel pain, and about the third hour after I wrote the letter, she gave birth to a healthy little daughter. The Lord has blessed us so abundantly that she gave birth happily; to Him be glory forever and ever, amen.

Therefore, what I did not dare to do in your presence, now that you are absent, I now bring forward with these words: "Respectable, worthy Lord! God, the Father of all graces, has graciously given me and my dear Kethen a young daughter: so I ask your dignity, for God's sake, to accept a Christian office, and to be spiritual father to the same poor heathen, and to help her to holy Christendom through the heavenly reverend Sacrament of Baptism." So you shall be the catechist 1) of my daughter. Heinrich Dichlensis, the vicar of the provost, will meanwhile take your place. The Lord be with you. The 5th of May early, Anno 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1390 .

(Wittenberg.)

(May 5) 1529.

To Margaretha Göritz in Leipzig.

Luther asks her to be Pathin with his little daughter.

Manuscript in Gotha, *Cod.* 402; in Wolfenbüttel, *Extravag.* 72, II, fol. 92 and *ibid.* there, Aug. II, 10, fol. 172 aa. Printed, without an address, in all editions of the *German Tischreden*, cap. 17, § 16 (with the exception of the St. Louis edition, where this passage is referred to); German also in *Bindseil, colloquia*, tom. II, p. 187, Latin in *Rebenstock, colloquia*, tom. II, fol. 131 d (also without the name of the addressee); in the *appendix* to the Leipzig edition of the *Tischreden* of 1581¹, sheet Pppp iij; in *Schütze*, vol. II, p. 373; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 448 and in the *Erlangen edition*, vol. 54, p. 69.

The Magister Göritzin. 2)

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, virtuous woman, dear friend! I ask you for

1) "Catechist" == Pathe.

2) She was the daughter of the Leipzig city councilor Christian Aurogallus. Her husband, M. Joh. Göritz, had attended the funeral of D. Joh. Specht, who died without communion, in Leipzig in 1533, and was therefore investigated. Then he turned to Wittenberg. Later, after Duke George's death, he became a judge in Leipzig.

For God's sake, God has given me a poor young pagan woman from my and my dear Kethen's womb: you should do so well and help this poor pagan woman to become a Christian and become her spiritual mother, so that through your service and help she may also come from the old birth of Ada to the new birth of Christ through holy baptism. This is what I want to do again, to earn for you. I hereby command God, amen. I myself was not allowed to go out into the air. ¹⁾ 1529.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1391 .

Weimar.

May 5, 1529.

Duchess Sibyl of Saxony to Luther.

She reports that her husband, Duke John Frederick, has left Speier and inquires about the condition of Luther and his family.

The original is in Königsberg in the von Wallenrodt Library. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 161 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 91. As a curiosity, we reproduce here the letter according to Burkhardt in its entirety.

By the grace of God Sybylla Herczochynne of Saxony D.G. dear wife. Vnsern gunstigen grus zuvor" erwerdyger vnd hochgelarter lieber andechtyger. Out of Christian love, we do not want to save you from the fact that on the day of your death [4. We do not want to tell you, out of Christian love, that we have learned about our most beloved Lord and God on May 4, which we have heard with all our hearts, and we have not heard anything else from him, than that our dear Lord and God, with a healthy laybe from Speyer, was taken away on the last Wednesday [April 28]. April], which was not eight days ago, and his grace had granted a gracious abbacy of the king, which our here and our mark declared, that our here and our mark would give God the almighty before it in our brethren, which we also highly regretted. All praise, glory and thanks be to the eternal God, who will fill your nights and call upon you. This we could not do for you out of Christian conviction, so that you should also be my wife, praise and thanks be to God, that it has come to such a woman. Also, we would like to know, in a completely Christian way and with pleasure, how you are doing together with your dear wife, and that you are all still well informed about what we were grateful and highly honored for.

1) According to this last sentence, Göritz must have been in Wittenberg at that time.

to hear from you. We also declare that God will grant you and your loved ones all the graces according to his divine will at all times, that you will always consider us as your dearest friends, and that you will always be the protectors and protectors of the eternal Almighty God, and that you will be treated with respect above all else. Date Wymer on Mytwochen yn der chrutze wochen [5. May] ym 29. yar. We ask you not to be angry with us for the sake of our cry, but we do not want to be angry with you.

No. 1392.

(Wittenberg.)

May 6, 1529.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther thanks for a gift and reports all kinds of news. -

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in *Cod. Gothan.* Printed in *Innocent News* 1721, p. II; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 142; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 448 f. and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 93.

Grace and peace in Christ." The clock you gave, my dear Wenceslaus, has arrived and, perhaps tired from the journey or unaccustomed to the new lodging, has rested at times, but it seems to resume its course with time. I say thank you; poor me, I have nothing to give back. For the books which we have recently published, I believe, have long since reached you, and they are such that they are not worthy of the name of a gift. For they are old things that come forth again in another form.

The Lord has increased my family with a little daughter, Magdalena; the mother is healthy and happily delivered.

The Diet has ended again, but almost without fruit, only that the scourgers of Christ and the tyrannies of the soul have not been able to direct their fury. It is enough for us that we have obtained this from the Lord, because we cannot hope for anything from the concilium, of which it is said.

There is with me a man who comes from Venice, who assures that a son of the Doge (*Ducis*) of Venice is at the court of the Turk; so far we are fighting against the Turk that even the Pope, the Venetians, the Frenchman have become Turks publicly and impudently.

are. Yes, he says that recently there were 800 Turks in the French army at Pavia, of whom 300 returned home safe and sound, and tired of this war. These monstrosities, I thought, were unknown to you because you did not write anything about them, but they were written and told to me with these circumstances, so that I believe them to be true. The middle of the night is thus at hand, in which the cry will be heard [Matt. 25:6], "The bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him." Pray for me and be well with yours, and greet all of ours. May 6, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1393.

(Wittenberg.)

May 6, 1529.

To Justus Jonas.

A letter with all kinds of news.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch*; in *Cod. Goth.* and in part, as part of the letter to Jonas of June 5, in Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, fol. 153. Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 172; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 143; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 450; in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 94 and (in part, as in the Copenhagen Manuscript) in *Buddeus*, p. 74. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1163.

To the Lord Justus Jonas, Doctor, and Archbishop of Meissen and Saxony.

Grace and peace in Christ! Surely I see that you are men, because you dare to treat this Loren, 1) like this. Caspar Müller has written almost the same about the Reichstag, and we are expecting Philip. 2) I have had a little daughter, as Taubenheim is wont to say; the mother is so far healthy and cheerful, as if she had suffered nothing. Christo

1) Lorenz Werder, an Anabaptist from Torgau, who was defiant against the visitators and Luther. He invoked a free concilium, the Emperor's decree, and filed a complaint with the Elector. Because he made improper speeches in beer halls, he was put in the Beckerthor Tower. On May 10, he was released, but with the condition that if he did not renounce his error, he would have to leave the Elector's lands within two months. - According to Lauterbach, *Tischreden*, Cap. 37, ? 101, St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1071, "Master Lorenz" and "a goldsmith" are two different persons who were caught in the same error, not just one, "an Anabaptist goldsmith," which the *Erl. Briefw.* offers. 2) Melanchthon arrived on the same day. See *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 1063, Note 2.

be praise and honor. The well-known Jakob Ziegler, 3) a man of great name (I do not know if you know him), has sent a man to me from Venice, whom he has accepted as a brother,⁴⁾ whom I have with me until Philip returns. From him I have heard that the son of Andreas Gritti (*Criti*), 5) the Doge of Venice, is not only commander of a Turkish army at the court of the Turk, but is also in charge of the internal furnishings of the bed,⁶⁾ and (as the latter says) the Venetians, the Pope, the Florentines, the Frenchman have completely and publicly accepted the Turk as a confederate. O monstrosities! Yes, at the last siege of Pavia, 7) he says, the French had 800 Turkish horsemen in his army, of whom 500 were slain, the rest returned home. See what the world thinks of God! At the same time he sent the history of Clement VII,⁸⁾ when I read it.

3) Jakob Ziegler from Landau in Lower Bavaria (his year of birth and death are unknown) lived as a young man in Moravia, then moved to Leipzig, where he published his *libri V adv. Waldenses* in 1512. Then he spent longer years in Italy, where he lived especially in Rome, Ferrara and Venice in contact and friendship with the most important men. In 1540 he was a professor of theology in Vienna, which he left for fear of the Turks, perhaps also because he was considered suspicious of Lutheranism. He went to the Bishop of Passau, Count Wolfgang of Salem, who was himself considered a secret follower of Luther, where he probably died.

4) *Fratrem sibi adoptatum*. According to Schelhorn, *Ergötzlichkeiten*, vol. II, p. 278, Martin Richter, who signs himself at the end of a Zieglerian book, *Directio summa rerum*, which exists only in manuscript: *M. Mar- 't'hus Richter* *us a Rebiczio, Jacobi Ziegleri Landavi frater selectus, scripsi, absolvique XI. Cal. Sept. a. 1532. Argentinae*.

5) Ludwig (eig. Aloisio) Gritti, a natural son of the Doge, who was born in Constantinople when Andrew was envoy to the Turkish court.

6) Perhaps == *cubicularius*. Of which *Lonicerus* says, *chrohic. Turcor. 1584, I, 131: Officium ipsorum est, thalamum imperatoris mundare, lectum sternere, prunas camino imponere. Quinque eorum noctu in cubili imperatoris excubant.... Vocantur Assonglandari, q. d. dilecti et gratiosi imperatoris filii*. He himself, having gained the favor of the sultan, had himself called Bogogly, i.e. son of the prince. (Kretschmayr, Gritti, in *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 1896, vol. 83, p.11.)

7) In September 1528.

8) This history of Ziegler, which goes back to 1526, was not printed, but only circulated several times in manuscript. From such a manuscript it was published by *Schelhorn, amoen. h. eccl. II, 287*.

I was afraid at that very hour that the sky would fall in. In again to Wittenberg, so that he could prove that his home short, the day of Christ is at the door, he cannot forgive. affairs were not his business. Accordingly, my most Another thing at another time. humble request is that E. C. F. G. graciously send us such

Your Hans is safe and sound. The construction of a letter to request him: we also wanted to send letters to your wall is progressing slowly, as Master Hans has been the university and the council, and request him, because prevented by unexpected business. the school has been so torn apart long enough, and

I ask you, if parishes are unoccupied, would you because, praise God, much new company 1) comes here appoint Joachim Hund and Wolf Holzwardt, because they daily, especially from Saxony, we cannot advise Mr. are biting their nails. One is from the Mark, the other, who Johann Pommern to go so long. E. C. F. G. will know how has the female with the torn face, has been sent back to to graciously prove himself in this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, me from Cronschwitz. Show it to me and I will describe Amen. May 12, 1529. Luther.

them in more detail. Farewell and pray for me. I am reading on Isaiah, but I have not yet preached, since the catarrh, which is so persistent, has not yet been sufficiently conquered. Christ be with you. Given the 6th of May 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1395 .

May 18, 1529.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Response to the previous letter.

No. 1394.

(Wittenberg.)

May 12, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks the Elector to call Bugenhagen, whom the Hamburgers wanted to keep completely, back now, since he can no longer be dispensed with.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. O, p. 153. HHH. 1. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 58, No. 85; in Walch, vol. XXI, 276; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 452 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 70.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Mr. Johann Pommer, our pastor, has written to me from Hamburg, how he is preparing to come here again, and has already sent his avenger some way ahead, but those in Hamburg are holding him so tightly that he cannot leave; and further indicates how the said Hamburgers intend to ask E. C. F. G. that he should remain with them forever. To which I answered him that he should prevent the Hamburgers from doing so; for we did not intend to allow this, nor did we hope that our good deed would be done by them in retaliation. Thereupon he wrote to me again and asked to request a letter from E. C. F. G., in which he would be requested by E. C. F. G. again to

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. O, p. 153. HHH. 1. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 162 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 99.

Our greeting before. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have read your letter with notification of what he, Johann Pommer, pastor of Wittenberg, has written to you from Hamburg, and since we note that those of Hamburg are planning to ask us to let the said Pommer remain with them for the rest of his life, we send you a letter to this effect, addressed to the aforementioned council of Hamburg, and we are sure that they will not endure it, as we have also written and ordered the Pomeranian to rise there and come back to Wittenberg. In our gracious opinion, we do not want to restrain you, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date Weimar, Tuesday in the Whitsun holidays [May 18] Anno Dom. 1529.

Notes.

Since we also have no doubt that our protestation, 2) which we made at the Imperial Diet held at Speier, will now be printed at Wittenberg, we request that you send the same protestation, where it is printed, to the reported Pomeranian, so that it may be posted and reprinted in Hamburg and the surrounding area.

1) Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth., lib. II*, p. 121a: *juvenes*.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 301 ff, no. 820.

No. 1396.

(Wittenberg.)

2t. May 1529.

To the City Council of Memmingen.

In response to the rumor that Holy Communion had been abolished in Memmingen, Luther issued this warning letter.

The autograph of this letter is in the Memmingen Archives, from which Joh. Georg Schelhorn first made it known in his Reformation History of the City of Memmingen, p. 137; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 58, N0. 86; in Walch, vol. XXI, 277. in De Wette, vol. III, p. 453 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 71.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of Memmingen, my favorable gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace from Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear gentlemen! Although I am concerned that this writing of mine would be unnecessary, and also unfruitful, yet because your pious city child, M. Leo, 1) wants to go out, and desires such, I have not wanted, on God's good advice, to entrust and ask E. E., in these cruel louses and erroneous separations. For I have learned that with you the Mass or Sacrament has been completely taken away and laid down as an unnecessary or free ceremony, which I am extremely sorry to hear, and which is also terrible. For Christ did not command his word and pen that we should or should not do it. Now this sacrament is Christ's gift and word, as his last will and testament, as no one can deny: therefore E. E. has to worry about a great wrath against your city, that Christ's word and testament is considered nothing at all among you. Oh, dear sirs, wake up, and look on the bright side, such presumption will not do, and may happen that we all have to repay you, since God is in favor of it. I don't know what to do, so I am saddened by such evil cries from your nobility. May the Father of all mercy turn his wrath away from us and give us to do according to his Son's word and command. This, alas, is what Satan finally meant when he first attacked this sacrament, namely, that he wanted to abolish it completely and cut off Christ. O dear sirs, add to this before it becomes still worse. The devil, so far let in, will not rest until he has made it worse.

1) Leo Albrecht.

makes. Be warned, beware, dear friends! It is time, it is need. Christ help and counsel you, amen. May 21, 1529.

Martinus Luther.

No. 139 7.

(Wittenberg.)

May 21, 1529.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Recommendation of an expelled Scotsman. The translation of the Book of Wisdom is in print.

The original is in Wolfenbüttel, *Helmst.* 285, B. Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Litterar. Wochenbl. (Nürnberg 1770) II, 371; in *Strobel-Ranner*, P.145; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 102; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 459 (with the wrong date: "May 25") and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 100. Only the last paragraph in *Buddeus* p. 65 and thereafter German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1163 f.

To the venerable man in Christ, Mr. Wenceslaus Link, preacher at Nuremberg, his superior.

Grace and peace in Christ! Here is a Scotsman, my dear Wenceslaus, whom I commend to you. Exiled from his homeland and banished for the sake of the Word, he wanted to go to you and has requested this letter from me to you, whether he could be advised in any way. He seems to be of respectable origin among his own and well versed in scholastic theology and excels in it. If he could speak in our language, it would have been easy to make use of his work. You do now as it is proper for us to do. We would have kept him in our poverty, but he had causes that moved him to do otherwise.

We translated the Book of Wisdom, since Philip was absent and I was ill, so that I would not be idle; it is already in print, overlooked with Philip's help. For it is to be marveled at how nothing at all is what Leo Jude translated at Zurich, perhaps at Zwingli's behest. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. May 21, 1529. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1398.

Wittenberg.

May 22, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther warns the Elector of a new alliance that the Landgrave is said to have made with several cities.

A contemporaneous copy is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, fol. 94, No. 40. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 59, No. 87; in Walch, vol. XXI, 279; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 454 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 72.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Elector, and Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Among other things, M. Philippe has brought me this newspaper from the Imperial Diet, telling me how a new alliance 1) is to exist, especially between M. G. Landgrave of Hesse and several cities; which does not move me a little, since I was burned the year before, when God delivered us from the dangerous alliance by a miraculous grace. And although I hope that God will protect us, and E. C. F. G. His spirit and counsel to guard against such and such an alliance from now on, I did not like to write about it to E. C. F. G. because of other worries and the compulsion of my conscience, as I know and have experienced that one cannot appear to the devil and his lusts sufficiently and too diligently. Christ, our Lord, will grant it through our prayers that, even if the landgrave continues (before which God will also be gracious) with his covenant-making, that C.F.G. will not allow himself to be entangled and bound in it; for we cannot think of all the evil that will follow from it.

First of all, it is certain that such a covenant is not made out of God, nor out of trust in God, but out of human wit, and to seek human help alone, to defy it, which has no good reason, and may bear no good fruit, is considered unnecessary; for the Papist crowd is not so capable, nor has so much heart, that they should start something, and

1) On April 22, the Landgrave and the Elector of Saxony, the latter at the urging of the former, had concluded a "special secret understanding" among themselves and with the cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg and Ulm for joint defense when attacked for the sake of the divine word. Because of this alliance, a convention was held at Rodach on June 7, 1529. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 522 ff.

God has already defended us against them with good walls of His power. Thus, such an alliance does not create anything more than that the enemy is caused to make an alliance as well, and perhaps, as a defense and protection, they would like to do what they should leave well alone. Moreover, it is to be feared, and perhaps all too certain, that the landgrave, where he has formed such an alliance, after it is a restless young prince, may not keep quiet, but, as happened before the year, may find a reason not only to protect, but to attack; and it is not divine that we place ourselves in such a position, when no one is yet hunting or seeking us.

On the other hand, the worst thing is that in such a covenant we must have those who strive against God and the Sacrament as the more wanton enemies of God and His Word. This is the worst thing that we must have in such a covenant those who strive against God and the Sacrament, as the more wanton enemies of God and His word, by which we would have to take upon ourselves their evil and blasphemy, so that no more dangerous covenant could be made, to defile and dampen the Gospel, and to condemn us body and soul; this, unfortunately, is what the devil seeks. If it will not be otherwise, then God help that E. C. F. G. leave the landgrave, and be separate, as I hear that my Lord Margrave George said and does. Our Lord Christ, who has so far helped E. C. F. G. without the landgrave, even against the landgrave, will probably continue to help and advise.

Thirdly, in the Old Testament God has always condemned such covenants of human help, as Isa. 7, 4-7; 8, 12, and says [Cap. 30, 15]: "If you remain quiet and trust, you shall be helped", for we are to be children of faith in God, in right confidence. But if we have covenants, He will send them to us without our seeking and worrying, as He promises Matth. 6: Do not worry, all these things shall come to you, if you seek first God's kingdom; and St. Peter says: "Cast all your cares on Him, for He cares for you"; and Isaiah: "Who are you to fear mortal men?" The landgrave, who was once so grievously wronged, is not to be trusted, especially because no change has yet been made in him, nor has he repented or suffered.

I have humbly attributed this to E. C. F. G., in the hope that Christ has already done this better and more in E. C. F. G.. C. F. G.'s heart. We ask and want to ask, and also want to be heard, that God, the Father of all graces, will advise us, and keep E. C. F. G. safe from all cunning attempts and requests of the devil, amen. E. C. F. G. graciously accept my letter. Wittenberg, May 22, 1529.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 1399 .

(Wittenberg.)

May 25, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Expert opinion on how a noble abbot who would like to leave the monastery should behave.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 285d; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 464; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I V, p. 559; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 20; in Walch, vol. XXI, 281; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 456 and in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 75.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The respectable, highly respected Doctor, Gregorius Brück, has indicated to me how E. C. F. G. would like me to express my concern about the request of the Abbot of N.,¹⁾ so E. C. F. G. asks for advice as to how he should behave, because he, by order of the Holy See, is to put on the cap again for more than a year 2c.

On this would be my submissive objection, as I have used for myself so far against all outgoing personell, that in E. C. F. G., there are still some people who are not able to advise or tell someone to leave the monastery or to change his religion. For since such matters concern God and the conscience, God's Word and the Scriptures, which teach us what each one should do and refrain from doing, are not only given by way of advice, but also by way of commandment. Therefore, no one may ask me whether he should do this or that; but let him see, examine his own conscience.

1) According to the inscription in the Journal von und für Deutschland, 1785, where p. 431 f. our letter is printed after a bad copy, the abbot of Fulda; thus John III. (of Henneberg) 1521-1541.

know what he will or may believe and do. I cannot advise him, nor can I tell him; for in the event that I advise him, or tell him, and he is uncertain of the matter, and does it in doubt or in a wavering conscience, then I make myself partially responsible, and would be entirely the cause of such sins against God.

But it is not a small sin to do something out of doubt or unbelief (that is, against the first and other commandments); for God wants faith and not doubt. But who will assure me that he believes? Would that St. Philip's Apost. 8 [vv. 36-38] did not want to baptize the eunuch, nor did he command or advise him to do so, but when he himself desired and said that he believed in Christ, he gave him baptism on the basis of such faith.

The abbot's situation is also different. For who knows whether he already believed that he was strong and firm enough in faith to endure future temptations? For we read in the Scriptures, and experience it daily in ourselves, what the devil and all the world does against the right faith, and even brings about, and there is no end nor measure to persecution and temptation. If the abbot should get an evil conscience, as happens to many, and should find himself guilty, or should come across misery, poverty, unhappiness, driving, or some other accident, and should not be able to suffer such things, and should finally think and strive back again, as now many do and have done, it would be much better to leave it alone now.

Therefore, no one can advise nor be called, each one must be his own master, counselor and helper, according to the divine word, and truly belongs to a man and heart that may stand chivalrously. E. C. F. G. have well experienced what the pious princess, Duchess Ursula von Münsterberg, has suffered over this. For it is especially hard to do to high persons full of great dominion, and quite bad, indeed not to be advised by anyone.

For even if they might bring enough good with them in time or find it elsewhere (which is hardly possible for their status), it is to be feared that they might not bear the disgrace, contempt, hatred and disfavor that they would both experience from that part and among ours. Let them then

And who can advise them, since they do not choose to do and dare what the devil and the world do and want to do to them? And who can advise them, if they do not choose to do and dare what the devil and the world do and want to do to them?

But this is what I wanted to advise, because all things are now in the balance, and no one knows where God will let the all-stroke go, that the abbot also suspends his things; perhaps God might so direct that all, or at least many monasteries should be opened, and he would thus come out without disgrace and journey, and with a fair amount of provision. But if they were not opened, it would remain in the above-mentioned manner, that he would have to examine himself, and take his conscience to counsel, and dare on God what he wanted to do, and on no man's counsel. For nothing good would come of it, nor would it last, since he who may not venture on God and God's word or counsel, and yet wants to venture on man's counsel, is an idolatrous, unbelieving heart, which trusts in man rather than God, and certainly intends nothing good, nor will it accomplish anything good, for which I would certainly give no cause nor counsel to anyone.

Finally, I think that because the abbot, of high rank and birth, can nowhere be so well provided for as in the monastery, he should be advised more to stay inside, since in the monastery he would not only be well provided for, and would remain in good and honor without disgrace, but could also create much more good than outside. For outside he can help no one, but mair must help him, and would still have to be of low standing and despised. But in the monastery, he would have everything in his hands, could help many, and in time weaken the monastery atrocities and let them perish, and thus help many consciences to truth and freedom; as the pious princess, the abbess at Gernrode, 1) and many other prelates do.

For if he is serious about having the gospel and serving God, he cannot serve better than to do as now said,

1) Gernrode, a women's abbey in the Anhalt region (Bernburg). Elisabeth von der Weida was abbess 1504-1532.

It does him no harm to his conscience that he remains inside, because he remains inside to help overthrow the abominations and promote God's word, which he cannot do outside. If God wanted me to be such an abbot or prior over a monastery, I would advise the matter much better than if I were outside, and I would chase the devil away in his own color and with his own nature.

But if the abbot complains that he cannot marry, I would rather advise him to take a secret wife, and nevertheless, as I said, because it is neither a disgrace nor a custom among the papists to have wives, until God the Lord sends otherwise, as he will do shortly; for the matter cannot stand in this way for long. Hereby the abbot would be safe and provided for, and should not complain about his friendship, since St. Paul also punishes those who are burdensome to others, and neither work nor accomplish anything for it 2c., 1 Thess. 2 [v. 9].

This time I have shown this in haste, at E. C. F. G.'s request. Command E. C. F. G. hereby to the Father of all grace and mercy. Date May 25, Anno 1529.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1 400.

(Wittenberg.)

May 28, 1529.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends a pastor and his matter to him. About the works of Melanchthon and Luther's translation of the Book of Wisdom.

The original is in the Weimarisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, 199; in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 21 and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 65; in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 174; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 460 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 103. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1165.

To the highly esteemed man, Georg Spalatin, pastor at Altenburg, the faithful servant of Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have decided 2) to send this man, who has given you this

2) The *Erl. Briefw.*, which reproduces the original, offers: *statui*, but has not noted De Wette's variant: *statuit*. Also Walch has read *statuit* and brings the note: "*hunc virum statuit*, is an oversight, since Luther had about the head full".

my letter, my dear Spalatin, with a certain pastor in your vicinity. He has asked me to recommend him to you. Therefore, I ask, if you are able, that you help him in this matter when he asks for your help.

Incidentally, we are indeed quite well here, as befits Christians. Everything that has been brought from the Imperial Diet, I believe, is already known to you. Philip greets you respectfully. He has something against the Sacramentarians under his hand, 1) likewise about the epistle to the Romans, about which he is now also reading. I translated the Book of Wisdom while I was idle because of my hoarseness; it will soon go out in a better form than it is in the Latin and Greek originals. Farewell and pray for me. May 28, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1401.

(Wittenberg.)

May 28, 1529.

To Gerhard Wilskamp in Herford.
Short response to a letter received along with gifts.

First in German in Walch, Vol. XXIII, Zusätze, p. 35. Walch considers this letter to be originally written in German, and therefore wants it to be placed in Vol. XXI, 286. But it is in Latin in Luppe, in Seebode's Neuer krit. Biblioth. für das Schul- und Unterrichtswesen. 1823, vol. I, issue 2, p. 244; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 461 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 104.

To the faithful servant of Christ, the Lord Gerhard, the lamp 2) of Xanten, my exceedingly dear [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! My servant had thrown your letter among all kinds of papers, my dear Gerhard, so that when I wrote and the messenger suddenly wanted to leave, he could not deliver it to me again. That is why I do not fully understand what you had written, since I thought that I could see your letter again. Because, to put it briefly, I felt that

Your heartfelt love for me is expressed in that letter, which is also indicated by the gifts. By the way, to the sister who sent the gift, I again give this sealed book. But I would like to know which books you do not have that are printed here, I would certainly send them to you very gladly. You, as you do, pray for me and all my house, and I will do the same, for I ascribe much to your prayers. Fare well in Christ. May 28, 1529 Martin Luther.

No. 1402.

Wittenberg.

May 28, 1529.

To Jakob Montanas in Herford.

Luther speaks highly of Erasmus, thanks him for gifts, and offers to send books.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 451 and 185. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 103; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 461 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 105.

To Jakob Montanus from Speier.

Grace and peace in Christ! What you write about Erasmus, who foams at the mouth against me, my dear Jacob, I know well enough from his letters and have seen it in them. He does not publish a book in which he does not express the inability of his mind or rather the pain of the wound he has received. But I despise him and will not dignify the man with any further discussion, but if I write something that concerns him, I will deal with the matter myself. I will only think of Erasmus as if I were speaking of a third person, condemning his opinion rather than refuting it. For the man is exceedingly frivolous, who completely ridicules all religions, after the manner of his Lucian, nor does he write anything seriously, except when he writes revenge and harmful things.

Here we are all well, which we attribute to your prayers. I thank you for the gifts which your love for us shows; I would again send books, as I promised before, if I knew which ones or which you lacked, but these, which have recently been published, I send. Fare well in Christ, and, what you do, pray for me, Wittenberg, the 28th day of May 1529.

Mart. Luther.

1) This will probably be the writing that appeared only in 1530: *Sententia veterum aliquot scriptorum de doona Domini* (Corp. Ref., Vol. XXIII, 731), which he revised after the Marburg conversation.

2) Cf. no. 1315.

(Wittenberg.)

May 28, 1529.

To Matthias Drzewicki, Bishop of Leslau.

Luther thanks him for a kind letter and gift.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* B 24, fol. 180 and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Innocent News* 1721, p. 174; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 146; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 462 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 105 f. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1166.

To the venerable Father in Christ, the Lord Matthias, Bishop of Gdansk, 1) his superior to be highly honored in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Venerable father and man to be revered in the Lord! It is wonderful how I was moved joyfully and sweetly in the Lord by the receipt of your letter together with the pork ham, since I realized that you, who are already weakened by old age, 2) are taken and enlightened by the Gospel of Christ before the day of death. I consider this grace of God to be completely miraculous, since I know how the great ones of your class tend to resist the word of God. The Lord Jesus, who has begun his work in you, will also accomplish it. This I ask and desire, amen.

Therefore, just as you, venerable father, desire to see me, it would again be a great delight to me in Christ to see your venerable gray hairs, who confess Christ in this crowd of hostile great ones, from whom they dare to deviate. Of course it would not be right for me, 3) nor would I be free to travel there. But may the Lord give it, who can bring us together, even if only once; he strengthen you according to his mercy, venerable father, and keep you, amen. May 28, 1529. Yours, Martin Luther.

1) In the text: *Gadensi*, instead of: *Gdanensi*. Gdansk is the Polish name for Danzig. He called himself Bishop of Gdansk because this belonged to his diocese, and Leslau, his episcopal see, was an insignificant and unknown place.

2) Already in 1503 he was Bishop of Premysl, since 1513 of Leslau, became Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland in 1531 and died in 1535.

3) King Sigismund I had forbidden Lutheranism in Polm.

May 29, 1529.

Anarg von Wildenfels to Luther.

He asks Luthern to assign Wolfgang Calixtus as a preacher to Cronschwitz.

The original is in the Weimar Archives as a supplement to Luther's letter to the Elector of July 14. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 163 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 107.

Grace and peace through Christ our Savior. Worthy and esteemed dear Lord and Brother! After your Mr. Wolfgang Chalickus [Cholecker, Calixtus] ordered to Cronschwitz to see how it [had] a form, I summoned him to me, because I noted that he was well versed in preaching the divine word, and asked him to go there, because I hoped that he should accomplish something enough by the grace of God. Although he has shown me many shortcomings, I have done so much with him that he gave me this answer: you are his lord and father, whatever you do with him, he will do obediently. Therefore my request to you is very friendly: If he is in need of anything, I will give him advice as far as I am able, and show myself brotherly toward him, for I hope to God Almighty that he will do much good by the word.

He also reported to me how great disorder was in the monastery; I advised him to report this to you article by article, that you had reported it to my lord and asked his C. F. G. that it be changed. I have advised him to report it to you in articles, that you have reported it to my lord and asked his C.F.G. that it be changed, and especially that the preacher be provided with a proper dwelling together with his salary, so that he may not look into the hands of the nuns. For those who have been there before have kept the nuns like dogs; if it should happen to the pious, well-versed man, I would be heartily sorry. If you would seek this from my lord, his lordship If you were to seek this from my lord, his C.F.G. would otherwise order it more recently. Please be so kind as to let this man come here, you shall see, God will grant grace that something good will be accomplished through him. I hereby command you, together with your spouse and children, to the Almighty, who will give us all his divine grace and peace, amen. My hand. On the Saturday after Trinity (Thrienithatis) [May 29] in the 29th year.

A[narg], H[err] zu W[ildenfels].

m. pp. sspt.

No. 1405.

(Wittenberg.)

May 31, 1529.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf.

Luther recommends the preachers of Goslar to him.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Innocent News* 1721, p. 175; in *Strobel-Ranner*, x>. 147; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 463 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 108. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1166.

Grace and peace in Christ! There is nothing new with us that you do not know. I have sent these servants of the word of Goslar to you, so that they may tell you the state of the church in Goslar; these, I pray, you will hear graciously and let them be commanded to you. They seem to me to be good and righteous, and worthy of the favor of godly people. But it is also yours to know such things and to be told of them, since you first laid the foundation of godliness there and did not build on it without happiness. Then it will encourage the godly and timid people when they become aware of our agreement and joy in this matter. At the same time, it will either disgrace or at least hinder Satan with his tools. Therefore, receive them favorably with a friendly face and comfort them with the mercy of Christ. For those who are so fearful of aversions and so anxious for harmony can only intend the best in Christ. Christ keep you and keep you well, Amen. On the last day of May, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1406.

Wittenberg.

May 31, 1529.

To the congregation of St. Jakob in Goslar.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 374. - There the address is missing: "To the honorable, wise, dear gentlemen and friends in Christ, the parishioners of St. Jacob in Goslar, in general and in particular. Line 4 read: as I am able; line 10 instead of: before read: indeed.

No. 1407.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of May 1529.)

Luther's Concerns to the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 518, no. 864.

No. 1408.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early June 1529.)

Think piece.

Concerns things to be done at the visitators.

From a copy in *Cod. Dessav.* A by H. Lindner in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 1835, Heft II, p. 358; also in the *Erlanger Ausgabe*, Vol. 56, p. I,XXIII and in *De Wette-Seidemann*, Vol. VI, p. 101. In the manuscript is written four times in the margin: "Ist ausgericht" by apparently another hand and imitating Luther's handwriting.

Martin Luther memo.

To Torgau.

To Grimma.

In memory of the visitators of Grimma, Magdalenen Staupitzen is to be given a little house of the monastery for the rest of her life, 1) in honor of and thanks to her brother D. Johann Staupitz.

[In the monastery he is to visit Clemen, who is obstinate against the Gospel, and he is appointed 2) to deal with some secret dealings together with Magistro Rode, the mayor, on Duke George's part and the adversary.

[At Colditz a house is to be hereditary to the priest, likewise to the good old man He N. Stogheim, as I diligently indicated to H. Doctor Jonas.

[Here in Torgau, to talk with the common caste:

[In order to maintain the cantor's office and the divine, praiseworthy art of music, it is desired to pay a small sum of money from the common treasury for an organist and about one fl. for paper and writing, for sang books, and to love and support the poor chaplain, who in former times earned his living here in pestilence and all hardships, now in Hans Feil's house, also with a tax from the common treasury.

Whether a village priest of ours has enough supply of 30 or 40 fl. according to the example of Margrave Georgen?

1) This gives us the approximate timing, because as we see from Luther's letter to Jonas of June 15, this was also already aligned at that time.

2) "appointed" in the call, notorious.

No. 14 09.

Wittenberg.

June 5, 1529.

To Justus Jonas.

Of filling a parsonage; of providing for a certain Simon, and lastly news.

In some manuscripts and prints, this letter is welded together with the one to Jonas of May 6 (No. 1393); a large piece is omitted, while another is inserted; thus in *Cod. Gothan.* 185, fol. 3 and in Ms. 1393, p. 153 in Copenhagen. In Buddeus, p. 74 and Walch, vol. XXI, 11891) likewise. - Complete in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in *Cod. Jen.* b, fol. 216. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 164; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 468 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 113.

To Justus Jonas, Inspector of the churches at Meissen.

Grace and peace in Christ! With the letter to Reifenstein for your Laurentius 2) it happens as you wrote. 3) By the way, as you recently wrote and we had asked that Joachim 4) be sent to you for the parish near Colditz, we have come to a different opinion, because he, who speaks in Saxon dialect, seemed to us to be less suitable for the place, which we did not think of before, especially because in the meantime he has received the position in the castle, in which he followed Mr. Nicolaus, who had left for Silesia and preached in your place. Thus he remains here until he is called to Saxony. Now there is something else. This Simon, who delivers this letter, was deposed by the bishops of Thuringia or rather freed at Kreuzburg, in fact without any great fault on his part, but more through the hatred of this hard people, so that peace would exist in the place, and he was highly recommended to me by Frederick Mecum, although he was already well known to me before. For he is well versed in teaching, also in eloquence among the first. But why should I praise him who is perhaps well known to you? I now ask that you praise this one at the

1) De Wette and the Erlanger Briefw. lack this evidence.

2) Probably Laurentius Nieder, cf. no. 1297.

3) Here, the following is missing in Buddeus and Walch up to the middle of the last paragraph, instead of which the section from No. 1393 is inserted: "The well-known Jakob Ziegler" 2c. - "Other at another time."

4) Joachim Hund. Cf. no. 1393.

The provost of Kemberg says that he has a parish in the vicinity of Torgau, which has been taken care of by the better ones, especially since he also has a wife, a very good woman, and two children to take care of; you can certainly use him in any place.

Your wall stands as a wooden one, built by ribs and beams; now it also begins to become a flesh one, through the bricks. 5) We hope that Pommer is on his way and will return to us. 6) Yesterday I took in three nuns who miraculously escaped from Freiberg in Meissen with the help of their parents. One is a noblewoman of Mergenthal, the other two are daughters of Freiberg citizens. That Moab 7) is raging, I know that very well. June 5, at Wittenberg.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1410.

(Wittenberg.) (Between June 5 and 15, 1529.) 8)

To Justus Jonas.

About the affair of Lorenz Werder; news from Carlstadt and complaints about bishops and princes.

Manuscript in Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, fol. 165 and in *Cod. Jen.* b, fol. 215. Printed by Buddeus, p. 64; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 451 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VII, p. 97. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1162.

Grace and peace in Christ, who will bless your work and make it prosper, Amen. As you have asked, behold, Benedict Pauli comes on

5) Here ends the section inserted from No. 1393 instead of what is written in our letter.

6) Bugenhagen did not start the journey until June 9.

7) Duke George.

8) In the editions, this letter has the date: "May 6, 1529", the invalidity of which is already doubted by the Erl. Briefw. doubts. It seems that Benedict Pauli took the letter with him, the *ecce* suggests his personal presence. It is inconceivable that Luther wrote on May 6: "Behold, Benedict Pauli is coming," and only on June 15: "I hope that Benedict Pauli has come to you," and: "You will learn everything from Benedict Pauli." Furthermore (this has been claimed by De Wette for a later dating), the matter of Lorenz Werder, of which the first report will have reached Luther shortly before May 6 (cf. No. 1393), also requires the course of a longer time, since Luther has learned in the meantime, as our letter shows, that Werder has sued him and the visitors before the Elector, and the latter instructs the Chancellor Brück to inquire from Luther about the whole deal. The letter will, as we think, have been written shortly before June 15.

your wish. I, too, if my clumsiness and foolishness should be necessary, will gladly be ready. "Master Laurenz Werder has accused us to the prince with various and great complaints, so that the prince, through the chancellor, has requested from me [a report on] the action and the things. I have reported as much as I remembered, since I have sent the more detailed story back to you for your information. Therefore, it behooves you to keep the story and his words safe, so that if Satan wanted to do anything, you would be ready to shut him up. He would like to present himself as blameless and undefiled, but we would like to present ourselves as defiled and impure.

1) Carlstadt has settled in Friesland happily and triumphantly [for a long time]. In [two] 2) boastful and congratulatory letters, he has called his wife to him; of course, Satan will bring us new monstrosities there. Let Christ be our strength, who strengthens us who are weary and tired. For in truth we are forced to be people like Hercules and Atlas, so much so that the whole world lies on our shoulders. No bishop, no prince administers the office, so that the former only takes care of one church, yes, one soul, the latter only one city, yes, only one house. All of them are angry to destroy the will of God. You are well and pray for me. May 6 (?) 1529. Martin Luther.

No. 1411.
(Wittenberg.) June 14, 1529.
To Justus Jonas.
News from Wittenberg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in *Cod. Gothan.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p.358; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 147; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 469 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 115. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1168.

1) This entire paragraph, up to the final words: *Tu vale etc., is found with slight variations from word to word in Luther's letter to Jonas of June 15. We leave it undecided to which of these two letters it belongs. We do not believe that Luther wrote the same letter with the same words to the same person a few days later.*
2) "long ago" (*diu*) and "two" are missing here, but are in the letter of June 15.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your wall is still waiting for the bricks to be made in the town hall brickyard, because nothing has come of the captain's bricks, for what reason you will hear orally. To M. Milich we have engaged Susanna Muschwitz, the sister of Doctor Augustin's wife. Pommer writes that he will come shortly; when he is here, I will be able to act and work more easily with you in the visitation, if it is otherwise necessary. Philip is toiling away with the care of the church and the community, even to the point of endangering his health. You pray for me and for Christ to crush Satan under his feet. Greetings to all your fellow bishops. June 14, 1529, your Martin Luther.

No. 1412.
(Wittenberg.) June 15, 1529.
To Justus Jonas.
On visitation matters.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 359; in *Strobel-Ranner*, D.148; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 470 and in *Erl.* In all these editions, the second part of letter No. 1410 is also attached to this letter, where it perhaps belongs. We have not repeated it here.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I like indeed (if³⁾ it belongs so much to the matter) that this Stephanus is appointed by you as pastor. Also about Joachim⁴⁾ I am of no other opinion than you wrote. I wonder, however, why you report such things to me; does your decree count for nothing without my advice or consent? 5) I hope that Benedict Pauli has come to you. May the Lord restore your flock (*choro*) to Kötteritz 6) and keep you all healthy and well, amen.

3) In the editions: *nisi*. The first syllable of this word is erased in the codex, and we have adopted this reading. The sense will be (as the following also shows): if my expert opinion is so much needed. Walch offers: "Where necessity does not require otherwise".
4) Dog.
5) In the editions: *scilicet absque meo consilio aut voto. Nihil valet vestra ordinatio?* We have combined both sentences.
6) Kötteritz was ill. The reading ckoro is correct. De Wette assumes: oro.

I thank you for thinking of Magdalena Staupitz so faithfully. ¹⁾ I will gladly help M. Georg Mohr wherever I can, although I do not know whether it would be more advisable for him to remain in Borna in a quiet life than to be transferred to the swarm of peasants elsewhere. Other things will perhaps be reported by Stephan, although there is nothing to write about, since you will learn everything from Benedict Pauli. 2) Pray for us. June 15, 1529,
your Martin Luther.

No. 1413.

Plasfenburg.

June 15, 1529.

Margrave George of Brandenburg to Luther.

The margrave asks Luther for advice on how to carry out a reformation in monasteries and convents.

A copy is found in the Kreisarchiv zu Nürnberg, Ansbacher Religionsacten, XI, 85. Made known through print by Kolde in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XIII, 322 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 118.

To the highly learned, our dear special one, Martino Luthern, Doctorn 2c.

By the Grace of God George, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c. Our favorable greeting before. Highly learned, dear special one! Since, by the grace of God, the Gospel is preached everywhere in our principalities and lands, and outside of them in several monasteries, which our parents have been given the protection and protection of by former Roman emperors, and since many abuses have been stopped in the parish churches and, on the other hand, a proper divine or church service has been established, but, in addition, in several monasteries, all kinds of pontifical abuses are still being perpetrated by the monks. This is the cause of all kinds of annoyance and opposition among other of our Christian subjects, which we, as a prince who likes to be a Christian and do right, want to stop and prevent, and have therefore asked the worthy, highly learned Mr. Johann Brenzen (Prentzen), ecclesiastical priest of Swabian Hall, for advice, and have also asked the priest for advice.

1) The visitors gave her a cottage from the Augustinian monastery in Grimma and appointed her as the girls' schoolmistress.

2) Here follows the section on Carlstadt already reported in No. 1410.

We have received from him a short advice 3) in writings, as you can hear from 4) the enclosed copies. And because our mind is set on acting with brave Christian counsel in such matters, we herewith request you, quite amicably, to communicate to us your faithful Christian counsel in such matters in the most conducive manner, and also to give us different order and measure, or to indicate how we are to conduct ourselves in these matters, so that the annoying un-Christian abuses may be put an end to everywhere in our authority as soon as possible, and correct true worship may be established. For we testify with God that we seek nothing but God's honor, the salvation of our subjects and common Christian peace, and we do not intend to improve the monastery and monastic estates at all, and even if we find it in our council to let the useless persons die and not to take any others in their place, it shall be far from us to turn such estates elsewhere than, according to your and other Christian advice, into the best God-pleasing use.

Therefore, we provide that you should and will give us the most thorough and best advice, and that you will not complain about providing us or a common reformation of all such monasteries and convents. We want to reward this amicably, as is fitting, and to this end we owe you and acknowledge our graciousness. Hereby blessedly commanded by God. Date Plasfenburg (Blassenberg), Tuesday after Medardi [June 15] Anno 2c. 29.

No. 1414.

Wittenberg.

June 18, 1529.

To the City Council of Torgau.

Luther admonishes the council to provide an official residence for the physicist D. Basilius Axt an official residence.

Printed in Lingke, *Luthers Geschichte und Andenken zu Torgau*, p. 88; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 471 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 83.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of Torgau, my favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! It has been reported to me by some in Torgau how your Physicus D. Basilius

3) This advice of June 1: "Ordnung des Kirchendiensts, so in den Stiften und Klöstern fürgenommen werden möcht", is printed in Presset, *anecdote. Brentiana*, p. 33.

4) "ab" put by us instead of: "ob".

I am therefore kindly requesting that an honorable council will make a promise and ensure that your adversaries are not given the opportunity to speak ill of you. Write to me as soon as possible, and show yourselves to be art lovers, so that your Physicus may one day attain a certain dwelling, because God has gifted you so abundantly that you are able to do this easily and well. In this you not only help yourselves, but also give thanks to God and serve Him. May God grant you His grace. Wittenberg, June 18, 1529, Martin Luther.

No. 1415.

(Wittenberg.)

June 20, 1529.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther asks him to find an attorney for Wolf Hornung. He complains about his overload of business.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 360; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 149; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 472 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 119. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1170.

"Grace and peace in Christ!" I beg you, my dear Wenceslaus, that you, you and Osiander, do not leave me with your united efforts, forces and advice, for it is partly my cause that is at issue, namely: Wolf Hornung, who delivers this letter, has finally been summoned to Regensburg, and shall be heard in his cause. For I believe that you know how the Margrave of Brandenburg violently and impudently abuses his wife, in that Hornung himself (because he did not want to approve of this) has been expelled from his house, his children, his property and everything. The sum is: these quite unseemly things this tyrant is doing. I poor man have hitherto supported and fed this poor man who is banished and wretched. "Let stone and rock have mercy." But this I desire, that he may find with you some lawyer to go with him to Regens

burg and assist the poor. He will pay the costs, you may only help him to find one. Do in this matter, I beg you, as if it were my matter and yours. For this is clearly a very great matter of Christ and righteousness. "Let one jump in with his feet and throw in with his fists." Fare well and live with all your own in Christ.

You complain in your last letter that I have not answered your questions. Do not be surprised: if you want an answer, you must write again and remind me. For I am so overwhelmed with letters every day that my table, benches, stools, desks, windows, boxes, borders and everything lies full of breeze, with questions, trades, complaints, requests 2c. The whole burden of church and community life falls on me, so neither the clergy nor the authorities direct their office. You at Nuremberg sit in a paradise and play, because you have an authority that does and arranges everything, while you are safe and idle. But we are also plagued with the affairs of the court, which are not at all ecclesiastical matters. "Judgment day will and must come." Farewell and pray for me. June 20, 1529.

No. 1416.

Wittenberg.

June 23, 1529.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

The twofold redaction of this letter, namely the draft and the actually sent letter, can be found in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XVII, 1932, No. 20.

No. 1417.

(Wittenberg.)

June 29, 1529.

To Michael Stiefel in Lochau.

Luther invites him to come to Wittenberg for a visit.

Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 66; by *De Wette*, Vol. III, p. 476 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 124 f. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1171.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Behold, my dear Michael, here are Wilhelm Rink, with Magister Eisleben, and Alexander Drach.

städt and Wolf Heinzen. But since you come to us very seldom, so that I wonder what you are doing or thinking, I would like, and they would like, that you come here to us as soon as you have seen this, in order to rejoice with them in the Lord. Farewell. June 29, 1529, M. Luther.

No. 1418.

(Wittenberg.)

June 29, 1529.

To Michael from the streets in Borna.

Luther asks him to work towards improving the salaries of the preachers in Borna.

Handwritten in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, fol. 54b, A.5.1529. 55. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 60, no. 89; in Walch, vol. XXI, 286; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 476 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 87.

To the honorable and firm Michael von der Straßen, to Born Geleitsmann, my favorable lord and good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, favorable, dear Lord and friend! I am writing this letter to you secretly because I am also compelled by reason, namely, that I have investigated your chaplain, as is the case everywhere at Born, because your preacher 1) so nearly desires to leave. Now you know that he will also get a leave of absence this time, and after that, since he came to Ludwig, he will again desire from all of you: I am not a little moved by such unsteady, fickle behavior on your part in Born, and I am concerned that you will certainly not keep a preacher in the end. I have also heard from the chaplain that he nevertheless has 4 fl. a year, the preacher 36 fl.; so I am surprised that you all at Born do not do otherwise, or think that it is impossible for a preacher to live on it. Therefore, my diligent request is that you help me do the best you can, for in the end no good can be said of you Bornians, and in time you will be blamed for not asking about the Gospel. I would have written this to the council, but I would have liked to be reminded and advised of the matter secretly by you first. Greetings to your vine and grapes. June 29, 1529 . Luther.

1) Georg Mohr.

No. 1419.

(Friedewald.)

(July 1, 1529.)2)

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

Answer to No. 1416: The Landgrave urgently invites them to meet for a friendly discussion with Oecolampad and his followers in Marburg on Michaelmas, so that the discord in our religion, "for the sake of the flesh and blood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ," can be settled. The opposing party had already stated that they wanted to appear.

According to the concept found in the Marburg archives, printed in Neudecker, *Urkunden aus der Reformationzeit*, p. 95, No. 28; in Bindseil in the Supplement to the *Corp. Ref.*, p. 49 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 125 f.

No. 1420.

(Wittenberg.)

July 6, 1529.

To Spalatin.

Luther assigns the matter of the pastor in Borna, Georg Mohr, to the visitors.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 219. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 66; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 477-and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 127. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1172.

To the man who is to be highly honored in Christ, Mr.

Georg Spalatin, the extremely faithful and fair servant of the Gospel of Christ at Altenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! You sent M. Georg Mohr to me in vain to obtain the house, my dear Spalatin. For bringing such things to the court is of no use, since they are rather sent from the court to us visitors, who administer our office as executors with the fullest authority. Therefore, everything that the visitors decree becomes a settled case, and it may not be invalidated, nor, if someone's request has been neglected, made good. Accordingly, it will be up to you, if you have not yet brought the deal to court, to help this Georg Mohr and give him this house while you still have the power. There you have my Mei

2) The concept is without indication of place and time. Both, however, result from the fact that on the same day the invitations to Zwingli, Oecolampad, Jakob Sturm and Osiander were written, of which the letter to Zwingli offers the above date.

ning. Other things at another time, because I am extremely busy. Farewell in Christ. The 6th. Yours, Martin Luther.

You will indicate the same for M. George to the other comrades or to your colleagues, the visitors. I ask this for the human being.

No. 1421.

(Wittenberg.)

July 8, 1529.

Luther and Melanchthon to Landgrave Philip.

Commitment to come to Marburg on the certain: day.

The original is in the Marburg Archives. Printed in Kuchenbecker's *Analect. Hass, Collect. X.*, Marburg 1736, p. 406; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. I, 1080; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XXII and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 104.

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, Ziegeuhain, Dietz and Nidda, my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! Since E. F. G. has received both of our writings and continues to insist that we come to Markburg, in the good hope that unity will result from it, we will also gladly and willingly do our part and, by God's grace, appear at Markburg at the appointed time, if we are healthy and alive. May the Father of all mercy and unity grant His Spirit that we may not come together in vain, but for good and not for harm, Amen. May Christ be E. F. G. governor and leader, Amen. VIII. July 1529.

E. F. G. subservient

Martin Luther. Philip

Melanchthon.

No. 1422.

(Wittenberg.)

July 10, 1529.

To Jakob Probst in Bremen.

Luther exhorts him not to be weary by the adversities that befall him in his ministry, but to persevere.

An alleged original is found at Hildesheim in the library of the *Gymnasii Andreani* (on the back of the title page of a New Testament, Wittenberg 1540 by

Lufft) with the wrong year 1540.¹⁾ Printed by Sim. Musaeus, *articuli de instauratione ministerii*.

1561 (in the introduction); in *Lutheri comment. in Joann. ep. cath. ex editione Neumanni. Lips.* 1708, Octav, p. 197; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 478; in Liintzel, *Annahme des Glaubensbekenntnis von Seiten der Stadt Hildesheim*, 1842, p. 160 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 128. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1174.

To the brother Jakob Probst, who is highly esteemed in Christ, the extremely faithful evangelist at Bremen 2c.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I understand from your letter, my dear Jacob, that you are heartily tired and weary of bearing the ungodly nature that you still see growing and rising from day to day, so that you are thinking of changing or leaving your place. Beware of doing that. For if you want to carry only the good, what special thing are you doing? Do not the tax collectors and sinners do the same? [Be of good courage, and undaunted, and wait for the Lord" [Ps. 27:14]. Remember the holy man Lot, and remember that the apostle Peter foretold and pictured that all Christians in the last days would be like Lot [2 Pet. 2, 7]. Therefore, let us not go out of Sodom nor leave it until an angel comes from heaven and takes us away [Gen. 19:15, f].

The world is a Sodom. In Sodom we have to live and see all the evil that plagues the righteous souls. But so their end draws near, so the iniquities of the Amorites become full [Gen. 15, 16.], so they bring upon themselves a swift condemnation [2 Petr. 2, 1]. Fare well and pray for me, a sinner.

Of the Turk it is said for certain that he is in Hungary with an innumerable army. 2) May the grace of God be with you. Greetings to your Eva. Greetings from my Käthe. 3) On the 10th day of July 1529. Mart. Luther.

1) That this year cannot be correct has been proven by von Bippe in *Brem. Jahrb.*, XVII, 162. See also below.

2) On May 10, the Sultan had set out from Constantinople on his march, on which he came as far as Vienna. - The fact that this event is reported in almost the same words in the next letter confirms our assumption of the timing of this letter to Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 571, Note 10.

3) This indicates that the letter was written from Wittenberg. This also serves to confirm the date, because on July 10, 1540, Luther was at the convent in Eisenach.

No. 1 423.

Wittenberg,

July 10, 1529.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

A family message and other news.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 562; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 151; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 479 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 130. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1173.

Grace and peace! From your last letter, my dear Amsdorf, I see that mine has not been handed over to you, in which I informed you that the Doctor Teutleben 1) has become your brother-in-law, and Sophie, your sister, has become his bride, and also the Princess Catharina agrees and wishes happiness. For he has returned cheerful and highly idolized, full of love and favor towards his bride, whom he praises and holds in high esteem. After these matters were happily settled, he went to his father to put his affairs in order and to negotiate about the day of the wedding. He is very worried about this matter, because he says that he and two others will be married at the court on Martinmas. He says that this delay is inconvenient both for him and for his bride, and that both would prefer that the wedding be accelerated outside the court. He will also come to you to discuss these matters. You know that for lovers a wedding is difficult and sometimes dangerous. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me.

The prince returns to Torgau today with the entire court. Carlstadt also asks again for the grace to return, but not at all humbly (*semihumilis*). I don't know what I should do; I am lamented by the

wife and children. 2) Mau says that it is quite certain that the Turk is approaching from Poland and that he has already reached Hungary with an innumerable army. Wittenberg, July 10, 1529: Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1424.

(Wittenberg.)

July 13, 1529 (?). 3)

Ordination certificate for Wenc. Kilmann to Passerin.

Printed in "Neue Beiträge von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachen," 1761, p. 285 (year 1539); in Seidemann, "Lutherbriefe," p. 55 (year 1539) and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 131.

Wenceslaus Kilmann came to us and presented a credible testimony, which testified that he led a godly and honorable life, which the witnesses had recognized and seen in him for a long time. However, since he had been called to the preaching ministry in a neighboring congregation, in Passerin, to teach the gospel and administer the sacraments, he requested ordination from us. We therefore examined his learning and found that he had a good grasp of the summa of Christian doctrine and that he diligently studied the prophetic and apostolic writings and accepted the opinion of the general church of Christ. We have also seen that he has good gifts for teaching. He has also promised to be diligent and constant in teaching and to faithfully present the unadulterated doctrine that our church professes. We have therefore confirmed the profession of this Wenceslaus, and by ecclesiastical ordination have commanded him the office of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments according to his profession, because it is commanded by God that the churches examine and ordain the ministers of the Gospel, and place fit governors in other churches, and the synod to

2) Carlstadt was still in Oldersum in East Frisia; still on August 19, he sent a request from there to the landgrave to be allowed to participate in the Marburg conversation.

3) The year 1539, which is found in the two older prints, is in any case wrong. Kilmann was inscribed in June 1527 in Wittenberg, and we find him in 1533 in Passerin as pastor, where he complains in this year about the old pastor to the visitors. In 1538 he became pastor at Soldin in the Neumark.

1) D. *juris* Caspar von Teutleben, a friend of Luther, was the brother of the Bishop of Hildesheim, Valentin von Teutleben, an opponent of the Reformation. He was a docent in Wittenberg and became a churfürstlicher Rath at the court of Torgau in 1536. His bride, Sophia von Amsdorf, was court servant of the wife of Duke Heinrich zu Sachsen, Catharina, in Freiberg. The wedding took place on November 7. At the same time, Anna von Dieskau was also married to Hans von Rochaw (cf. *De Wette*, vol. VI, p. 453, note 9).

Nicaea has decided godly and with good consideration that churches should seek ordination from neighboring churches. But ordination is not to be sought by those who persecute the gospel of Christ; they are to be avoided as accursed people, as Paul says [Gal. 1:8]: "If anyone teaches another gospel, let him be accursed." Therefore, it is certain that our ordination is valid by divine authority and according to the testimony of the Synod of Nicaea. Therefore we commend this Wenceslaus to godly churches, and pray that the Holy Spirit may govern his ministry for the upbuilding of the glory of God and of our Lord JEsu Christ and for the salvation of the church. Given at Wittenberg, July 13, in the year of Christ 1529.

(L. S.) (L. S.) (L. S.)

T)he pastor of the church at Wittenberg and the other ministers of the gospel at the same church.

Martin Luther.

Johann Bugenhagen, Pomeranus.

No. 1425.

(Wittenberg.)

July 14, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks that Nicolaus Hausmann, pastor at Zwickau, be given a gracious hearing.

The original is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, fol. 108, 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 60, No.91; in Walch, vol. XXI, 288; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 480 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 88.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Chiselt, my most gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. The faithful, pious man, the pastor of Zwickau, Nicolaus Hausmann, has been with me for several days, and has arranged things concerning conscience. Now he also has other matters concerning external things, in which he needs E. C. F. G.'s gracious advice and help, and so shamefully that he would like to exaggerate E. C. F. G. with it, and does not like to present it. Is therefore to E. C. F. G. my

I would like to ask E. C. F. G. to provide him with gracious interrogations, so that the good man may also come to the end of his matters; for E. C. F. G. know the man, that he is pious and worthy. Christ, our Lord and Savior, be with E. C. F. G. always, Amen. July 14, 1529 E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1426.

(Wittenberg.)

July 14, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks that Wolfgang Calixt, preacher at Cronschwitz, be provided with pay and housing, and encloses the letter of Anarg von Wildenfels (No. 1404).

The original is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, fol. 108, 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 60, No.90; in Walch, vol. XXI, 287; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 480 f. and in the Erlangen Edition, vol. 54, p. 89.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! This Wolfgang Calixtum, which I sent to Crouswitz by order of E. C. F. G., is to be tried for a short time. I have now been able to go there again, although with difficulty, considering that not only the nuns in the monastery, but also the bailiff and the castle, as well as the noble Lord Onarg von Wildenfels with writings, have highly desired and requested this of me, in the good hope that he should produce great fruit, as he has begun, because they cannot praise the man enough. Now he complains that a preacher is not provided with pay and housing: therefore my humble request is that E. C. F. G. graciously see to it that he is provided, as he himself will perhaps continue to show. For as far as he has allowed himself to be moved, I have also put him off, and if he could bring the nuns to peace, and please them all, as they write, the fare would be very reasonable.

not badly invested. E. C. F. G. will know well how to keep.
Hiemit GOTT befehlt, Amen. July 14, 1529.

E. C. F. G.
subservient Martin Luther.

If E. C. F. G. desires, they may hear for themselves
from von Wildenfels' letters, enclosed here, how they
regard the man.

No. 1427.

(Wittenberg.)

July 14, 1529.

To Conrad Cordatus at Zwickau.

Luther admonishes him not to become despondent because
of the Zwickauers' hardness and ingratitude.

Printed in Schlitzze, Vol. II, p. 104; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 481
and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 133.

Grace and peace in the Lord! And you, my Cordatus,
be strong in Christ, so that you may be able to bear your
hard and ungrateful oppressors, and not lose heart, nor
plan to change the place. This challenge will prove you
better than any other has ever done. Remember that the
world is the world, that is, an enemy of the Word of God
and an adversary of God. Therefore, it is wonderful if
among the enemies of God some, however few they may
be, are found to be friends of God. The world loves its
own, and precisely because the world despises and hates
us, we recognize that we are not of the world, but chosen
out of the world [John 15:16 ff]. But you have not yet
suffered, nor do you suffer, anything other than Satan
made flesh, who through the flesh, as hindered by a slow
instrument, cannot harm as much as he would like; but I
believe to suffer the devil separated [from the flesh] and
mighty by his majesty. Therefore, you act brotherly in
comforting me so sweetly and praying faithfully. So
continue and pray for me, as I do for you, that we may
finally be delivered and in the meantime bear fruit in
patience for Christ, amen. July 14, 1529. Greetings to
your rib beloved in the Lord. Yours, Martin Luther.

No 1428.

(Wittenberg.)

July 14, 1529.

To Count Albrecht zu Mansfeld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1216, no. 145.

No. 1429.

(Wittenberg.)

July 17, 1529.

To Christian Bayer, Chursächsischen Chancellor.

Request response to Carlstadt's request for escort.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, p. 367. 183.
Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 93; in Walch, vol. XXI, 288
f.; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 483 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54,
p. 91.

To the respectable, highly respected Mr. Christiano
Bayer, Chancellor of Saxony, my favorable master
and dear godfather.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, esteemed
Doctor, Chancellor and dear Godfather! D. Carlstadt's
wife has diligently asked me to request a written escort
from M. G. H. for her doctor, who wanted to go in again,
after some appeals from the visitators, which were made
to her beforehand. Now everyone says so badly that I
have no hope of acquiring such escort; therefore my
friendly request is that you help me to get an answer to
this request from the Chancellery, so that I may redeem
my faith that I have sought it: if I could, I would earn it
again. I, my faithful Käthe and all greet your dear Heva
Barbara, Christiana, Isabellam, our godmother, kindly.
God be with you, Amen. July 17, 1529, Martin Luther.

No. 1430.

Wittenberg.

July 18, 1529.

To Georg Vogler, Chancellor at Ansbach.

Luther recommends Bernhard Ziegler as a teacher of Hebrew
at the college to be established in Ansbach.

From the Ansbach Archives in Reinhard's Contributions, Th. 1,
p. 134; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 484 and in the Erlangen Edition,
Vol. 54, p. 92. Ueberall as from July 18 (see below).

1) The original has July 17. Luther himself crossed out the last
I of XVIII. (Burkhardt, p. 165.)

To the honorable, prudent Georgio Vogler, Chancellor at Onolzbach 2c., my favorable lord and friend for his own hand.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, careful, dear Lord and friend! Herewith I am sending you a letter from Magister Bernhard Ziegler; and because I notice that the wood has already been put to the fire that he should teach Ebräisch with you, I want to help with this and ask you to let him be commanded to do so. But I will not leave it with the reservation, where I can keep him here, because I do not like to let him come from us, because he is the most learned, most diligent, most pious, most faithful Ebrew, whom I know, and do not think his peers live much now. But if he is granted to M. G. H., Margrave Georgen, I will gladly grant it to H. F. G. as well. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. July 18, 1529.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1 431.

(Wittenberg.)

July 18, 1529.

To Margrave George of Brandenburg.

Response to No. 1413: How to deal with the monasteries; establishment of high schools and schools for children. Recommendation of Georg Schlegel for support.

The original is in the Nuremberg County Archives, Ansbacher Religionsacten, XI, 93. Printed in Reinhard's Beiträgen, Th. I, p. 134; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 485 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54, p. 93.

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord George, Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Stettin, Pomerania, Prince of Rügen, Burgrave of Nuremberg, my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I have delayed E. F. G. a long time with the answer, although unwillingly; for at first I was not idle, since the messenger suggested, then I did not have certain message; E. F. G. will graciously grant it to me. But now that I have received this He Georgen Schlegel certain Ganges, I hereby wish to [indicate] to E. F. G.,¹⁾ what I, together with the advice and concerns of M. Phi

lipps Melanchthon for the best in this matter.

First of all, we consider it good to let the monasteries and convents remain until they die out; for since the old ones still live in them, there is not much hope that it would go peacefully where they would be forced to promote or tolerate such innovations; also, in the end, such lections and ordinances, which are reestablished from the previous old examples, would in time again become a barren entity, as has happened so far. But what one would want to reestablish of such old good order of church services, that 2) one would do it in the common children's schools and parish churches, where the common man would also come to and be stimulated, as we do here in Wittenberg and other cities.

For another, it would be fine for the F. F. G. to establish a place (or two) in the principality for a high school, where not only the Holy Scriptures, but also law and all kinds of arts would be taught, from which schools learned people could be taken as preachers, pastors, scribes, councilors 2c. for the whole principality. And for this purpose, the monasteries and convents should be ordered to pay an inheritance, so that they may receive good scholars with honest salaries: 2 theologians, 2 jurists, 1 medicum, 1 mathematicum, and four or five persons *per grammar, dialectica, rhetorica, etc.* For where there is to be a good study, there must not be empty cloisters or empty monasteries and "Stiftkirche", but a city in which many come together and practice and stimulate and do among themselves. Solitary studies do not do it, common ones do it, since many give cause and example to the other 2c.

Thirdly, that in all towns and villages good children's schools be prepared, from which one can "take and choose" those who are capable of high school, from which one can draw men for country and people. And where the towns or citizens were not able to do so, that one should donate scholarships from the "finished monasteries and convents to obtain some skilful assistants", so that each town would have one or two students.

In time, when the common man see

2) In the editions: "das man thät".

1) Luther forgot one word here.

If their sons are able to become pastors, preachers and other offices, they will probably keep the same ones in school again who now think that no scholar can be fed.

Whether some scholars, educated in such schools, might come to serve and hold office in other principalities, and want to be pretended that other masters' people would be attracted to them: 1) it is to be considered that one has no harm to them; for they would undoubtedly promote such schools and foundations with other princes and people and make favor 2c. Such I wanted to indicate to E. F. G. according to my little understanding. May God give His Holy Spirit to E. F. G. to improve all this and to accomplish His good pleasure in all things, Amen. July 18, 1529.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

I also ask, my gracious lord, if it would please E. F. G., to give Georgen Schlegel of Gunzenhausen a piece of the prebend that he may study here with us for a while; for he will become a good pastor or preacher, as we consider him. So he is also a child of the country 2c.

No.1432.

(Wittenberg.)

July 19, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther recommends Wolfgang Rappolt to him.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 93. Handwritten in Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 32 b. Printed in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 152; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 105; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 487 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 136. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1372.

To the man highly revered in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful and diligent bishop of Zwickau.

Grace and peace in Christ! This Wolfgang Rappolt is leaving us to go to his Nuremberg, after he has been released by us upon his request. It is certain, however, that he will address you, but we have not let him go empty-handed, given our poverty, and would like to see him healthy.

1) This "for" seems too much for us.

The patient could have worn his condition for a longer time if he had wanted to.

Besides, there is nothing new to write about, especially since I was uncertain whether you had returned home. Pray faithfully for me, a sinner, and be well in Christ. July 19, 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 1 433.

(Wittenberg.)

July 19, 1529.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther recommends the drunken Wolfgang Rappolt to him for support.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p.361; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 153; in De Wette, vol. III, p.487 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 137. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1175.

Grace and peace in Christ! This Wolfgang Rappolt, who came to us before (if I am not mistaken), recommended by you, I again recommend to you, my dear Wenceslaus, that he returns to you. For although we wanted to keep him back, so that we did not burden others 2) as we otherwise supported him from the ecclesiastical collections: yet he stubbornly set his mind on changing the air and the place in order to restore his health. Therefore we let him go, gave him ten florins for carriage and traveling money, and paid his debts, that we might not leave him empty as he came. For he says he has relatives at Nuremberg whom he confidently hopes will support him. Therefore, if your help should be necessary for him to be taken in either in a hospital or with his relatives, you will be doing a work of mercy, for we too have kept him in our poverty long enough so that he did not want to be a burden or a complaint to us, even though we were willing to continue to feed him out of forbearing love. If it should be necessary, make use of Osiander's service and help. Pray for me, a poor sinner. July 19, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

2) Here we have assumed with De Wette *alios* instead of: *alienos*.

See also that you pray for common peace. Satan is planning a great evil for Germany through our people, to an unbearable trouble for the gospel.

No. 1434.

(Wittenberg.)

July 29, 1529.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

Ask for a refuge for the fugitive pack.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 106; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 488 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 138.

Mercy and peace! Behold, my dear Amsdorf, we offer the poor and exiled D. Otto Pack to your mercy, because we fear that it will happen that Duke George will look for him among us. Therefore, we believe that he will be safer in Magdeburg; you want to cooperate in this, because in this man, God is served. But we know that you will do everything. From him you will hear the whole tragedy. July 29, 1529. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1435.

Wittenberg.

July 31, 1529.

To Johann Brismann in Riga.

Luther consoles Joh. Brismann, who was struggling with difficulties, tells him about the Marburg conversation and complains about the Landgrave's restless spirit.

The original is in Königsberg in the Wallenrodt Library. Printed by *Andr. Vogler*, No. 7; in *Erläut. Preuß.*, III, 202 (incomplete); in *Acta Borussica*, I, 803; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 154; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 490 (with the wrong date: August 2) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 139.

To Mr. Johann Brismann, the faithful and sincere servant of God at the Gospel in Riga 1) in Liefland.

Grace and peace in Christ! Finally, a certain and reliable messenger has come to you, and more than a messenger, Johann Lohmüller, the syndicus and envoy of your city, my dear Brismann, so that I can

1) At the request of Wilhelm, the brother of Duke Albrecht of Prussia, Brismann left Königsberg for Liefland in October 1527 and remained there until June 21, 1531. Conditions there, especially in Riga, were difficult because the cities were trying to gain political independence from the Teutonic Order and the archbishop.

I would have no excuse if I did not write to you. First of all, I thank the Lord for calling and guiding you there; then I thank him for the fact that some people like you and others do not like you. For so it is also with us, that false brethren trouble us more than the adversaries, and we are only now compelled to learn what it is that St. Paul so often complains about false brethren. Since they were not able to do anything before us and without us, they now live up to the praise of their progenitor: "He that eateth my bread treadeth me under foot. But since even the Lord Christ, and before him the prophets, and after him the apostles, were compelled to suffer such people, who are we that we should refuse to be conformed in the same likeness to Him whom we preach, since even they, the people of an exceedingly tender heart, were no less moved by the very burdensome and ignominious likeness of the agonies, so that Christ clearly indicates this pain Matth. 18:6, where he judges the perpetrators of the offense with such a terrible sentence that a millstone is hung around their neck and they are drowned in the deepest part of the sea. Therefore remember the psalm of consolation and exhortation, which says [Ps. 27:14.] "Harvest thou the LORD, be of good cheer, and do not fear, and wait for the LORD." Dear Lohmüller will report everything about me and, as an eyewitness, everything that is going on with us.

The Landgrave of Hesse summoned us to Marburg on St. Michael's Day in order to attempt a union between us and the Sacramentarians. After we, Philip and I, had refused for a long time and resisted in vain, we were finally forced by his impetuous urging to promise that we would come, but I do not yet know whether the journey will go ahead. We have no good hope, but stand in the suspicion that everything is full of pitfalls, so that they may carry off the honor of victory, as we see that in the time of Arius such meetings always did more harm than good, and the glorious Arians continued to spread theirs. Osiander of Nuremberg, Johann Brenz and others have also been called, but they very much refuse to come.

Whatever may happen now, pray for us that Christ may govern it for our salvation, Amen.

Furthermore, we have no news, only that the English disease 1) is feared everywhere, and began to put some in fear here; but by God's grace this fear has subsided. I am somewhat healthy in body, but weak in spirit, suffering in faith like Peter. But I am still sustained by the prayers of the brethren, that I may not succumb. I commend myself to your prayers, and ask that you stir up and urge your churches to pray for the course of the Gospel and for worldly peace.

That young man in Hesse is restless and heated in his thoughts. The Lord has protected us in the last two years from two very great conflagrations, by which the whole of Germany would have been set on fire, because God would not have had mercy on us and would not have defended us with his mighty and wonderful hand and would not have destroyed the attacks. Thus we have more danger from all sides than from the adversaries. And the bloodthirsty Satan, who has murder and bloodshed in mind, does not yet rest; therefore we must pray diligently. Greet your rib and admonish it in my name that it may patiently endure your journey abroad. Let her read the history of Sarah and Rebecca, and rejoice after the example of those, that she is worthy of it from God for the sake of the Word, and she will have peace and honor. We hope for the same rewards as those, and yet we do not suffer the same with them. Christ be with you, amen.

Greetings to all brothers, especially to the old companion Andreas Knopken, the faithful servant in Christ. Wittenberg, the day before the first of August, 1529. Martin Luther.

No. 1436.

(Wittenberg.)

1. August 1529.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

Luther consoles Cordatus in the sufferings that the orientation of his office entails. - The letter seems to be only a fragment (De Wette).

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 106; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 489 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 143.

1) The so-called English sweat, which had been introduced by ships in Hamburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! But see, my dear Cordatus, with how true signs Christ shows that he loves you, since you are so detestable to these beasts that you even carry out your work for yourself at the risk of death. But he who loves you will also preserve you, as he has preserved you until now, against the will of the gates of hell. But this is my prediction, that if it does not change in this cave, I will experience in you what Christ says [Matth. 10, 23.]: "If they persecute you in one city, flee to another." Fare well in the Lord. August 1, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1437.

(Wittenberg.)

1. August 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther consoles the househusband about his poor success at court, and reports about a writing that the latter thought to have left behind in Wittenberg.

Manuscript at Zerbst in the *Franciscanum*, Ms. 26 and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 563; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 156; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 165 (as to Amsdorf); in De Wette, vol. III, p. 489 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 143. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1176.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, your extremely faithful bishop of Zwickau, his superior.

Grace and peace in Christ JEsu! Although you have not complained to me, my dear Nicolaus, I have learned from elsewhere how my intercession with the prince has been of no use to you; but be strong, God will also put an end to these things. 2) The court is the seat and the camp of the devil, although the prince is very good. Perhaps this knight, the donkey, was to blame, and that one, yours, the friend of this one. If they will not see to it that it will be different, I will advise and help you to shake the dust from your feet and leave Zwickau and wander elsewhere, you and Cordatus at the same time. I will remember Paul; in the meantime, just hold your breath and be people like Atlas with this perverse and evil generation.

The notes of Cellarius on Isaiah

2) *Virg. Aen., lib. I, v. 199.*

you did not leave here. Because since we carefully searched everything, we did not find them anywhere. Perhaps Johann Cellarius will be there himself soon, traveling through there to his profession, 1) and will greet you. He does not yet know that the notes are lost; perhaps they would like to be found in the meantime. The Lord be with you always, and pray for me poor sinner of Christ. My Käthe greets you respectfully. On the first of August, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1438.

(Wittenberg.)

August 5, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Cover letter for Johann Cellarius.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Manuscript at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26 and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p.564; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 157; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 492 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 144. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1177.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful bishop of the church at Zwickau.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Here comes M. Johann Cellarius, my venerable Nicolaus, whose Isaiah you have either lost or found again. For I have reported it to him, and you continue to talk with him, and there is no need to write much, for you have his living voice, which will better tell you everything that is going on here. I believe that my last letter has been delivered to you, in which I asked that you be strong in bearing the malice of devils and men. "When the rope holds hardest, it gladly breaks." The Lord be with you, Amen. August 5, 1529.

Mart. Luther.

No. 1439.

(Wittenberg.)

August 10, 1529.

To Martin Glaser.

Luther wishes him happiness with his family and his adherence to pure doctrine, and exhorts him to carry out his ministry steadfastly and faithfully.

Printed in *Crenii animadvers. philol. hist.* III, 143; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p.492f. and in *Erl.Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 145. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1177.

1) to Frankfurt a. M.

To the brother to be highly honored in Christ, Martin Glaser, the exceedingly faithful servant of Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have been talking about this for a long time and have been searching for it, my dear Martin, where in the world and in which place you were staying, but no one has been able to tell me for sure, except through this letter of yours. But I rejoice and wish you happiness that the Lord has given you a wife and blessed you with children, but most of all that he keeps you free from all defilement of spirit in these confusions of doctrines and sects, and healthy in the teachings of Christ. Therefore, that you may be thankful for this divine and greatest gift, I beseech you for Christ's sake that you may be strong and steadfast in the ministry you have taken upon yourself, and that you may not be guilty of letting the multitude either of sects or of ungrateful men overcome you through weariness and compel you to take upon yourself another work. From day to day the ministers of the Word are becoming fewer, especially those who are not corrupt, so that in a short time there will be a lack of shepherds everywhere and the churches will stand desolate if the Lord is not our helper. But pray for me, a sinner and a weak brother. Give my love to your rib. Christ be with you with his blessing, Amen. August 10, 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 1440.

(Wittenberg.)

August 13, 1529.

To Spalatin.

Luther asks him to support the new pastor in Colditz, Augustin Himmel.

The original is in Gotha, *Cod.* 122, fol. 135. Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Buddeus*, v. 69; in *Innocent News* 1721, p. 714; in *Schlegel, vita Spal.*, p. 24; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 493 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 146. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1178.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, M. Georg Spalatin, Bishop of Altenburg, his brother who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Here comes to you M. Augustin, who was in Colditz an

will be a neighboring pastor. But because he will come as a poor man into an empty house, he is forced to borrow everywhere, so that he can get over the first year and live without outside help. With my meagerness, I will lay out something, but because this is not enough, he also wanted to use your advice, whether you could help him to borrow something from you. I do not like to burden you with these things, and yet the brother's need forces me to do what we do unwillingly, and I know that you do not resent this. Therefore, I beg you, if you can benefit the man, do it; he will faithfully return it. For it is well known to you that he is godly and faithful. The Lord be with you, amen. August 13,¹⁾ 1529. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1441.

(Wittenberg.)

August 17, 1529.

To Justus Jonas.

Request for care for the new pastor in Oelsnitz, and news of the death of Melancthon's son.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 564; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 158; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 494 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 147. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1179.

Grace and peace in Christ! This man, whom you have appointed pastor in Oelsnitz, my most esteemed and dear Jonas, I wanted to have come to you as a witness with this letter of mine, since he had already decided to complain to you that he has nothing to live on; and he does work, but without pay. Therefore, see to it that he does not die of hunger, whether he is to work there only temporarily or forever. In fact, he seems to me to be little and not very deeply learned. In addition, there is the challenge of hunger, which could perhaps drive him to madness, for he does not seem to me to be of a steady mind.

To our Philip the Lord gave his son George last Sunday [Aug. 15].

1) In the original: XIII Augusti, but in Spalatin's inscription: XIII Cal Aug. that is, July 20. Either Spalatin or Luther was mistaken.

nominal. You can imagine how much trouble and worry we have to comfort this person, who has a very tender and sensitive heart. It is to be wondered how hard this death of his son is for him, since he has not been exercised by such a case before. You pray for him as much as you can, that the Lord may comfort him, then write him a letter of comfort according to your oratory. You know how important it is that this man live and be healthy. We all grieve with him and are sad, except for yours, which concerns myself and happens daily. But the God of the humble and afflicted is not yet down, though He is very and ever weak. Another time, when the sorrow has settled down to some extent. Farewell and greet your fellow bishops reverently in the Lord. On Tuesday after the Assumption of Mary [Aug. 17] 1529, your Martin Luther.

No. 1442.

(Wittenberg.)

August 17, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Thanks for gifts, namely of clothing.

The original is in the church library of St. Jacobi in Freiberg. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 291b; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 466b; in the Altenburg, vol. I V, p. 561; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 555; by Walch, vol. XXI, 289; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 495; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 95 and, according to the original, in the *Mittheilungen des Freiburger Alterthums-Vereins*, 1866, issue 5, p. 495.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have long been remiss in thanking E. C. F. G. for the gifts and the clothes and robes he has given me. But I will humbly ask E. C. F. G. that E. C. F. G. not believe those who offer me as if I were in want. Unfortunately, I have more, especially from E. C. F. G., than I can bear in conscience; as a vain preacher, it is not my place to have abundance, nor do I desire it.

That is why I also feel all too mild and gracious favor to E. C. F. G., so that I am immediately afraid; because I would not like to be found here in this life with those to whom Christ says: "Woe to you rich, you have lost your reward" [Luc. 6, 24]. Moreover, to speak worldly, I would not like to be burdensome to E. C. F. G., as I know that E. C. F. G. has so much of giving, that she may have nothing left to such a state; for too much tears the sack.

Therefore, although it would have been too much to wear the liver-colored cloth, so that I may be grateful to E. C. F. G., I will also wear the black skirt in honor of E. C. F. G., although it is too delicious for me, and if it were not a gift from E. C. F. G., I would never be able to wear such a skirt.

Please, therefore, ask E. C. F. G. to wait until I myself complain and ask, so that I will not shy away from asking for others who are much more worthy of such graces than I am. E. C. F. G. does too much for me without that. Christ will and shall graciously and abundantly repay it; this I ask from the bottom of my heart, Amen. August 17, 1529. E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1443.

(Wittenberg.)

August 21, 1529....

To Spalatin.

Luther speaks out about two legal cases in which his judgment had been requested.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* X, 200; in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 220 and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 70; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 496 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 148. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI 1182.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the faithful servant of the Lord at Altenburg.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It does not seem necessary to me, my dear Spalatin, that my judgment be demanded in the matter of Georg Coecus, 1) since you as

1) Perhaps this is the marriage case of the blind (*Coecus*), which was mentioned in No. 1333.

I hear that you have the judgment of our Philip; why do you not carry it out? Then I hear only the one party; no judgment must come from the mouth of a man.

I believe that in the case of Lindener 2) this offense does not sufficiently justify guilt for a divorce, but one must ask and certainly investigate whether he is incapable of performing the marital duty to the wife; this would cause a right to divorce. By the way, in what way the offense should be punished is not for me to prescribe. Farewell and pray for me. August 21, 1529.

I would have written more expansively, but I was uncomfortable.
Martin Luther.

No. 1444.

(Wittenberg.)

August 22, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

About an economic matter of the church in Hildburghausen.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. N, fol. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 61, No.94; in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 290; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p.497 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 96.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! They are the heads of the common estate of Heilpershausen, and indicate how they have been ordered by the Visitoribus to change the unseemly interest, and to buy lying grounds: thus they have bought a farm in Meder 3) for 1100 florins, which is in fief from E. C. F. G., have asked me for this interpellation, that E. C. F. G. wants to grant such a fief to the same poor fund, as they will indicate further. Now I know nothing

2) According to Bossert, *Luth. und Würtemb.*, p. 66, it is Hieronymus Lindener from Schwäbisch-Hall, Melancthon's famulus, then for a time with Chyträus in Rostock, recommended by Melancthon to Brenz in 1559.

3) Seidemann notes in *De Wette*, vol. VI, p. 583, note 4: "Instead of 'Merder' seems to be read: Melder, Meeder." See there p. 680 s. v. Meeder.

They say that the knight's service will not be taken away, nevertheless remain on other estates, as before, only that the feud would be taken away, for which they are willing to reimburse E. C. F. G.. I do not know how to refuse such a request to E. C. F. G., because both the council and the priest 1) have asked me in writing. E. C. F. G. will graciously show themselves in their undertaking, which I believe they mean well. Christ be with E. C. F. G., Amen. 22 Aug. 1529.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Mart. Luther.

No. 1445.

(Wittenberg.)

August 26, 1529.

To Joseph Levin Metzsch in Mila.

Expert opinion on the extent to which the despisers of the Gospel are to be tolerated.

Handwritten at Zwickau in the Rathsschulbibliothek, vol. XXXVI. Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 482 b; in the Altenburger, vol. I V, p. 704; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 556; in Walch, vol: XXI, 1976 and in the Erlanger edition, vol. 54, p. 97.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1686. There, the address is missing, which is already given in the Eisleb. Edition: "To the strict and firm Joseph Levin Metzsch at Mila, my favorable master and friend." - Col. 1687, line 2 reads: teacher instead of teaching. - The "pastor" is Thomas Löscher; the "letter to him" the following number.

No. 144 6

(Wittenberg.)

August 26, 1529.

To Thomas Löscher, pastor in Milan.

An opinion on the treatment of the despisers of the Gospel.

Manuscript in the Zwickau Rathsschulbibliothek, vol. XXXVI; in Wolfenbüttel, Cod. 20,5, fol. 209b and ibidem *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 15 b (with the date May 21, 1530); in Copenhagen, Ms. 1893 (May 31, 1530; address: *Thomas Tescher*) and at Dresden in *Cod. Kummer*, p. 280 (incomplete, without address and

1) The parish priest at Hildburghausen is Johann Weybrüger. See No. 1366.

date). Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 30 (with the wrong date 21 May 1530); also by *Buddeus*, p. 75; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 326 (accidentally placed in the year 1519; everywhere with the wrong name "Tescher" instead of "Löscher") and, with correct address and date, in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 150. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1358 (from the year 1519).

To the in Christ highly venerable brother Thomas Löscher, pastor in Milau, the faithful and sincere servant of the word.

Grace and peace in Christ! Concerning what you write about those blasphemers, my dear man in your Lord, this is my opinion: As no one must be forced to faith and gospel, so under the same authority they are not to be allowed to blaspheme, but they are to be called, heard and listened to, and if they cannot give an account, even if they do not want to believe, they are also to be forced to be completely silent, and a plantation of sedition is not to be cultivated. For whoever wants to contradict, let him do so publicly, and either publicly or in particular he shall be restrained by the authority of the authorities. This is what we do and advise. From this you will already see that those under the same authority are by no means to be permitted to do in the church what you write. For this is the hissing of the serpents that flee the light. Therefore, bring them to the light, so that they may either conquer or be defeated. By the way, since the Ten Commandments and the Catechism also teach things concerning worldly rule and stewardship, and this must be preached very often, they must be forced to attend the sermons from which they may learn worldly obedience and the duties of stewardship, whether they believe the Gospel or not, lest they be a source of offense to others by despising the teachings of worldly rule and stewardship alike. For if they wish to live among a people, they must learn and hear the laws of that people, even against their will, not only for their own sake, but also for the sake of their children and their servants. Christ will teach you other things; in him you will be well. August 26, 1529.

Martin Luther.

No. 1447.

(Wittenberg.)

August 27, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

About the English plague, which is said to prevail in Zwickau and the surrounding area, and which is also feared in Wittenberg.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 565; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 159; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 499 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 151. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1182.

Grace and peace in Christ! I did not want to let this messenger go to you empty, without a letter from me, my dear Nicolaus, although I had nothing great to write. They say that the English plague is raging in Zerbst and with you. Many think that it is also with us, but I do not believe it. Our captain has made himself ill through his imagination, although no other evil has appeared than his thoughts. For if these were the right beginnings of this disease, I would have had them more often in these last three years and more, for I also sweated that night and woke up with fear, and thoughts also began to torment me; if I had given in to them, I would have lain down," just as others have already lain down and tormented themselves. I write this so that you may admonish the people with me, that they should not be so fainthearted and not contract the disease by their thoughts, which is not yet there. For we have roused many, as it were by force, who had already lain down to sweat, as Aurogallus, Bleikard, 1) D. Brück, M. Christian and others, who now tell us with laughter that they might still be lying down if they were not induced to get up. Not as if I thought that this disease was to be despised, but because a distinction must be made, since we seem to fall into it more through imagination and fear than in fact and through infection, and imagination brings about the fall, and the movements of the mind act on the body. By the way, pray for me, sinner, and if your guest is still there, greet him in my name. May the Lord Christ be with you, Amen. August 27, 1529.

Yours, Martin Luther.

1) Sindringer, Doctor of Laws.

No. 1448.

(Wittenberg.)

August 29, 1529.

To Wenceslaus Link.

About the English plague.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 716; in *Strobel-Ranner*, i>. 160; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 499 f. and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 153. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1184.

May the grace of God be with you, my dear Wenceslaus! The rumor of the new plague, which is called the English one, compels me to write to you. But see to it that you do not believe easily, and do not let your people be frightened. In this matter, many trivial things are carried about, both about us and about others. The booklet about the remedy against this disease, which has been published, 2) is the cause that many, when they begin to sweat, immediately believe through the added fear that they are afflicted with it, [even those,] 3) who have never sweated. In Magdeburg, 800 or 1000 have begun to sweat in this way, but all have recovered, except those whom the violence of the heat, which is aroused by this force, has killed without illness, namely 20 or 30. And now they see how fear has done its mockery with them. Thus I have delivered many with us, and even myself, by driving out this fear, and now there is the highest peace, since by the grace of God none has died yet. It delights Satan to frighten and make us fearful in this way. Therefore, advise yours not to be afraid, and if anyone should be troubled by this imagination, he may sweat if he pleases, but not more than the constitution of his body can bear. The situation is different if the right illness should occur, for, as I hear, these cannot be saved by any remedy at all. The others, who are afflicted by imagination and fear, will come back badly, unless they have

2) The title of this book is: "A regiment of those who fall by God's decree into the new sweating plague. Wittenberg 1529." 8. (De Wette.) - Regiment == medical prescription.

3) Inserted by us to give meaning.

cannot bear the fierceness of such a long-lasting heat. You are well in Christ and pray for me. August 29, 1529, your Martin Luther.

No. 1449.

(Wittenberg.)

August 29, 1529.

To Johann Brenz in Schwäbisch-Hall.

Luther refuses to make any changes to Brenz's commentary on Amos. He advises him not to go to Marburg for discussion.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 108; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 500; in Hartmann and Jäger, "Brenz," I, 439 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 154.

To the brother to be highly honored in Christ, Johann Brenz, the faithful and sincere servant of Christ in Schwäbisch-Hall.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your prophet Amos, venerable and highly famous Brenz, has been handed over to me, and I have read it in its entirety. Far be it from me to change or add anything in this work. I do not want to be a master of the holy scriptures; God only wanted me to be a student to some extent. The one to whom you have given it, is deliberately postponing the publication; I do not know what tricks of the printers he fears. But he will publish it, unless he despises me, who urges him to do so. 1) If only God would that Christ would continue in you and complete his work.

By the way, what you write about the meeting in Hesse, to which you were called, you also judge correctly that nothing good tends to spring from these fraudulent meetings of the churches of God. Therefore, I ask you, if you can, do not attend, nor promise to attend if you have not already made a promise. 2) We have resolutely refused from the beginning, but since this young Hessian Macedonian was so troublesome to our prince, we have been forced to give our pledge, but in such a way that

1) The appearance of the Commentary on Amos was delayed for a whole year.

2) Brenz had already promised the Landgrave his appearance in a letter of July 19, and in response to a further invitation of Aug. 24, he repeated this promise on Sept. 10.

we indicated two or three times with many words that there was no hope, no fruit, nothing good to be expected, but everything worst was to be feared. But he insisted. We, however, promised to appear, if he also invited other, and even honest papists,³⁾ as witnesses against these future boasters and glorified saints. Now it will be of use to us if you do not come. And although I very much desire to see you, I would rather do without this private comfort than enjoy it with common danger. Christ keep thee and multiply thee for his glory. Pray for me, a sinner. August 29, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1450.

(Wittenberg.)

August 31, 1529.

To the Riga City Council.

Luther gives news of the activity of the Riga envoy Joh. Lohmüller and approves the city's contract with the archbishop.

Copy (by Lohmüller's hand, not original) in Königsberg in the State Archives, Schiebt. XXIII, No. 85. Printed in Taubenheim, *Einiges aus dem Leben des M. Joh. Lohmüller*, Riga 1830, p. 23; in *Festschrift der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen*. 1866, p. 19; in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 115; in Ripke, *Einführung der Reformation in den baltischen Provinzen*. 1883, p. 63 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 155f.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear lords and friends! I have heard from M. Johann Lohmüller, your city's syndic and dispatched embassy, in matters concerning your city, now on account of the archbishop,⁴⁾ all the efforts and diligence he has made, and I have seen the decency he has brought about, which he has shown to me along with M. Philippo and others, and I have asked him to give a testimony as to what we think of it, as he will continue to report to your prudence, so that F. F. may be certain of his faithful, diligent direction. So we consider that such decency has been almost good for six years, and that we are equally

3) The landgrave did not allow himself to be drawn into this.

4) The archbishop granted the city of Riga a six-year reprieve, starting July 30, during which time the gospel was to be freely proclaimed and the archbishop's sovereignty over the city was to remain unhindered (Kolde).

I am surprised that he could have made it this far, and if he seems suitable for the field or the plow, or at least he had asked us for advice before, he would have similar to a sexton, unless I find something else (for the become much narrower and weaker. Therefore, my mind can deceive me and be hidden). Do what you are friendly request is that you and the congregation put up used to do.

with such an action and be careful that such decency is kept for your good, and God, who started it so well, will bring it to completion well, if we ask with diligence. Much water will pass these six years; when the day comes, so comes the council, and it is not easy for the bishop to do something, because both emperor and empire have enough to do. One can see what both kings of Hungern and Dennemarck have to do; so I have also seen how the said M. Johann Lohmüller of the Duke of Prussia has written letters for you, ordered and delivered them well and finely, so that, if God wills, there shall be no need. I have informed E. F. of this, in order to give cause for peace and comfort to you. Christ our Lord be with you all, Amen. August 31, 1529, E. F.

willing Martinus Luther.

No. 1 451.

(Wittenberg.)

(August or September) 1529.

To Justus Jonas.

Of an applicant for a parish and of Melanchthon's continuing mourning for his son.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* and at Dresden in the 6oci. 8olZ6r. O 351, fol. 56d. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 73; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 501 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 157 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1187 f.

To Doctor Justus Jonas, Archbishop of Meissen.

Grace and peace in Christ! Send on and take it firmly to heart, my dear Jonas, that I will immediately send back to you all who come to me, be they bellies 1) or spirits, who seek parishes, among whom I also send this one. You will see what kind of people he is. To me

Philip is still in mourning. We stand by this man, as we are obliged to do. God would rather that all *Timones* 2) were forced to suffer this, so that they would be humbled, since they do not know, out of hope in their wisdom, how much better your only public person is, even a sinful and weak one, than many, yes, even than many lukewarm ones of people like Jerome, Hilarion, Macarius, who live for themselves (*privatorium*), and meanwhile boast us the ceremonial and celibate saints, who all in a heap are not worthy to untie the laces of even one Philip, yes (that I am glorious), even you, even Pomeranus, even me. For what have those people done, either the saints living for themselves, or all the husbandless bishops, that could be compared to One Philip's Year, yes, even to the One Book on the *loci communes*? But now was not the place for these complaints; we will talk about it orally once. Be well, and be a holy enemy of the rude and of all the saints living for themselves, and take care of the publicans, that is, the public saints sinners (*sanctipeccatores*), and pray for me. 1529.

Martin Luther.

No.1452.

(Wittenberg.)

September 9, 1529.

To Count Albrecht von Mansfeld.

At the count's request, Luther gives his verdict on the dispute that had arisen between Agricola and Ludwig von Passavant over Agricola's booklet of German proverbs, which the latter had dedicated to Agricola.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 483; in the Altenburger, vol. IV, p. 704; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 22; in Walch, vol. XXI, 292 f.; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 502 and in the Erlanger edition, vol. 54, p. 98.

2) Timon from Athens, a contemporary of Socrates, known for his hatred of men.

1) Walch has given *venres* by "winds".

To the noble, well-born Lord, Lord Albrecht, Count of Mansfeld and Lord of Schrappe and Heldrungen, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Gracious Sir! In response to E. G.'s current letter about the booklet that Magister Eisleben has sent out of German proverbs, and what the three princes, Würtemberg, Hesse, Brunswick, E. G. and brother and cousins have written about it, what my opinion is about such a booklet, I do not want to give E. G. my thoughts. I will not hide my thoughts from E. G., that I am immediately surprised that such three princes trouble E. G. with it; for if Eisleben had sinned a little in his booklet, he would have been amply and well paid for by Ludwig von Passavant's poisonous, evil, cunning booklet, so that such princes should have been satiated. I do not want to defend M. Eisleben's things now, as little as I want to hinder, yes, even encourage him to let more German proverbs go out; but I want E. G., as my dear born sovereign, that M. Philipsen's and my aforementioned Ludwig von Passavant's booklet weighs heavily on us, and may the hour come when I would also play with him the art that he plays with us inside; nor would we have provided that such a booklet should be allowed to go out in Hesse. But God preserve them, that they only do not let such booklets go out more. We understand German, too, but we will continue to watch what they want to do. I am probably disturbed that M. Eisleben has so humbly answered for himself, and yet should suffer such shameful little books. I humbly wish to report this to Your Grace at such a request, for I am prepared to serve Your Grace. September 9, 1529.

E. G. williger

Martinus Luther.

No. 1453.

(Wittenberg.)

September 9, 1529.

To Count Albrecht von Mansfeld.

Luther sends with the previous letter the draft of a justification writing for Agricola.

The locations are given at the previous number.

Gracious Sir! I have put the sealed letter 1) in such a way, if it pleases Your Lordship to let it be read, or even to send it away, so that the three princes should notice my opinion, and mean that they have offended us with the booklet as much as Agricola 2) has offended the said princes, so that they get a conscience, and do not press so cynically on the poor man. They court with the booklet, God help that they spoil the dance, amen. But as Agricola should put the answer to E. G., I give on E. G. improvement this form:

Firstly, because HM the Archduke of Austria, together with the Swabian Confederation, has condemned, punished and chased away the reigning prince not only in word but also in deed as an unpleasant tyrant, and still boasts and uses this every day, it is not my place to revoke my writing, since I have done nothing more than write in word what they have committed in deed, and which is still based on a right. If I should now recant, I would have to condemn the high king and lord, and set myself up as a judge between the Würtemberg and that part, which neither in the conscience of God nor in the eyes of the world would suit me.

As long as he does not carry out his cause, neither he nor anyone else has the right or power to forbid or prevent me from keeping up with that part; for how would he do so if I were turned toward that part? Then he would have to suffer and let me go unpunished for speaking and writing as my part speaks and does, just as he had to suffer from the part of N. 3). Therefore, (with leave) all three princes have offended themselves too much in this, that they not only condemn that part with a free judgment, if they are not judges of it, but also demand execution of such an outrageous judgment from E. G., which both of them have done.

1) This is the previous letter, with respect to which Luther left it up to the count to let everyone read it, or to send me away to the complaining princes.

2) Instead of the names, "N. N." and "N." are found in the editions. We have inserted the names after Schelhorn, *Ergötlichkeit*, Vol. II, p. 331.

3) Perhaps by Ulrich von Hütten in his *orationes in Ulrichum Wirtenpergenssem*, opp. ed. Böcking, tom. IV.

Pieces are made insufferable, both before GOIt and the world.

For where E. G. should punish me, she also reached too high, and presumed with the deed to be the judge of His Majesty and the Swabian Union, to condemn the latter, and to justify Duke Ulrich, which would undoubtedly not only bring E. G. into great suspicion of sedition, but also make her publicly guilty before God and the world with a seditious deed, since God is in favor of it. But because I do not invent anything new on him, nor do I lie (as they accuse me with knowing untruth¹), but speak the same that is imposed on him by that part in fact, and still justify myself: then he can no more to me, than that he must reckon me under that part, and rightly or properly neither judge me nor punish me, because he has rightly overcome and punished that part; because he has such calumnies not from me, but from that part, from which I also have it.

Now he cannot force me to condemn that part for his sake; and if I wanted to do it, I could not. But it is the same as in the schools, where the bacchants, 2) if they do not like to take revenge on the schoolmaster, then they call a poor boy. So the duke wants to take revenge on me, a poor man; because he cannot do so, he stabs, injures and blasphemes such a powerful king and ruler under my person, who are still unconvicted and he still unjustified 2c. But if once I would take off my person, and represent that person, whom he injures by me, he shall perhaps become aware, who would have blasphemed or praised the other.

But I assume that he would already be found innocent of all things and guilty of that part; but because he has smelled himself so horribly on me through Ludwig von Passavant's 3) lying, blasphemous, shameful booklet, he would have already lost all right to demand further punishment from me, *secundum leges*.

1) "zeihen" put by us instead of: "show". (Analogous is: "rebuken" instead of: "rest").

2) "Bacchants" is the name given here to school helpers, i.e. those pupils who, if not in knowledge, were nevertheless advanced in age.

3) A nobleman from Duke Ulrich's retinue who was staying with the landgrave at that time together with his lord.

Therefore, once again, their intentions and requests to Your Grace are unreasonable and against all justice; for this booklet, with the most impudent, poisonous, and insulting lies, reproaches me and my company, who are nothing else, nor can they be interpreted, than D. Mart. and M. Philip, together with their peers; yet the dishonorable villain and poet of the booklet knows well that we are the most famous in all the world, who have written and acted so diligently against sedition and for the supremacy, and, God willing, such a shameful blasphemous mouth and pen of ours shall be struck once, and his desperate malice shall not be given to him.

And if I should speak rightly of sedition, then these three highly-named princes would be right seditious in this piece, that they drive E. G. and demand to practice seditious pieces and deeds, namely to set themselves up as judge over this matter with physical punishment on me, to condemn that part and to justify this part. That is to say, to seek rebellion and misfortune, so that if the liar and blasphemer had looked at his beam, he would have forgotten my splinters.

From all this I hope E. G. sees reason enough that I must not nor can revoke, and E. G. must not nor can punish me. G. should not nor can punish me, but because it has turned out that way that I have become that part with my booklet, I must remain with the same part until the end of the matter. So E. G. must also let things go and stand like this until this part is found innocent by judges to whom such a finding is due, and not according to the finding of the three princes, who may be suspected here as part and parcel, and not be judges.

In addition, if I recanted, I would first and foremost be the right rebel and arch-villain, as the one who thereby condemned Royal Majesty and the Swabian Union. Maj. and the Swabian Confederation, which would not befit me, and in addition the Passavant's cursed book of lies 4) confirmed, with

4) The title of this book is: "Ludwig von Passavant Verantwortung der Schmach- vnd Laesterschrift so Joh. Agricola Eyßleben genannt, im Büchlein Auslegung Teutscher Sprüchwort, gegen etliche Ehrenleute vnd besonders den Durchl. Hochgeb. Fürst vnd Herr Vlrich Hertzog zu Wirtenberg, without some Vrsache in print." Without place and year, 4-3/4 sheets in quarto. It appeared around August.

of all dishonor, which he puts D. Martinus, Philipps and my society as an evil-doer, and would therefore have to be partially responsible for all of his misdeeds and malice, committed in the aforementioned booklet. Likewise, E. Gn. would also be guilty of such everything, if they punished me according to their srevelu judgment. I hope, however, that they will leave E. G. alone with this, and rather punish those themselves, by whom they are provoked and led to inflict such evil acts and abominations on E. G.. Please E. G. 2c.

What E. G. should do against Eisleben, you may well hear my opinion from such a form. What does Duke Ulrich want to do to him? It is well known that he has been put on his guard and expelled by the Reich's judgment, so Eisleben does him no wrong, indeed, he almost spares him. If this matter were mine, the devil should cheat them all, and I am very surprised at the thirst of the L[andgrave] that he may give justice to the man, contrary to the empire, and write and demand such to you lords of Mansfeld.

Therefore, I don't know what the royal family should do, but they would like to send a friendly reminder to them, that they should proceed with good intentions, considering the circumstances of the things that the realm and the authorities have done in this matter, so that they do not fall into danger or disgrace and into grave and careful defamation. For even if we remain silent here, one can also find people outside in the realm who attack both the Landgrave and Duke of Brunswick 1) and all of them with writings, as the rebels against royal majesty (as they are also in this) and decorate that part in such a way that the Landgrave should wish that he had never seen Württemberg, as I would like to do so masterfully. They have become mad, do not see at all that they do not stand with the one from Württemberg as with a ruling prince 2c.

Such will E. G. graciously accept from me as a subservient service. Hiemit GOtt befehlt.

Eu. Grace willing Martinus Luther.

1) Henry the Younger of Brunswick was the Landgrave's brother-in-law.

No. 1454.

(Wittenberg.)

September 9, 1529.

To Johann Agricola in Eisleben.

About Agricola's trade with Ulrich, Duke of Württemberg.

The original is at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 285 B. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 109; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 507 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 161.

To the in Christ highly venerable brother, M. Johann Agricola, the extremely faithful instructor of the youth at Eisleben.

Grace and peace in the Lord! We have seen the tragedy, we know it, which the Duke of Württemberg is bringing on the track for you, my dear Johann, but you be strong and do not fear. "It is not so evil as they would like to make it, will also (whether God wills) not become so evil." I have drawn up what Count Albrecht desired, a kind of draft of an answer that you will give him against those. This you, I beg you, will decorate and polish (*acuas*) to the best of your ability. For I fear that Count Albrecht will not suffer any vehemence in it, however necessary it may be. For what will the tyrant 2) do? You have become a part of his adversaries. You must confront this party and role until it is overcome by a just and lawful procedure. In the meantime, you may do and say what is the opinion of your party. I hear that you have given the Prince of Hesse an all-too-political answer and have completely retracted it,³⁾ which I am sorry for; but so that you may also retract this retraction, you must again

2) "the tyrant" is Duke Ulrich, whom Agricola had attacked several times in his proverbs for his tyranny, with mention of the name.

3) On July 18, Philip of Hesse had written to the Elector John and complained about the injustices that Luther and his family had committed against princely persons. He not only complained that Luther himself had attacked his father-in-law, Duke George of Saxony, with words of shame, but also that Eisleben had now, in his proverbs, which he had recently let go out, "harshly attacked the good Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, who had been chased away, with several words of shame and untruth" 2c. At the same time, the Landgrave wrote to Agricola. The latter made a humble apology by letter on July 24 and thanked him for the "grace that such a high person as the Landgrave considered him worthy to punish him for his foolishness. (Kawerau, "Joh. Agricola," p. 110 f.)

it seems advisable that you include in the beginning of the answer to the count that you had humbly sought peace before, but because they are raging and do not want peace, you are forced to no longer pursue the matter humbly, but straightforwardly and according to justice, and you are sorry for your humility, which has been thwarted 2c. Passavant's book, which is written not against you, but against all of us under your name with a harsh and bitter disposition in the most poisonous way, I find abominable (*execror*). But God will give an opportunity to repay what it deserves. Meanwhile, farewell and greet all yours. This challenge will turn out for the best for you. My Kätke greets you and your Elsa. September 9, 1529, Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1455.

Torgau.

September 28, 1529.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

(Regest.)

The Elector asks Luthern to come to him in Schleiz together with Jonas and Melancthon after the Marburg discussion has ended.

The concept is found in the Weimar Archive, X, p. 72. 0, No. 18.10. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 165 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 162 f.

No. 1456.

(Marburg.)

3. (?) October 1529.

Consider! Luther's teaching on the Lord's Supper.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2052, no. 62.

No. 1437.

(Marburg.)

(4. [?] October 1529.)

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, together with the external theologians.

Since Zwingli and his followers often referred to sayings of the church fathers concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Luther and his followers handed over to the landgrave this defense compiled from the fathers. - This letter is mentioned in Melancthon's report on the Marburg discussion, St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, no. 24, § 21 and no. 25, § 17.

Handwritten in Dresden, *Cod.* Printed in Riederers Nachrichten, vol. II, p. 349; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 508 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 103.'

E. F. G. have heard how the ancient *Scriptores*, namely Augustine, in this action, that Christ has a true body, that a body occupies a space, that sacraments are signs. Such extensive and strange sayings, which the Fathers spoke in other places than in the Last Supper, and in other matters than in the Lord's Supper, are nevertheless drawn to the Sacrament, from which nothing can be concluded about this matter. For none of these sayings says this publicly, that Christ's body may not be in the supper. But because we have not heard other sayings of the ancients, in which their opinion is clearly expressed, and which are actually and solely about this matter, we have not been able, for the sake of our conscience, to refrain from informing God of such sayings, and for God's sake we ask in all humility that God read and move them. The matter is not so small as they think, but concerns God's honor and all our souls.

Therefore, it is necessary that we be careful and not fall away from the words of the Gospel through human reason or strange, unrhymed sayings; for F. F. G. will find that the ancients taught no differently than how the words of the Gospel sounded and how we teach. Now E. F. G., from his high Christian and princely intellect, with which E. F. G., praise be to God, is abundantly endowed, can well judge for himself how difficult it is to depart from the words of the Gospel, and from the entire old church, without sufficient cause. How this will be accounted for will be found in the turning away.

We have also indicated here where to find the sayings, so that one may easily find them, where E. F. G. wants to have the whole speech recited in one saying, and see that not only spiritual use is spoken of, but clearly the outward. For our opponent wants to interpret such sayings in terms of spiritual use, because the sixth chapter of John is often referred to. Johannis is often referred to. Now the ancients often spoke of the sacrament in the same chapter and indicated their opinion of external use.

Hilarii de trinitate L. VIII. (c. 13.)

Here one sees how he speaks that Christ is truly and naturally received, not only spiritually.

Chrysostom. in Joh. Homil. XLV.

We have received the fruit of our good deeds *re ipsa*, etc. Here it is clear that we have not been inculcated by love alone, but *re ipsa*.

See also *Chrysostom. Homil. 83*, where you will find his opinion on the length.

Cyprian. L. I. ep. 2.

Which we admonish and irritate 2c.

Irenaeus, D. IV. cap. 34.

How can they know that the bread is the sacrament 2c.

In these words Irenaeus punishes the heretics who taught against the divinity of Christ, and thus wants to conclude: If Christ were not true God, he would not be in many places. So it follows that his opinion is that Christ is bodily in the sacrament.

After this he also says: How do they say that the flesh perishes? 2c. Here it is clear that the flesh is eaten.

Cyprianus says in quodam sermone de coena Domini that as Christ has two natures, divine and human, so in the Sacrament are the bread and the body of Christ. *Videantur caetera.*

*Vulgarius*¹⁾ in *Matth.* speaks with clear words: Christ said: This is my body, not: This is my body's sign, so that one understands that his true body is there; and this opinion he often puts in other evangelists and in Paul. Now *Vulgarius* is old, and among the Greeks he is one of the best teachers.

In *John XV*, *Cyril* clearly says that we are united to Christ not only through love, but also bodily. Item, with natural usage, and gives an example of wax put to other wax and poured into it.

One also has two books in *Ambrosio, de mysteriis initiand.* and *de sacramentis*, in which our opinion is clearly written.

1) *Vulgarius* == *Bulgarius* is *Theophylactus*.

Our opponent answers that one does not know whether the book is *de sacramentis Ambrosii*. But so one may solve what one wants. There are many indications that it is *Ambrosii*, and even if it is not *Ambrosii*, it is known that it is very old, and is allegorized in *Decretis* and otherwise as an old scripture.

This is what we wanted to report to E. F. G. in our humble opinion; for although our faith should stand on God's Word alone, it is nevertheless comforting to know that our faith has witness in the church. It is a stupid thing to have a conscience: therefore, in such great matters, not to act freely, and without the clear word of God, nothing new should be done.

But that our opponent thinks that they have reason enough for their doctrine, we are concerned that they have not yet been highly challenged in conscience, and well consider that they mean well; but it will be found that their *arguments* do not do enough for conscience, contrary to the quality of the words: *Hoc est corpus meum*.

They have two main *arguments*. The first, *John 6*, rejects external usufruct, therefore it cannot be held that Christ would have commanded external usufruct in the sacrament, as he rejected it before. This argument does not enforce anything more, if it has already been tossed about for a long time, than that external administration is rejected without faith; for Christ teaches in the same chapter that one must believe in him, that eating flesh in himself will not help, but that faith helps. So Christ there urges faith, and does not order an outward work; but afterward in the supper he orders the outward work: this we also ought to keep, and not despise his order, and not interpret the words to our liking.

The other argument is that because Christ has a true body, the same body must be in one place, and could not be here and there. This argument is not from Scripture, but is reason. For how do we know that Christ cannot be here and elsewhere? So reason is not able to stand against God's word in the challenge and judgment of God.

These are the most noble arguments, so they

lead. We do not know how to rely on this, and we ask the Lord for God's sake that the Lord, as a Christian prince, take this matter to heart and not allow anything to be done that might result in further annoyance and trouble. E. F. G. see what mischief follows from contempt of the Sacrament. We also ask, in all humility, that your grace grant us this simple document, which we are compelled by our conscience to hand over to you, and we are grateful to you. F. G. and are always ready to serve him humbly.

*M. Lutherus post Colloquium Marburgi
habitum Landgravio scripsit.*

No. 1458.

Marburg.

October 4, 1529.

To Nicolaus Gerbet in Strasbourg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1952, no. 27.

No. 1459.

(Marburg.)

4. October 1529.

To his wife.

Luther reports the outcome of the Marburg conversation and his imminent return.

Handwritten in Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek, Vol. I, fol. 38 b. Printed by L. Chr. Mieg, *Monum. piet. et litter. Francof.* 1671, P. II, p. 39; in *Bibl. Bremens. Cl. IV, Fasc. 5.* (1721), p. 934, supposedly from the original; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 62, No. 96; in Walch, vol. XXI, 299; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 512 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 107.

To My Kind Dear Lord, Catharina Lutherin, Doctor,
Preacher at Wittenberg. ¹⁾

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Mr. Käth, know that our friendly conversation at Marburg has come to an end, and we are one in almost all respects, without wanting to keep our vain bread in the Lord's Supper, and to confess Christ spiritually present in it. Today the landgrave is asking whether we could become one, or whether, if we remained divided, we would still be brothers and Christ.

¹⁾ This address, which is missing in the other editions, is set according to the *Bibl. of Bremen*. In the Hamburg manuscript, it reads: "To my dear Mr. Käth, Doctorin, Professorin Lutherin zu Wittenberg."

Keeping our limbs under each other. The landgrave is working hard. But we do not want the brothers and members, we want peace and good. I think, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow we want to break out and go to E. 2) Gn. Lord to Schleiz in the Voigtland, where S. C. F. G. has called us.

Tell the Mr. Pommer that the best arguments have been of Zwinglii that *corpus non potest esse sine loco; ergo Christi corpus of est in pane; of Oecolampadii* this: *Sacramentum est signum corporis Christi*. I fear that God has blinded them so that they have nothing to bring forward. I have much to do, and the messenger hurries. Say good night to everyone, and pray for us. We are all still fresh and healthy, and live like princes. Kiss me Lensgen and Hänsgen. On the day of Francisci [Oct. 4] 1529.

E. willing servant

Martin Luther.

Johann Brenz, Andreas Osiander, Doctor Stephan of Augsburg also came here.

They have become mad here with sweat fright, yesterday have laid down with fifty, whose have died one or two.

No. 1460.

Jena.

October 12, 1529.

To Johann Agricola in Saalfeld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1954, no. 28.

No. 1461.

(Torgau?) 3)

17 October 1529.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

Luther urgently asks him to send him the history of Johann Hilten as detailed as possible.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 870; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 163; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 514 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 171. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1186.

²⁾ Instead of "E." Niederer, *Nachrichten*, Vol. I, p. 63, suggests "unsern", probably rightly.

³⁾ On the same day, Melanchthon also wrote to Myconius about the same matter, from Torgau (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, 1108), so it can be assumed that our letter was also written there.

Grace and peace in Christ! Dearest brother in the Lord, Frederick, I ask and implore you for the sake of Christ that you send as soon as possible the things which you taught us in Eisenach to be extremely credible and which we are asking for, namely, about that monk who died in the ban 1) and prophesied that it would happen that those who were present would see and hear the one who taught what he had taught and held. This history, I say, see that thou write and send it to us in full, many, whole, and superfluous words, omitting nothing: of the book that was buried under the bricks, and what the name of the priest was, and where he was that obtained this book; for thou knowest that I am much concerned in this matter. Therefore I beseech thee that thou neglect nothing, and love me as I love thee. For it was for your sake alone (so that I would not leave you grieved) that I preached the sermon in Gotha when I left, 2) whereas otherwise I would not have preached it even if all others had insisted on it. So you again make it possible for me to enjoy this ministry of yours, to use it, to be glad of it and to benefit from it. For I desire very much, indeed, I glow the more with desire to have this [history], the further away I am. I hope and promise myself to you, as I am guilty and you worthy of it. And if it cannot be done otherwise, may you send a messenger at my expense. Give my love to your rib and to the children. Fare thee well in Christ. "Sunday after Galli [Oct. 17] 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1462.

(Wittenberg.)

October 19, 1529.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1956, no. 30.

1) This refers to the Franciscan Johann Hilten, whose story is told in the Apology. St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1326, ? 714.

2) On the return journey from Marburg, according to Lingke, Luth. Reiseges., p. 185, on October 8, according to Kolde, Beitr., p. 109, at the latest on October 10. On the 11th Luther preached in Erfurt.

No. 1463.

(Wittenberg.)

October 20, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther reports that he is working on the Army Sermon Against the Turks and promises that he will inform him about the Marburg conversation at another time.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 34 and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 717; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 164; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 516 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 174. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1186.

To Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, to be highly honored in Christ, the sincere and faithful bishop of the church at Zwickau.

Grace and peace in Christ! What you have written about Christoph, my dear Nicolaus, I have reported everything to Christoph himself. Christina may blessedly be his wife in the name of the Lord, amen. About the gathering of the children [in schools] 3) I will perhaps publish a sermon, but now I am busy with the exhortation of the Germans against the attack of the Turk. 4) Our sins have irritated the eyes of the Majesty too much [Is. 3, 8], therefore the punishment rightly haunts us. Nevertheless, your and our church must be urged to pray with tears and repentance, as the Ninevites did [Jonah 3:8]. Who knows if He will not have mercy on us and leave a blessing behind.

I will tell you about our conversation at another time, because I am very tired and the matter is extensive. The articles have been published, 5) to which they agreed against all expectations; they were quite humble and modest. Here, too, the articles will soon be printed. Be well and pray for me. The Lord be with you. October 20, 1529.

Martin Luther.

3) Here, Luther refers to his "Sermon on Keeping Children in School," which did not appear until July 1530. St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 416.

4) "Heerpredigt wider den Türken." St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2154.

5) St. Louis Edition, Vol. X VII, 1939, No. 23.

No. 1464.

(Wittenberg.)

October 20, 1529.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

Luther wishes him luck in improving his situation.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 110; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 516 s. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 175.

Grace and peace in Christ! I hear, my dear Cordatus, that among the people of Zwickau your esteem and also your reputation are growing daily, for which I boast and rejoice in Christ. But you continue to overcome them through goodness. They are hard, I confess, but if our hardness is added, they will become worse. You know the saying that two hard millstones grind no good. ¹⁾ Therefore, our patience will finally put them to shame, and they will be delivered of their hardness with much fruit. Sad things are heard of the Turk. Let us pray that we do not perish. Greet your Christina and be well in Christ. October 20, 1529, your Martin Luther.

No. 1465.

(Wittenberg.)

October 26, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

About Luther's "Army Sermon against the Turk".

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Manuscript at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 34b; in Hamburg, Ms. 47, quarto, 120; in the Zwickau Rathsschulbibliothek, vol. XXXVI; in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Aug.* 11.10, fol. 233; there in *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 460b (with an altered beginning as addressed to Spalatin and dated July 28, 1545); in *Cod. Goth.* 451 and in *Cod. Jen.* b, lob 209. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 72; by Schütze, vol. I, p.357 (after *Cod. Helmst.*); by De Wette, vol. III, p. 517 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 175 s. German in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 482; in the Altenburger, vol. IV, p. 704; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 556 and in Walch, vol. XXI, 291 (without date).

To the extremely noble and also venerable man, Mr.

Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful bishop of the church at Zwickau.

Grace and peace in Christ! In a hurry, and surprised by the sudden departure of these people who handed you this letter, best

1) "Two hard stones seldom grind pure ones." (Erl. Briesw.)

Nicolaus, I am compelled to write. For I thought they would stay here longer; otherwise I would have written more to you and to Cordatus, especially about the Turkish War, which is rightly upsetting Germany. For we too have earned this wrath of God; and those who have earned it neither repent nor mend, but continue. I am issuing an admonitory sermon, "A Sermon Against the Turk." M. Philip and Jonas are preparing a booklet on the same matter. 2) You work on it, that your hard, unbelieving and stiff-necked Zwickauers seriously believe, fear and tremble before this rod and wrath of God. It will not be a joke, but the final wrath of God, in which at the same time the world will come to an end, and Christ will come to destroy this Gog and Magog [Ezek. Cap. 38 and 39], and to free His own. For everything is fulfilled in the Scriptures, except that we are sure that our humble petitions will be able to do something even against this Turk, who will not only plague us Germans this winter, but to the end of the world, as Daniel chapter 7 says. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. I will fight to the death against the Turk and the Turk's God. Greet my Cordatus with his Christina. On Tuesday after Crispini [Oct. 26] 1529. Martin Luther.

No. 1466.

(Wittenberg.)

Oct. 27, 1529.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther expresses his joy over the victory won in Marburg. About the withdrawal of the Turks from Vienna. Answer to the question whether the Protestant princes may fight against the Turks together with the Catholics.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 112; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 518 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 177.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am glad that you are so happy, my dear Amsdorf, about our Marburg meeting,

2) The title is: "Das siebend Kapitel Danielis, von des Türcken Gotteslesterung vnd schrecklicher morderey, mit Unterricht Justi Ionen. Wittemberg." At the end: "Printed at Wittemberg, by Hans Luftt." 8 sheets in 4, without year. When Röer sent the book to Roth in December, he wrote: *ecujus libellii duo autores sunt: Philippi est inventio et dispositio, Jonae elocutio.*

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which, although small in appearance, was of great importance (*efficaci*). This is what the prayers of the blessed brought about, so that those who were so confused did not bring up anything of importance (*frigerent*), and were humbled. To God be praise and glory.

Yesterday we heard that on the eve of a festival 1) the Turk had left Vienna for Hungary by a great miracle of God. For after he had stormed the city almost for the twentieth time, he undermined the ground in three places, put powder in it, threw it apart and made breaches, but by no force could he move his army to enter, since it had been made despondent by God, so that they rather let themselves be stabbed by the leaders than to have undertaken this last storm to enter. So it is thought that, fearing the great guns and our future army, he departed in dismay. Others disagree. God has fought for us in this year in such a way that one can grasp it with one's hands. He [the Turk] has lost 26,000 men; of ours, they say, 6000 have fallen, who have gone down by losses. This is what I wanted to tell you, if you have nothing else, so that we may give thanks and pray with one another. For the Turk, who has become our neighbor, will not let us have peace forever.

But since you ask whether our prince is certainly at liberty to unite with the ungodly and the adversaries of the Word, we believe it to be so, because it is a question here of common defense. It would be a different matter if the question were whether one should start war or enter into alliances where nothing is yet in the works. For likewise 2) if the house of the wicked is burning, likewise if your enemy is hungry, feed him, help him; in time of need you must also do good to your enemies. Be at ease in the Lord and pray for me. Given on the day before Simonis and Jude [Oct. 27] 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

1) The "festival" will be understood to mean a Turkish festival. The withdrawal began on October 16.

2) Instead of: *Neque* in the issues we have adopted *Aeque*.

No. 1467.

(Wittenberg.)

October 28, 1529.

To Johann Lang in Erfurt.

Luther recommends a man to him and gives news of Vienna's liberation.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 399, fol. 133. Printed in *Literar. Wochenblatt II* (Nürnberg 1770), p. 369; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 167; in *Schütze*, vol. II, p. 113; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 519 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 178.

To the brother in Christ, Mr. Johann Lang, the faithful servant of the Word in Erfurt.

Grace in Christ! I commend to you, my dear Lang, this Magister Wolfgang for your love, that you help him, if you can, to some position or office. He is a good man and sufficiently learned both in the sciences and in the knowledge of godly doctrine, and suitable to administer either the office of a preacher, or a scribe, or a teacher.

I believe that you know everything about the Turk, how he blew up Vienna by laying mines, and yet, in despair and tremendous fear and by a miracle of God, he escaped from our territory, that is, from Germany. But we Germans are always snoring. Farewell in Christ and greet your son with his mother, and give them both many caresses and kisses. On the day of Simonis and Judä [Oct. 28] 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1468.

(Wittenberg.)

28, October 1529.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1957, no. 31.

No. 1469.

(Wittenberg.)

October 29, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther recommends Johann Langer, who has been expelled from Naumburg, to preach in Coburg in Balthasar Thuring's place.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, fol. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 62, no. 97; in Walch, vol. XXI, 300; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 521 and in the Erlangen Edition, vol. 54, p. 108.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord,
Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.,
Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen,
my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn
Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Here he is Johann Langer 1)
von Wolkenhayn, who was a preacher in Naumburg,
expelled there by the bishop, whom we have tried and
recognized here as the one who should be able to
appoint to Coburg in place of Balthasar Thuring himself.
If it pleases E. C. F. G., they may direct the said Mr.
Johann with writings to Coburg and prepare him to accept
the office there as he has offered. Hiemit GOtt befohlen,
Amen. Friday after Simonis and Judä [Oct. 29] 1529.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1470.

Torgau.

October 30, 1529.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

(Regest.)

Answer to Luther's previous letter. The Elector approves
Langer's employment in Coburg.

The copy is in the Weimar Archives, fol. 108, 41. Printed by
Burkhardt, p. 166 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 181.

No. 1471.

(Wittenberg.)

November 5, 1529.

To Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

Luther informs the duke that D. Johann Apel for the position of
a chancellor to the place of the deceased D. Friedrich Fischer will
be well to get.

The original is in the State Archives at Königsberg. Printed in
Faber's collection of letters, p. 4; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 522 and
in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54,

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord
Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c, Duke of
Prussia 2c, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince,
gracious lord! E. F. G.

1) In De Wette and in the Erlangen edition: "Lauger".

I have received a letter and a request, namely that I,
together with M. Philippo, should help to advise that E. F.
G. should have one or two skilled men in D. Fischer's
blessed place, to which I give E. F. G. the answer that I
do not want to spare my diligence in this. And E. F. G.
will not refrain from saying that I have talked with Doctor
Johann Apel about it, and noted as much, where E. F. G.
would continue to deal with him, that the man might be
moved in a reasonable way and perhaps also raised. If
God would grant that, then E. F. G. would more than
likely be provided with an excellent man, although I, for
my part, would not like to get such a man out of the
university. E. F. G. graciously accept this for a humble
reply. For I am willing to serve E. F. G.. Hiemit GOtt
befiehlt, Amen. *Quinta Novembris* 1529. E. F.

willing Martinus Luther.

No. 1472.

(Wittenberg.)

November 7, 1529.

To Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

The history of Joh. Hilten, the Turkish War and Melancthon's
absence.

The original is in Wolfenbüttel, *Helmsst.* 285. A Handwritten in
Cod. Goth. A 1048, fol. 4. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 114; in De
Wette, vol. III, p. 522 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 182.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr.
Friedrich Mecum, the extremely faithful bishop of
Gotha, his! Superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your letter was very
pleasant to me, my dear Frederick, full of brotherhood
and love, at the same time also a faithful witness of your
diligence and your fidelity in the preparation of the
history, which I had asked for. I will therefore expect it as
you promise in your letter.

I believe that you know everything about the Turk.
God fought for us by turning away the Turk through the
miraculous escape, and yet at the same time He fought
the wicked by starting a terrible example.

frightened and punished. God must be asked to be our wall and to send his angels to help us. I praise your confidence in which you write that you pray with your church against the Turk and the gates of hell. May the Lord hear you in this time of our tribulation, amen. Just as the angel could not destroy the little city for the sake of one Lot, so may it also happen to us for the sake of many godly ones, amen.

Besides, there is nothing new here. Philippus is absent, otherwise he would have written; he is attending the wedding of Mr. Deutleben "in Freiberg" together with Amsdorf. My Lord Kätke greets you respectfully. Greet your rib or also your master, likewise our landlady and Basilius, 1) yes also your captain. May you also be well in Christ. November 7, 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No 1473.

(Wittenberg.)

November 10, 1529.

To Jakob Probst in Bremen.

From the Turkish War and the feared undertakings of Emperor Carl V.

Printed in *Luth. comm.* in Joh. ep. cath. ed. Neumann, Lips. 1708, p. 195; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 523 f. and in Crl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 184. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1191.

Grace and peace in Christ! We have enough news to write, my dear Jacob, and more than enough.

If you have not heard from the Turks how they broke into Germany, you will hear it from the note which I gave to Bruno 2) that he should copy it for you. Austria is almost devastated. Vienna is, by a miracle of the arm, not taken, but still unrecovered.

1) Basilius Monner from Weimar, therefore also called *Basilius Vinariensis*, Augustinian; then 1524 to 1535 Rector at Gotha; afterwards as a jurist at the court of the Elector, 1538 sent as an envoy to France; 1539 educator of the Elector Princes, 1554 professor at Jena, where he died in January 1566. - The "Hauptmann" (*Praefectus*) is Johann Oswald, formerly Amtmann in Eisenach; in this year he held the highest position in the Council of Gotha.

2) Bruno Brauer.

urgently destroyed, the neighboring villages all burned, more than a hundred thousand people killed or captured. He did the same in Hungary. Germany is full of traitors favorable to the Turk. In addition to these evils, Emperor Carl threatens us much more cruelly and has decided to rage against us than the Turk. Thus we have both emperors, the one in the East and the one in the West, as our enemies.

This is how the contempt and hatred for the Gospel is avenged. I hope that the day will come that will put an end to all hopefuls. That is why, I believe, the devils rage so much as at the last hour. This is the hour when Christ is weak and wrestling with death.

You see to it in your church that you pray diligently and fervently for the faith of all who have suffered or will suffer either imprisonment or death, that Christ may be strengthened in us all until He rises in power and glory, Amen.

They say that the Turk is camped in Hungary not far from Vienna and will return around the time of spring. And they boast that Emperor Carl will come to Germany, but no one fears him. For if he should do anything by force, there is danger that he will corrupt himself and all his priests from the bottom up. For there is counsel and help ready, if God is not against it, which is strong enough for the destruction of all monasteries and convents, that it is not safe for them to undertake anything with contempt for the peace and patience of ours, unless perhaps some fate 3) urges them to hasten their own hour.

My house is quite well. But I, a sinner, am the object and the goal of the devils, who pursue me without end and play their game with me. Christ save and free me; you will help me to achieve this through faithful prayer. The grace of God be with you, amen. Greet your Eva in my and my Kätke's name. On the day before Martinmas [Nov. 10] 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

3) The editions here offer *factum*, but Walch has read *fatum*, which seems more appropriate.

No. 1474.

(Wittenberg.)

November 10, 1529.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

About the Turkish War and Hausmann's affairs.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Manuscript at Zerbst in the *Franciscanum*, Ms. 26; in *Cod. Rostoch*; in *Cod. Goth.* 185, Quart, Bl. 150 and in *Cod. Goth.* 397, fol. 138. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 115; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 168; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 525 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 185. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1373.

To the man to be highly honored in Christ, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful bishop of the church at Zwickau, his very dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! Be strong in the Lord, my dear Nicolaus, and do not fear the Turk too much. Christ is alive, and according to the vision of Daniel, which Philip and Jonas now publish, 1) it is to be hoped that he will not seize Germany, although he will pluck us and avenge the contempt of the gospel. For it is a miracle in a hurry that the Turk has left the place and the camp, and there his presumption is broken. The day of judgment is at hand, and it will destroy both Gog the Turk and Magog the Pope, the latter the temporal enemy, the latter the spiritual enemy of Christ.

But that certain people call you and mock you with the biting and harsh name "the little saint" (*sanctulum*), I wish you extraordinary luck that you are worthy of such a great hatred of Satan, who, since he is not able to do anything else, at least exercises the venom of his tongue on you. But you would act most rightly if you again mocked his poisonous impotence and made him kiss the dung. For you cannot injure him more sensitively and take revenge more gloriously than by laughing at his impotent and powerless stings and bites with the greatest glee.

I wish that the bride of Christ may have much happiness. Now, if you also desire a bride, I would gladly wish you happiness. But if you desire without complaint

1) See No. 1465.

You will be much happier, and I will wish you even more happiness, not as if I wanted to offend marriage, this divine work and state, but because I cannot but wish happiness to him who (as Paul says [1 Cor. 7:26, 33]) is free and safe from the turmoil of works and persons. Christ teach thee and make thee prosper, and make thee pray for me. In him be well. On the day before Martinmas [Nov. 10] 1529,
your Martin Luther.

No. 1475.

(Wittenberg.)

November 11, 1529.

To D. M. Philipp Rosenecker in Jena.

The man had fallen into Turkish captivity, and the woman, when he demanded that she join him, had entered into a second marriage.

The original is at the Rathhouse in Wittenberg (under glass and frame). Printed in the congratulatory program of the Wittenberg Gymnasium to the University of Jena on its tercentenary, 1858. *Inclutae Academiae Jenensi . . . gratulatur . . . Gymnasium Vitebergense*, edited by senior teacher Theophilus Stier.

Vitebergae Typis Bernhardi Henrici Ruebneri. 3 quarto leaves; in Seidemann, *Lutherbriefe*, p. 39 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 187.

To the honorable and wise Philippus Rosenecker of Jena, my favorable good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. My good friend! As I told you in Jena about the marriage case, so I still say: because Jeronymus Malter, 2) master gunsmith, her husband, is still alive and is with King Janus, she cannot stay with him with good pleasures. For King Janus is one with the Turk, therefore her husband is safe. Therefore, my advice is that you or she write to the husband.

2) Malter was captured in the battle of Mohacz on August 29, 1526 by the Bassa Karra and was given by him to King John Zapolya (Janos), who used him as a gunsmith. In July 1528 he wrote a letter to his brother-in-law Georg Moser in Neusalza, in which he asked his wife to come to him and enclosed six gold florins as travel money. However, the letter arrived only in 1529, three weeks after the wife had entered into a second marriage with the pastor Georg Jüngling in Neustadt an der Orla at the beginning of the year. Luther had already talked about this marriage case with her relative Rosenecker in Jena on October 12, and now repeats this in writing.

and tell him all things, and pray that he will forgive her, and take her again unto himself, and in the meantime let her be separated and set apart from him 1) with you. What the man will answer, you can think about it further. Hereby God commanded, amen. On St. Martin's Day [11.bNov.] 1529.
Martinus Luther.

No. 1476.

Coburg.

November 12, 1529.

The Council of Coburg to Luther and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The council asks them to provide them with another schoolmaster instead of the deceased M. Philipp Eberbach. The schoolmaster has an apartment at the school, board in the rectory and a salary of fifty guilders, "from which he must supply the school with wood in the winter".

Printed by *Schlegel*, *vit. Joh. Langeri*, p. 86; in Bindseil's Supplement to the *Corp. Ref.* 1874, p. 50 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 188.

No. 1477.

(Wittenberg.)

November 18, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 552.

No. 1478.

(Wittenberg.)

November 23, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks the Elector to write to Duke Heinrich von Mecklenburg to prevent the printing of Emser's Testament in Low German, which had been started in Rostock by the Loll Brothers.

Some pious citizens of Lübeck have written to us and asked that, because some of the Loll Brothers 2) in Rostock have Emser's Testament printed in Saxon, from which they fear that they will sweat much of the people of the place and do great harm, that E. C. F. G., if it were to be done, should write to the Reverend Prince, Duke Heinrich von Meckelburg, and ask that H. F. G., for the honor and benefit of the souls, forbid and prevent such printing, if it could be done. Prince, Duke Heinrich von Meckelburg, and request that H. F. G., in honor of the Gospel and for the benefit of souls, forbid and prevent such printing where it could be 2c. Although for my part of Emser's Testament, according to the text that the same boy maliciously stole from me (for it is almost entirely my text, but changed in a few words that would do no harm), I may well suffer that one has it and reads it; but now he has poisoned it with his glosses and annotations so maliciously and disgracefully that the text does no fruit for it, but harm: I therefore ask, E. C. F. G., that such a printing be forbidden. C. F. G. would graciously grant us such intercession to the esteemed Prince Duke Henry and let it come to us by this messenger who has been sent out for this purpose; but as far as it is good for E. C. F. G. to do so, because we ever, as much as is in us, want to ward off the devil. Christ our Lord be with E. C. F. G. forever, Amen. On the day of Clementi [Nov. 23] 1529.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1479.

Torgau.

November 25, 1529.

The Electorate of Saxony's Rues to Luther.

Response to previous letter.

The concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, p. 143. *lit. EEE*. 8. printed in Burkhardt, p. 167 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 190 f.

Our kind service before. Venerable, esteemed, special lord and friend! Your letter, which you sent to our lord, the Elector of Saxony. Lord, the Elector of Saxony, concerning the will that is being printed in Rostock by some Lol brothers with the Emser's inverted lock and annotation in the Saxon language.

2) "Lollbrüder" (also Noll- or Nullbrüder), Lollharden, brothers of the common life. They held the St. Michaelis monastery in Rostock. The church belonging to the monastery still stands and is used as a wool magazine.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, p. 140-147. *EEE*. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 46; in Walch, vol. XXI, 159 (as from 1526); in De Wette, vol. III, p. 528 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 112.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! It

1) Jüngkling obtained permission from the court to remarry on Oct. 29, 1531.

highly esteemed of our gn. Lord 1) we have vomited and read out, and on this occasion, according to the enclosed copy, we have written a letter to our Lord Duke Heinrich von Mekelburg. And whether we can well consider that it would be more beneficial to things everywhere if our Lord had been at hand himself and had not been in the way. Lord himself would have been at hand and the writing would have been done in his C. F. G. name, but because the delay in this would have been somewhat painful and burdensome, we want to leave it to your own discretion whether this writing of ours is to be sent to our G. Lord Duke Henry of Mekelburg. Duke Henry of Mekelburg, 2) or whether it should be delayed until the future of our G. Lord, and we have not wished to hold you to this friendly opinion, and are willing to serve you. Date Torgau, Thursday Catharina [Nov. 25] Anno 1529.

No. 1480.

(Wittenberg.)

November 27, 1529.

To Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg.

Luther turns to the duke himself to prevent the printing of Emser's Testament in Rostock.

The original is in Schwerin in the state archives. Printed by D. Krey in Rostock, "Andenken an die Rostockschen Gelehrten", appendix, p. 59; in "Etwas von gelehrten Rostockschen Sachen", 5th year, Rostock 1741, p. 352; by De Wette, vol. III, p. 529; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 113 and by Seidemaun, Lutherbriefe, p. 39.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Henry, Duke of Meckelburg 2c., my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I do not doubt that my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, will have written to E. F. G. out of my humble request, or will recently write to her about a printing that has been done in Rostock, for we have received a good report from honest people in Lübeck that some of the brothers of Lol are printing Emser's testament in the Saxon language in Rostock, from which they are concerned that noticeable harm will befall the pious souls, and they have asked me most earnestly that I should write to my most gracious lord,

1) The Elector had already left for the convention in Schmalkalden scheduled for November 25.

2) In order to give more emphasis to the letter of the Electoral Councils to Duke Heinrich, Luther wrote the next letter. The letter is printed in "Etwas von gelehrten Rostockschen Sachen", 5th year, Rostock 1741, p. 354, but with the wrong date: "Dienstags Katharine" instead of: "Dornstags".

the Elector of Saxony, for a writing to E. F. G., which I have done, and am of good hope that it is or will be done. Although I like the text of Emser's testament, as it is almost entirely my text, and is also stolen from me from word to word, but his poisonous additions, glosses and annotations from his envious head, added to my annoyance, would be dangerous, for the sake of which such a testament of Emser is most often printed: 3) I also humbly ask that E. F. G. would not allow such printing for the sake of the Gospel of Christ and for the salvation of all souls (where it is possible), considering that if such printing were to go out through the grace or forbearance of E. F. G., Satan would afterwards stir and complain to E. F. G.'s conscience, as if they had allowed such great harm to souls, so that they would not have prevented it, since they certainly had space and time. However, I hope and pray that Christ will continue to instruct E. F. G., as a lover of the Word of God, to do what is dear to His divine will, amen.

E. F. G. will graciously grant me my diligent, but nevertheless necessary and good opinion letter. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. 1529, on Saturday after Catherinā [Nov 27]. 4)

E. F. G. williger Martinus Luther.

3) In 1529, clergymen (not Emser himself, who died already in 1527) contacted the Loll Brothers to print Emser's Testament in Lower Saxon, so that Luther's New Testament would be displaced by it. What is left of the print, however, shows an improvement in the sense of the brothers, namely a close connection to the Vulgate (also echoes of the Lübeck Bible 1494), therefore their text is further away from Emser than the latter is from Luther. - On Dec. 18, 1529, Duke Heinrich issued a prohibition of printing to the Rostock City Council, whereupon the Council forbade the printing. The printer Joh. von Holt now negotiated with the brother and co-regent of the Duke, who remained Catholic, and printing began quietly in 1530 and continued until the Acts of the Apostles, when the Rector of the Brüderhaus, Martin Hillermann, and the printer were accused of a conspiracy against the Council and its Syndicus, Joh. Oldendorp, and were imprisoned and only released in 1532 after a vow of pardon, but the printed sheets found were confiscated. Only defective copies are in the Rostock and Stuttgart libraries, individual sheets in Dorpat.

4) From memory it says: *recepta* 18 Dec. Güstrow 1529. (De Wette.)

No. 1481.

(Wittenberg.)

November 29 (?) 1529. 1)

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther resisted any alliance to wage war against the emperor.

The original is in the Cassel government archives (now at Marburg). Printed in Neudecker's *Urkunden aus der Ref.-Zeit*, p. 114; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XXIII and (better) in Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 105 (of 27 Aug.).

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord,
Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector,
Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen,
my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! After E. C. F. G. have made known to me what S. G., the landgrave, has written to E. C. F. G., and S. F. G. may suffer that E. C. F. G. hear my objection inside, E. C. F. G. thereupon request that I report my objection in writing:

First of all, this is my advice, that E. C. F. G. together with other princes and cities, who are of an undivided faith, should give the Emperor a submissive answer and with all humility ask for peace, look to His Imperial Majesty 2); as I then hear that the councils are to meet shortly at Nuremberg for this purpose; for the mandates, to which the Emperor's answer refers or draws (which he gave to the embassy), have not yet gone out. And since (as the Scripture says) the King's heart is in God's hands, it is quite possible that the Emperor's counsel has changed by God's grace since the time the 3) Embassy was in their hands, and that His Majesty will not leave this way. And who knows whether all this, which has happened so far and still happens, therefore miraculously hinders and turns God to try our faith? Should such an answer be given to the Emperor, which might be considered harsh and defiant, then a

The emperor's will and commandment are always at the disposal of the emperor. Thus, it is also our duty before God to act against the emperor as our sovereign with humility, as much as possible, and not to defy God, for it is always God's will and commandment: You shall honor the king. 1 Petr. 2.

On the other hand: Even if the emperor were of the mind that he wants to proceed by force against the gospel, without *conciliation* and without interrogation, one can still not in good conscience go to battle, God granting that the emperor gives either an ungracious answer or no answer at all. The reason is first of all that such a thing is unreasonable and also against natural law. For going into the field and putting up a defense shall not be done unless there is physical force or unavoidable necessity. But such going forth beforehand and wanting to defend oneself is not considered an act of necessity, but an irritation and defiance against those who still sit still and have done nothing. Now it is obvious that King Magistrate has not yet issued any *mandates* against these princes, and whether they have already gone out, or would go out, would not yet have been the issue. Between such and all, however, much water can run, and God may well find many means, perhaps also by their part, to act according to peace. Therefore, if the emperor were an equal 5) prince, one could not start a war or go to battle for the above reasons. And if it should ever be thought that one should trust in God, but not despise the means that one can have at the time, so that one does not tempt God; all this is true, but one must not devise such means oneself, but suffer and wait for the means that God presents, and then not let them go and follow our conceit, and also that they be means that may be used with God and not against God. Otherwise, where one so anxiously seeks means, one is certainly too close to trusting in God. For this is what the Jews would have said in ancient times, when they made alliances with foreign kings and pretended that they trusted in God;

4) "either" put by us instead of: "neither".

5) "gleicher" put by us instead of: "gleinher [?]" in Seidemann, and "kleiner" in the Erlanger.

1) This date is Conjectur Seidemann's in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 583, note 5, who for "*Vigilia Sext. [Sanct.] Aug.*" to read S. *Andreae*.

2) Thus placed by us instead of: "seiner K. M. ansehen s?!" in Seidemann.

3) "the" put by us instead of: "the".

But they sought means through such alliance, so they were severely punished for it. Now military action would be an unnecessary and distant means at this time. Item, the emperor is the lord and sovereign of these princes. Now, of course, no one would want his subjects, if they were subject to him, to act in such a way as is done here against the emperor, and would actually be a rebellious and disobedient piece. Therefore, it is advisable to use the diligence one has to seek means of resistance, as one finds means, first all humility and submission to the Emperor. Mt. 1) Then God will give grace (especially if the princes and we will ask him for it with right earnestness) and our worries will find good counsel, as he promises us and does not fulfill Ps. 55: "Cast your concern on God. He will provide for you." 1 Pet. 5: "He resisteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble."

On the other hand, it would also be a futile means, even dangerous and harmful. For I would bet on it if we were already in the field in the present war. How, then, if the emperor sits still or stays outside and lets us wear ourselves out in the field and grow tired of fighting? What would we have gained by this but insurmountable damage, plus the disfavor and displeasure of the whole world? And with that, we would have enraged the emperor first and foremost, and at the same time given him every reason to go on an emergency revenge by appealing to the empire. Then one would probably find scribes who should dress up our things to disfavor, to annoyance, to disgrace the gospel, to disfavor, and again make up the emperor's things so that he must be a vain angel and we must be a vain devil.

Thirdly, it would be too close to the opponents and princes who are in the empire if they and their poor subjects were to be seized immediately by the emperor. For I hear that it has been written to the emperor to put off the estates of the empire to a peace. And if they should be attacked about it, both God and the world would be highly angered once again, and we would be condemned. And

1) Seidemann: "Mt. [?]; incomprehensible to us. Did he perhaps want to imply that something was missing? as: "to prove".

All these things they could do to their innocence cheaply and most beautifully to plunge us into all misfortune and disgrace.

Therefore, my concern is that the nobility to go into the field will remain away, unless there are other needs and things, and because with the ordered way one can always ask HM for peace with all submission. This is my faithful opinion, please, E. C. F. G. will hear it in mercy. Hiemit Gott befehlt, Amen. Sext. Aug. 2) 1529.

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1482.

Gotha.

December 2, 1529.

Friedrich Myconius to Luther.

Myconius sends the history of the barefoot monk Johann Ilten (Hiltten) that he promised, along with a long introduction to it; furthermore, a book by Ilten, and in the enclosure an excerpt from a letter on this matter.

The original is in Hamburg, Ms. I, fol. 84. Manuscript in Hamburg, Ms. I, fol. 348; in Dresden, *Cod. C 342*; and in Bremen, Stadtbibliothek, Ns. a 11. Printed in *sive accessiones ad omnis generis eruditionem. Gottingae 1737. tom. I, lib. 3, x. 9*;

Seidemann in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, III, 305 (without the supplement) and datirt: 30. Nov. and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 194. The supplement in *Unschuldige Nachrichten 1744*, p. 317 (as a letter of Spalatin to Luther from 1520; likewise Burkhardt, p. 36, in a regest).

To the highly famous and exceedingly faithful prophet of the Lord to the Germans, D. Martin Luther, his father in Christ.

Grace and peace from God, our Father, through Christ! So that I may finally obey your orders, my most esteemed D. Luther, as I am obliged to, and free myself from guilt, I am sending you the history of the Minorite Johann Ilten, not in its entirety, but several small pieces, as many as I was able to fish out of the old monks and the tattered remnants of his writings and scrape together. Of all his souvenirs and books, however, of which there was an enormous quantity, and of which, no doubt, some are still preserved by the monks who hid them when they were destroyed, I was only able to obtain these fragments,

2) This meaningless dating is found in Neudecker and in the Erl. Edition. The Erlanger Briefw. remarks: "Neudecker has copied the originals so carelessly that one may also dare here a Conjectur so completely contrary to the printed date".

and certainly not without great diligence and art. For these monks conceal and hide with extraordinary zeal the blood and the memory of this and other martyrs of Christ, so that it does not cry out from the earth to the Lord. But they take this trouble in vain, because he will come in the near future who will demand all the blood of all the righteous that has been shed on earth from the wicked.

This Ilten was formerly so great among the Lieflanders to whom he preached that all who had the privilege of seeing and hearing him thought that they heard an angel from heaven. But from this book the monks have torn out some 1) leaves at the place which I have indicated by a small paper inserted, where, as can be seen from the previous leaf which is still left, 2) that man had described his history and his martyr's sufferings. Among other things, however, the preface of this book seems to me to be a testimony of a not evil heart, although I would have liked him to have either written or known more certain things about the most salvific and necessary doctrine of justification. Rome he interprets several times, that it is the whore in Revelation, and that this kingdom will cease around the year of Christ 1514, as can be seen from his circles (*rotulis*). He was extremely annoyed by the distinction that the monks first dreamt up: that the religious were different Christians than the secular ones; he wanted that no other worship of God was salvific than only Christian worship, without which the monks were outside of salvation. What he has held, and frequently discussed in the circles and elsewhere in this book, of the empire of the Mahometists or Turks, of their victories and wars, which are to be propagated to Europe, so that the consummate wickedness of the Europeans and their godlessness may receive due punishment; Then, what he thought of the kingdom of the restored (*reformatorum*) Christians and of the tyranny of Antichrist and the kingdom of Christ here on earth, and of the end of the world around the year of the Lord 1651, and beyond that the account of the heavenly book does not go, and with which scriptural passages he proved this, you will be able to accept more easily than I. For I think that he did not say anything about the tyranny of the Antichrist and the kingdom of Christ here on earth. For I think that he does not write very probable things. But I cannot avoid it,

1) Instead of (referring to *monachi*) we have assumed, according to your Bremen manuscript and Heumann's copy of the original in the *Parerga, quaedam* (referring to *folia*).

2) The word: *appareat* is the complement of Heumann.

I do not see that he is lying about the fact that he has set the end of Rome around the year of the Lord 1514, and that he has extended the empire of the Turk over Europe from the year of Christ 600 to the year 1570. But you will know through the spirit of Christ that is in you what kind of spirit it was that inspired these things and brought them together. But I beg you, my most revered Luther, that you return this book of Ilten after you have read it. For I have vowed to the monk that I will keep it carefully, and if he should demand it, I will also send it back. Take care that he cannot accuse me of lying, for I would certainly be very ashamed of such an offense. But since the raging of the papists against Christ does not cease, I would like the Spirit in you and others not to cease to punish their sins, although they are already sinning so much that there is no hope that these offenses and the terrible sin of blasphemy will ever be forgiven. Nevertheless, since Christ is now dying on the cross everywhere, I think it will not be unreasonable for us to cry out with the centurion that Christ is suffering improperly and that he is righteous. I have written these three quatrains, which I have sent before the history of Ilten, so that you may see that I gladly want to confess Christ's innocence with you and threaten the fury of those with destruction, that they will quickly receive their terrible punishments from the Lord and that God's vengeance will come upon them. By the way, if something else seems to suit you better, use these papers for any purpose (*pro tergendis natibus*) or for lighting fires.

Nothing new is reported here, except that it is said that the emperor is becoming very burdensome to Christ. But you know what a reward his exceedingly powerful enemies have received. He will undoubtedly be broken like a potter's vessel when he comes up against this stone. Be confident, I have overcome the world, "which is probably more, greater, wiser, stronger, angrier, because devil, hell, Turk, pope, king, bishop, all nations are their war relatives", how much more have I overcome, yes, overcome the emperor. May the grace of Christ keep you His Church, Amen. Respectfully greet the comrade of all your tribulations, "Käthen von Bora". Gotha 1529, Thursday after the Feast of St. Andrew [Dec. 2]. Yours, Friedrich Myconius.

3) The Erlanger Briefw. offers: *perdentium illum*; we have followed Seidemann's reading: *perditionem illorum*; besides, here are two other readings.

Enclosure. ¹⁾

When I had closed the letter, Siebeleben's bishop 2) sent me a letter from Johann Corner, whom I had commissioned to investigate Ilten's history with the monks at Arnstadt, which contained these words: "After the investigation had been done in a careful manner, our hired scout said: I have recognized that these brothers do not want to confess the truth, although I had also approached them (he said) in an exceedingly clever manner. But they confessed that Ilten had not been locked up in eternal prison, but had been kept apart for the sake of the leprosy, so that he would not infect others with his disease, and he had not lived in seclusion until the day of his departure. [In passing: See the monkish deception. Ilten was never leprous in the body]. After many things they also added that he had had a strong spirit of prophecy, and that he had often occupied himself with the prophecies of Johann Lichtenberg 3). Among other things, the monks said that he had also predicted that it would happen that no monastery in Eisenach would be maintained; he had also predicted many other things, of which today everyone sees that everything has come true. I have learned this from our hired scout, as well as other things that are not relevant to the matter, which it is not necessary to explain. I am sending this to you, dear brother, so that you may report it to our Frederick 4) as soon as possible." So far Johann Corner, pastor at Dietendorf.

No. 1483.

Friedewald.

December 9, 1529.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

After the shameful treatment of the envoys sent to him, nothing good could be expected from the emperor, therefore Luther should advise the Elector that he, along with the other Protestant states, refuse to help the Turks.

Printed in Rommel, Philipp der Großmüthige, Urkundenband, p. 32 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 199.

1) The enclosure was attached to the letter on a special sheet and bears the inscription in Myconius' hand: "From the last letter of Joh. Corner (Cornerii) to Johann Bartholus, about Ilten.

2) The pastor in Siebeleben near Gotha was Joh. Bartholus. - Joh. Corner was pastor in Dietendorf in the Gotha office Jchtershanfen.

3) See Luther's preface to Johann Lichtenberger's Weissagung, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 266.

4) Myconius.

Philipp von Gottes Gnaden Landgrave of Hesse 2c.

Dear, dear faithful one! We have no doubt that you are aware of the unpleasant, burdensome and outrageous actions of the Roman Emperor. Maj. has done against ours, the princes, princes and cities, who are attached to the holy gospel, which they call your doctrine, and to the protestation before the next Speirian imperial treaty, 5) whom we have delivered to their sovereignty with such high, humble, submissive supplications and requests and such Christian, honorable, just and lawful entreaties, and especially how their sovereigns have had them imprisoned in the inn. The same also applies to the unceremonious,⁶⁾ serious answer given by her M. to the same advertisement, and that from this her K. M.'s serious, vehement and ungracious disposition towards us, the above-mentioned Electors, Princes, Estates, you and others who are inclined to the Gospel, is to be understood without obscurity, actually and certainly, and also that, where her M. has done something ungracious to damp down the protestation, it is to be understood that her M. has done something ungracious to damp down the protestation. would do something ungracious to dampen and suppress the Gospel, it would be difficult to do so, although we have no doubt that the almighty God, who out of mercy and grace has again given us his word so abundantly and graciously, will also preserve it powerfully against all men. But nevertheless, the ways and means given to us by God and useful for this purpose are not to be despised. Since there is now and necessity demands that help against the Turks be sought from all, and especially also from us, the above-mentioned Estates, by Our Lady and her brother and others, since our, the Estates', help is not the least, but among the highest and most noble, we mean, if we unanimously decide and do not grant or give ourselves any help, that beforehand Our Lady has assured us of peace and that she will support us in our efforts. If we unanimously decide and do not grant or give help, then we mean that the Catholic Church has assured us beforehand of peace and that it wants to let us stay with the Gospel unimpaired (which we consider Christian in our understanding, and that it is unpleasant and unprovable), it would nevertheless move the Catholic Church in such an objection, and we are of good, comforting confidence in God that we would receive it and that thereby much harm would be prevented; and we do not consider it otherwise than that you, with your teaching, finally

5) The detailed description of the tyrannical action of Emperor Carl V to the Protestant envoy can be found in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, 452-518, in the documents No. 849-863.

6) "ungewierig" == not granting, rejecting.

7) Added by us; there is a gap in our template here.

and what serves for the promotion and planting of the same, with only diligence: therefore we request of you with grace quite amicably, whether from the high-born prince, our friendly dear uncle, brother-in-law and cousin, the Elector of Saxony 2c., that his love would seek or desire your advice or concern therein, you shall, according to your skill, propose the above-mentioned way to his love, and promote it with diligence, so that his love will let it please her, and thus be done and left unanimously by all of us. We are sure that this will give rise to concern and motivation on the part of the Catholic Church and will also be to your benefit, as you will be able to judge for yourselves according to your own understanding, and will send us your response to this. ¹⁾ This we provide for you, and will do so with grace. Date Friedewalt, on Thursday after Nicolai [Dec. 9] A. 2c. 29.

To Martinum Lutherum.

No. 1484.

(Wittenberg.)

Decembei?11, 1529.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for the Schweinitz castle owner because of a cash defect.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, X, fol. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 62, no.98; in Walch, vol. XXI, 301; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 530 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 115.

Your most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord! I should not interfere in this matter, but I must do so. The Schweinitz castle owner, Kunz Pfeilschmidt, owes E. C. F. G. in his account, as I have heard, something honest, even in money: he has asked me, as in his greatest need, for this favor. I have made myself difficult for many reasons, and have also thought back and forth about whether he could be helped. It is true that he has served E. C. F. G. for 20 years, and that he takes comfort in the fact that [it] should be given to him.

The situation is as follows: even if he were to be expelled, C.F.G. would not be able to recover his property at once, and would have to sell it by the day 2) and collect it again individually. If C.F.G. wants to let him sit and take 50 fl. from him every year until he pays it all, he hopes that he will keep himself honest and do well; for he has taken a 100 fl. loss on the wine this year. I know of nothing more to do here than to ask. E. C. F. G. will know how to do it. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Saturday after St. Nicolai [Dec. 11] 1529.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1485.

(Wittenberg.)

December 13, 1529.

To the Abbot Friedrich Pistorius at Nuremberg.

Luther asks him to persuade the father of the jurist Conrad Mauser to attend his son's wedding to a Wittenberg woman in person.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 380. fol. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 116; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 531 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 201.

To the venerable man in Christ, Mr. Friedrich, Bishop of the Aegidien Monastery in Nuremberg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Venerable Man in Christ, I have both nothing and much that I would like to write to you. I have nothing from myself except that I commend myself to your holy prayers. But I have much from our new bridegroom, Conrad Mauser, your citizen, certainly an exceedingly honest and worthy young man. And there is no doubt that your kindness can easily be measured, if a letter should be written that would be worthy of his new and fresh flame of bridal love, then perhaps the whole world could not fast it, since even the wise King Solomon himself confesses that he could not fast the way of a man to a maid [Sprüchw. 30, 19]. But this I play in such a way, so that, I you the high

2) That is, on dates (Erl. Briefw.).

1) Luther replied on Dec. 16.

time this molt recommend. For through you he wishes to become more pleasant and happy for his parents. This will happen if your kindness will help his father to realize that his son Conrad has certainly taken a girl of excellent figure, and what is best, adorned with a good character and due manners, I would also like to add, a Christian girl, if the value of this name had not become low because of its frequency and quantity among the people, but not among us. Also, the father of the girl is not without wealth, as the citizens here are, but he belongs to the number of the council and to the richer ones, and is with us a very respected man, who presides over his house in the best way, and his wife is industrious and of good repute. This will make your kindness known to the father when it comes, so that he will not deceive the son, but rather cheer him up with his good will. For he did not take her without the father's consent, 1) but would gladly have the father's good will made known by his coming to the wedding. For we would gladly that thou also wert present in person, but we fear that we ask a thing for which there is no hope. Let your kindness do what is good in their eyes, and be well in Christ, amen. On the day of St. Lucia [13 Dec.] 1529.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1486.

(Wittenberg.) December 13,
1529.

To Eoban Hesse in Nuremberg.

Luther sends him the 118th Psalm with short explanations, and asks him to transform it into a Latin poem.

This letter is found in *Psalmus CXVIII ex ipsius M. Lutheri scholiis: praeterea sedecim alij Latino carmine reddita per Helium Eobanu Hessum. Eiusdem de fructu lectionis Psalmorum Elegia. Epistola M. Lutheri. Epistola Ph. Melancthonis.* 2)

1) From this one recognizes that De Wette's statement: "that Luther asks the abbot to effect the consent of the father to this connection" is wrong.

2) This letter is found in *Corp. Ref., 93b. I, 1081. Iacobi Micylli psalmi duo. Lectori. E Schola Norica, Mense Februario. M.D.XXX..* 32 leaves in 8. Dedicated to the town clerk Lazarus Spengler. Then in the Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p.202.

Martin Luther wishes Eoban Hesse salvation.

Grace and peace in Christ! Since I had seen that you, my dear Eoban, were gladly and with pleasure practicing your poetry on some psalms which had been given to you by Philip, and I, who love the Psalter very much, took great pleasure in seeing this Hebrew poet clothed with Latin poetry, I have often thought of giving you some more of this pleasant occupation, of expounding to you some more of this pleasant occupation, but I have been so often prevented and beset by other troubles, that it has not hitherto been granted me to tell you a psalm which you should make more sweet to me for my prayer and love by your poetry. For I did not want to name a mere (*nudum* == without explanations) psalm, and I ask that you exercise your poetic gift on it. Not as if I doubted that all psalms are already sufficiently known to you, but because I am selfish in these matters, and would like to see my thoughts interspersed, so that the psalm would be all the more familiar and pleasant to me, than if absolutely nothing of my thoughts, to which I am accustomed, were included. Therefore, I now finally ask that you, if you get leisure and allow your soul rest, may form this 118th Psalm into a Latin poem for me. 3) For so that you do not stray far from my thoughts, I send you at the same time several short explanations (*scholia*), *which I have* noted privately, so that I may imprint the Psalm, which is extremely dear to me, more sweetly and firmly in my memory. Whether you want to copy the copy or send it back is up to you. But I would like you to understand these requests of mine in such a way that you will not hear me, let it be with great pleasure, and you will, as it were, send it back to me.

3) The Psalm edited by Hesus has in the above print the superscription: *In Psalmum CXVIII [sic] cum interspersis (quantum cum decore fieri potuit, et personae dignitas permisit) Martini Lutheri Scholiis, per Eob. Hessum latino carmine reddita paraphrasis.* - Hesus gave Luther's Schölten to Wenceslaus Link, who translated them into German and published them under the title: "Der Hundert vund achtzehendt Psalm, niit kurtzer außlegnng oder verzeichnuß D. Martin Luther's.... Wentzeslaus Linck. 1530." At the end: "Gedruckt zu Nürenberg durch Jobst Gutknecht." 3 sheets in 8. This interpretation is different uon the "beautiful Confitemini," St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1174 ff, and is not yet found in any edition, so we have not been able to bring it.

of your own accord. For I do not want to burden you with a burden, especially in a matter that is not necessary, but only pleasant; but of a pure and holy pleasantness, perhaps also not useless. For this psalm has often served me as an exceedingly effective means against many temptations and attempts of the devil; that is the cause why I wish it to be embellished and made known in every language with all art and imagery. Forgive my importunity and be well in Christ. On the day of St. Lucia [13 Dec.] 1529.

No. 1487.

(Wittenberg.)

December 16, 1529.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Luther gives an evasive answer to the Landgrave's letter of December 9 (No. 1488).

The original is in the archive at Marburg. Printed in Rommel's Philipp der Großmüthige, Urkundenband, Gießen 1830, p. 34; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 108 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 204.

Grace and peace from Christ JEsu. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I have received E. F. G. I have received the Holy Scripture through this messenger, and have heard what rude things are being brewed in the Emperor by the clergy, and I hope to God, who boasts in the Psalter that He makes ungodly rulers and people's attempts futile, that He will now also hear us and make such attempts futile, mostly because the clergy now boasts so highly, and defies the Emperor and human help, and does not ask anything of God, nor does it call upon Him. God only protect us, that we do not insist on our wit and strength, but desire and wait for his help, then it will surely come. That also E. F. G. desires, where I would be asked for advice, to help my lord. G., if I were asked for advice, to persuade my lord that the emperor should not be helped against the Turks, unless a common peace had been promised and made beforehand 2c.: I have not yet been asked for this, nor do I know anything about how things stand at Speier 1) now or at Schmalkalden.

1) A regimental meeting was held there in November to discuss the danger from the Turks; in Schmalkalden on Nov. 29.

It is a question of where the matter stands or goes that I do not know how to answer this time either; but if it comes to that, I will, if God wills it, advise in the best, because such a matter will then also come to my conscience, and I will probably be forced to advise in the best. However, I will ask, as much as I can and may with God's grace, that not the will of the priests, but God's will be done, amen. I command E. F. G. in Christ's grace, Amen. On the Thursday after S. Lucie [16. Dec.] 1529. Martinus Luther.

No. 1488.

Wittenberg.

December 17, 1529.

Luther and Jonas to the Elector of Saxony.

Request to have the counties of Eilenburg, Bitterfeld and Belzig, which are still in arrears, visited and thus to complete the entire visitation work.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, fol. 55 d. V. 6. According to a copy by Neudecker (not an imprint) printed in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XXVI and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 109.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! To Your Lordly Grace our obedient obligated services are always preceded with diligence. Most gracious Lord! We humbly inform Your Lordship that the district and office of Saxony and the region of Meissen, namely Wittenberg, Seyde, Sweynitz, Schlieben, Liebenwerda, Torgau, Leyßnick, Colditz and Grimma, have been ordered by Your Lordship to be visited by divine visitation. We were willing to visit them as well as the others, but at the same time we were prevented from doing so by the accidental illness of Bastian full of Kotterisch, and because the house of Tanbeuheim, as well as Doctor Benedictus Pauli, were burdened with other business at that time. Since, however, many of the three counties mentioned, and especially Beltitz, are daily encouraging us, both orally and in writing, to carry out the visitation, we humbly request that E. C. G., where it is in his power, 2) again order several persons, especially the 2) honest Hans von Taubenheim, to do so, so that 2) the remaining counties mentioned above may be informed of this.

2) Gap in spending.

We would like to visit and send the registration to E. C. G. in its entirety, considering the great need that such work requires. This we want to deserve for the same E. C. G. in submissive obedience at all times. Date Wittenberg, Friday after Lucia [Dec. 17] *Anno Dei* 1529.

E. C. G. subservient, obedient Martinus Luther, Ecclesiast, and Justus Jonas, Provost at Wittenberg, both *Doctores* of the Holy Scriptures.

Postscript. ¹⁾

Since Doctor Benedictus Pauli has also indicated to us that it is impossible for him to wait for the visitation in addition to his mayoral office and other pending business, we humbly request that Your Lordship give him a new order or graciously appoint someone else to take his place.

No. 1489.

Wittenberg.

December 20, 1529.

Luther and Jonas to the Elector at Saxony.

Request for the monastery administrator at Sitzenrode for permission to marry.

The original, executed by the visitation clerk, is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. O*, p. 476. Printed in Burkhardt, p. 168 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 206.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! We are always ready to render our servile and obligatory services to Your Lordship. Most gracious Lord! After E. C. G. ordered us, among other deputies, to visit and inspect the parishes and monasteries of the counties of Saxony and the region of Meissen, and also to procure equity everywhere, we also summoned, among others, the head of the monastery of Sitzenrode, 2) Ern Johann Donati, to Torgau, whom we found to be a particularly skilled steward, who also committed himself to all obedience to E. churf.

1) This postscript is missing in the editions, but is added by Burkhardt, p. 495, and also included by the Erl. Briefw.

2) A Benedictine nunnery near Torgau.

with a subservient favor. However, since we have noted that he has remained without a wife until now, and that he has refrained from marrying only because the administration of the monastery, which E. C. G. had prescribed for him throughout his life, might be withdrawn from him in such a case. which E. C. G. had prescribed for him throughout his life, might be withdrawn from him in such a case, he has kindly and obligingly asked and requested us, upon our diligent admonition, to be helpful to him at E. C. G., so that such a change would be permitted to him and that E. C. G. would graciously grant him the right to marry. Therefore, our humble and diligent request to E. C. G. is that E. C. G. graciously allow such a change to the headman and administrator,³⁾ in view of the fact that it is a good and Christian undertaking that such a large household can hardly be administered without a female. In addition, the virgin, whom he was willing to free, was brought up in the aforementioned monastery and before that time was used for housekeeping at the assembly of virgins. For the sake of E. C. G. we are always willing and ready to earn this in humble obedience. Date Wittenberg, Monday after Lucie [Dec. 20], Anno 1529.

E. C. G. submissive, obedient Martinus Luther, Ecclesiast, and Just Jonas, Probst zu Wittenberg, bede Doctor.

No. 1490.

Torgau.

December 21, 1529.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther and Jonas.

Response to the letter of 17 December.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, fol. 55 b. 6. 4. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 169 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 207.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotees! We have received your letter, in which you inform us that the district and office of Saxony and the region of Meissen, namely Wittenberg, Seyda, Schweinitz, Schlie

3) Monday after Erhardi (10 Jan.) 1530 followed the approving churfürstliche resolution (Burkhardt).

We have ordered the visitation of Liebenwerd, Torgau, Leißneck, Colditz and Grim by divine help, so that Eilnburg, Biterfelt and Beltzk are still behind the scenes, which you were prevented from doing in the first visitation for several reasons. We have heard your request and the attached petition, and you have noted it for your gracious favor, and it is not without necessity that these three places be favorably visited in the same way as the others. Therefore, we allow ourselves that this be done first, as you can do it with I), as we then order our council and dear faithful, Benedict Pauli, Doctor, and Hansen von Taubenheim, to let themselves be used for such visitation next to you at your request and notification, but if you need Doctor Pauli in secular matters, then let him, for the sake of his mayoral office, or if he is to sit in the court court, allow him. 2) And since we daily note that in the Saxon and adjoining Meissen district all kinds of matters come to us that are not finally settled: In order that equity may now prevail in the same for the prevention of further injustice, it is our gracious request to you that you do not make the matters pending, but think with diligent consideration on the ways that they may finally be recorded and passed, also that you do not allow the parties any dangerous or wanton evasion, as shall then also be held by us thereupon. But the matrimonial cases, so pending, you want to discuss for the prevention of further aggravation by reasonable Christian instruction, and if you do not want to wait for the same matrimonial cases everywhere, you want to send them to our learned judges, the assessors of the court court in Wittenberg, according to our common tender to promise, and thus turn to good diligence in the things everywhere. In this you do us a favor. Date Torgau, Tuesday Thomä Apostoli [Dec. 21] 1529.

No. 1491.

(Wittenberg.)

December 25, 1529.

Luther and Melanchthon to the Coburg Council.

Even before the request of the Coburg City Council for a schoolmaster (No. 1476), dated Nov. 12, 1529, had arrived in Wittenberg, Melanchthon had already sent a letter of request to the city council on Nov. 12, 1529.

1) "with ichte" = somehow.

2) "Allow" here will probably be as much as: give leave.

15 Nov. in a letter to M. Joh. Fesel, preacher at Coburg, who suggested Wolfgang Höfler for this position (*Corp. Ref.*, I, 1110 f.). From our letter it appears that as a result of this, the council of Coburg wrote again in the meantime, which is answered here (not to No. 1476). At the same time (Dec. 25), Melanchthon also wrote to Fesel that Höfler was willing to take over the school (*Corp. Ref.*, I, 1116).

From the original in Christian Schlegel in *vita Langeri*, p. 87; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 64, no. 105; in Walch, vol. XXI, 361; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 205; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 206 (everywhere with the wrong date 1530) and (under the year 1529) in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. I, 1115 f.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of the city of Coburg, our favorable lords and friends.

Our friendly services before. Honorable, wise, favorable gentlemen and friends! We have informed Wolfgang Höfler of your opinion concerning the school, in which he notes your friendly will towards him, and asked us to thank you diligently on his behalf, as is due, and to ascribe the following opinion, that he is inclined to accept the school in Coburg, and for this reason, after the end of the present Leipzig market, to move out³⁾. But because you add in your writing that he would rather study here longer, this should not be contrary to you: he wants to have this completely stated to you, as his lords and sponsors; for although he is inclined to accept the school, he still wants to show himself obedient to you, and if it would be your concern that he should study here longer, and you determine a certain time and study for him, he will keep obediently and follow you. From all this you will show him your mind, if he comes out with God's help. We are always willing to serve you kindly. God keep you. Date on the day of *Natalis Domini*, MDXXX [Dec. 25, 1529]. 4)

Martinus Luther.

Philip Melanchthon.

3) On Jan. 5, 1530, Höfler left for Coburg (see *Corp. Ref.*, II, 11). He held the post until his death in 1544.

4) According to the way to start the New Year with Christmas Day.

(Wittenberg.)

(December 1529.) 1)

**Luther's and Melanchthon's concerns to the Elector
on the day at Nuremberg.**

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 283, no. 819.

No. 1493.

Wittenberg.

1529.

**To Johann Purgolt, Mayor of
Eisenach.**

Luther indicates to him that both he and Melanchthon wrote to the captain at Wartburg so that M. Heinrich Scholl would keep his brewing rights and his school office 2c.

From a manuscript in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. RR*, p. 237, No. 2, printed in *De Wette-Seidemann*, vol. VI, p. 700 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 210.

Grace and peace in Christ! Dear Cautious, dear Lord and Friend! What they have done in Eisenach with your son-in-law, to deprive both of the brewing rights and the school office, has not pleased me and *Mag*. Accordingly, we have both written to the captain at Warburg 2) in the hope that M. Scholl, your oath-bearer, should be retained in the school office, for although their nobility does not grow out of envy, as cannot be well believed, there are not so many people available at present that one should choose and supply them with a vain Philipp Mel. or the like according to their thoughts. Therefore I ask you to admonish good friends and citizens of mine with the indicated, if necessary, writing, that they help resist envy and let themselves be based on *Mag. Scholl* 3) so that they do not experience a change that makes them regret it. For a thing is soon changed, but not so soon improved. Change is bad, therefore everyone should suffer and keep what he has,

1) This concern, which was placed "on the day *trium Regnum* at Nuremberg 1530," cannot have been written as early as April 1529, where *De Wette*, Vol. III, p. 438 and the *Erlangen* edition, Vol. 54, p. 63 place it.

2) Eberhard von der Thann.

3) Perhaps: "benügen". It may have been read "benugen" in "berugen".

that God does not punish the ingratitude. I did not want to behave in such a way in good opinion, because I am willing to serve you and yours. Hereby commanded by God. Date Wittenberg, Anno 1529. Martinus Luther.

No. 1494.

(1529.)

**Concerns to Brenz about the death penalty of
heretics.**

(Fragment.)

Printed by Hartmann and Jäger, Joh. Brenz., Vol. I, p. 301 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 211.

In a concern about the means by which the authorities should defend themselves against sects, written at the end of 1529, Brenz says that he asked Luther for advice about the death penalty for heresy, and that Luther answered him thus:

I am hard to judge by blood, even if there is enough guilt; in addition, I am frightened by the succession of the example, which we saw with the papists and before Christ's time with the Jews, where it was set to kill the seducing teachers: [Now it has come to pass that not only the holy prophets and innocent people have been killed by virtue of such a statute, so that the godless authorities have helped themselves, and have made false teachers and heretics, as much and as many as they have longed for. The same would be true of ours, where one could prove by example that it is fair to kill false teachers, just as innocent blood is shed for guilty among the papists. Therefore, false teachers should not be killed; it is enough to expel them; even if the descendants wanted to abuse such punishment, they would sin again and harm only themselves.

No. 1495.

1529.

**Luther's preface to Jonas's German translation of
the second edition of Melanchthon's Interpretation
of the**

Colossian Letter.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XI V, 176.

No. 1496.

Wittenberg.

January 2, 1530.

To Michael Stiefel in Lochau.

About a church discipline case due to irreconcilability.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 2; in *Cod. Rostoch.*; in Copenhagen in the old royal library, 1393, fol. 194; and in *Cod. Jen.* b, fol. 190. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 80; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 538 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 213. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1198.

Grace and peace! It is enough, my dear Michael, against this stubborn woman and man, if you publicly and privately do not inform them that the kingdom of heaven is closed to them, and that they cannot be saved unless reconciliation is made with the other sister. But publicly you shall not announce it, if you have not first privately admonished; then the second time with two witnesses; the third time you shall say from the pulpit before the congregation that they are to be considered Gentiles, as Christ teaches *Matth.* 18, 17. And so you may deny them the ministry of preaching and the sacraments. This is enough for the beginning. Let the "Schösser" do nothing about it yet, because it is not a worldly matter. Farewell. Wittenberg, on the 2nd day of January Anno 30. Martin Luther, D.

No. 1497.

Wittenberg.

January 3, 1530.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther sends him and the Cordatus copies of the second edition of the Army Sermon against the Turk, comments on a gift to be expected from the Zwickau Council and gives news of his literary works.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 59. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 4; in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 9; in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in *Cod. Gothan.* 185. printed in *Schütze*, vol. II, p. 119; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 169; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 539 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 214.

To the worthy man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, bishop of the church at Zwickau, his highly esteemed and extremely dear superior.

Grace and peace in Christ! Since the sermon against the Turks has not yet reached you

I am sending two copies of the second edition for you and Cordatus. But that you write that your council will fulfill the promise, I know of no promise. Furthermore, I am also troubled by such gifts, because they are great (*heroica*) and of great value, through which I am suspected by people of great wealth. Since I detest them and could not stand them even if I had them, I also suffer the name most unwillingly. Therefore, you would do better to see to it that this does not happen. No one owes me anything except food and clothing, but I owe everyone everything.

I will finish the booklet on the rights of marriage 1) in the next three days. The booklet on the customs and religion of the Turks, which was published about 70 years ago, will be printed in Latin. 2) We have corrected the New Testament to the end, and it is more than half finished in print. 3) After that we will return to the translation of the Prophets. Farewell and pray for me. January 3, 1530. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1498.

(Wittenberg.) January

3. January 1530.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

Luther wished him luck with the birth of a son and accepted the position of godfather to him. He tells of the emperor's imminent arrival and the papists' cries of triumph over it, and of an extortion of the pope under the pretext of the Turkish war.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 26; there in *Cod. Guelph.* VuZ. 11. 10, fol. 197; *ibid.* in *Cod. Guelph.* Vu]. 19. 15, fol. 1206; in *Cod. Rostoch.*; in Copenhagen in the old royal library, Ms. 1313, fol. 197; in *Cod. Goth.* 451 and in *Cod. Jen.* 6, fol. 200. printed by *Buddeus*, p. 81; by *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 540 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 216. German by *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1200.

1) Of Matrimonial Matters, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 754.

2) Luther's preface to this book is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 298, newly translated by us from the Latin.

3) The new edition was published for the Frankfurt Easter Fair.

To Mr. Conrad Cordatus, minister of the word at the church in Zwickau.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I wish you happiness with all my heart, my dear Cordatus, that you have become a father through the birth of a son. May the Lord be with him, that you may have joy in him all the days of your life, amen. I will send my testimony as soon as it comes, in which I will acknowledge that I am godfather 1) as you have asked, so that he may remember me when your son is grown up.

The papists triumph and write (*scriptillant*) to each other and say: The Savior is coming! namely the emperor. But oh woe! (*hui*) a hard savior who will devour them at the same time. I believe that you have heard that two bishops (one of whom is the bishop of Trent) have been sent by the pope to Germany with the permission of the emperor, with such an order that they should hand over to Ferdinand against the Turks all the gold and silver that is presently in the churches in all of Germany. If this was not enough (for what should be enough for those people?), then they were to add the third part of all ecclesiastical income. If this was not enough either (as it cannot be enough for those who want to see Germany sucked dry and ruined), then they should sell castles, cities and all territories and hand them over to Ferdinand, the victor and devourer of the Turks. When this (it is laughable) was read out in the pulpit in Paderborn, one canon replied: "Dat de Düwel dem Bawest int Liess fare", another canon: "So Doctor Martinus wants to stay for another year". The bishop of Bamberg 3) said, when those two bishops, the robbers, were released, that he would rather suffer eternal imprisonment than consent to this robbery. The Würzburg 4) sent an envoy with a good gift to reverse this decree with the emperor. Behold, how the pope with Florentine kün-

The most important thing is that he wants to destroy Germany, since he cannot avenge himself in any other way. This is the beginning of salvation from their Savior; and rightly so, since they are repugnant to Luther, their defender, they may lose everything under their guardian and be brought to ruin in the wrath of God. In Hesse in the city of Cronberg 5) a child in the womb, because the whole family in the room heard it, cried out loud twice. This is a very bad sign. You will tell this to the very dear man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, your pastor. Be well and pray for me. January 3, 1530.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 1499.

(Wittenberg.) January

4. January 1530.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercede for someone.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, N, fol. 108. 41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 63, no. 99; in Walch, vol. XXI, 300; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 541 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 122.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Paul Serl is here at present with a supplication, as E. C. F. G. will hear, who also asks my intercession to E. C. F. G.. Now I know well that I am to go about such business idly, and that there would be others through whom he would bring his things forward; but because I have promised his wives carelessly, I ask E. C. F. G. to do in this what they consider good; for he has also given me a harbor; help what you can. Therefore, I entrust it entirely to E. C. F. G.'s good pleasure. - Herewith a new blessed year in Christ, Amen. At Wittenberg, on the fourth of January, 1530.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Lutherus.

5) Since the expulsion of Hartmuth von Cronberg the town was Hessian.

1) *catechistam*. The questioning of faith at baptism was called *catechism*; lastly the word was used for the paternity itself.

2) Bernhard von Cles (Glöß).

3) Weigand von Redwitz.

4) Conrad III von Thüngen.

No. 1500.

(Wittenberg.) January

4. January 1530.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Intercession for a Prisoner. From the predatory decree of the pope.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 120; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 541 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 218.

Grace and peace in Christ! I ask you, my dear Amsdorf, to see to it that this letter is delivered to your council. I write for that poor prisoner in Eilenburg, Brosius 1) Smet, who has been punished long and hard enough when he has transgressed. For he has committed nothing in the act; but if the will alone was there (which I do not know), why is there such rage against him? Help me, too, by standing up for him. I am sorry for the wife and the five children who have been deprived of his care and support.

The papists praise their savior, the emperor, but he will devour them beautifully. I believe that you have heard what the pope has offered Ferdinand through two skillful bishops, namely that all gold and silver in the churches of all Germany be handed over to him against the Turks, then the third part of all ecclesiastical revenues, and finally, if this is not enough (for when will it be enough for the pope?), to sell the lands and hand them over to him. 2) That this is true I have heard from the court. That this is true, I have from the court. Farewell and pray for me. January 4, 1530. Yours, M. Luther, D.

No. 1501.

Wittenberg.

January 9, 1530.

Luther and the other visitors to the Elector John of Saxony.

The visitors announce the beginning of the visitation in Belzig, ask to appoint the bailiff Sebastian von Kötteritz there, if D. Pauli should be prevented, especially since Luther will travel to Wittenberg after eight or ten days. They ask for witness money and suggest D. Bugenhagen as Luther's temporary deputy.

1) The text offers: *socius Smet*, an impossible reading. We assume that instead of *socius* a first name is to be put, and have conjectured *Brosius*.

2) Instead of the meaningless "*sic sic* [?]" we have adopted *sibi*.

The original of the chancery, but not signed by Luther and the other visitors, can be found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Ji*, fol. 84b. B. 2. 1530. 58. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 171 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VII, p. 218f.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! Your electoral graces are always preceded by our submissive and obedient services. Most gracious Lord! By recent order of E. ch. G.'s command we are willing, by divine grace and help, to travel to Beltitz on the next Thursday [Jan. 13] and to approach the visitation of the place. However, if we are concerned that E. ch. G. might demand and use Doctor Benedict Pauli in the middle of the work, in case such would occur, we humbly request that E. ch. G. should write to Bastian von Kotteritsch, bailiff at Bitterfelt, and order that he then be used at our request in the doctor's place, considering that perhaps I, Martinus Luther, might also travel to Wittenberg again after eight or ten days.

Because we also have a shortage of food, we ask that E. ch. G. to provide us with it and have it given to Johan von Taubenheim. This we want to do for the sake of E. ch. G. in submissive obedience at all times. Date Wittenberg, Sunday after *Epiphaniae Domini* [Jan. 9] *Anno ejusdem* 1530. E. C. G. submissively obedient

Visitatores 2c.

(On a strip.)

We also do not want your Lord's humble opinion that in case I, Martin Luther, would travel to Wittenberg again, the other gentlemen would consider using Ern Johann Pomern,³⁾ pastor at Wittenberg, in my place for eight or ten days.

No. 1502.

Wittenberg.

January 12, 1530.

To the preachers of Lübeck.

Luther expresses his joy at their work for the Reformation and gives them instructions for its prosperous continuation.

3) Not Bugenhagen, but 21. Georg Rörer became Luther's substitute.

According to an inaccurate copy in *Cod. Dessav. B.* reported by H. Lindner in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 1835, Heft II, p. 343; in *De Wette-Seidemann*, Bd. VI, p. 112 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, S. 220.

To the Servants of the Word at Lübeck. ¹⁾

Grace and peace of Christ in faith and patience! We have heard the good and joyful news about you, dear brethren, namely, that the gospel is lifting up its head among you through your ministry, for which we rejoice and give thanks to the Father of mercies, asking nevertheless confidently that he who has begun his good work in you may guide you with his Spirit, lest he who tempts may be a hindrance to you according to his wickedness. Therefore, continue in fear and humility, knowing that since it is the word of God that you are acting upon, that just as 2) it must be proclaimed with the greatest confidence against men and devils, so it must be acted upon before God with the greatest reverence and fear. So He will give you blessings, that you may produce much fruit, and that your fruit may remain, as it is written [Ps. 111:3], "His righteousness endures forever." And although we believe that it is not necessary for you to be reminded by us, yet out of godly concern we ask and exhort that you do not put the change of customs, which is dangerous, first, but last; that you act first on the main point of our doctrine, which is of our justification, namely, by an alien righteousness, that of Christ, which is given to us by faith, which comes by grace to those who before were terrified by the law and, crushed by the consciousness of sins, sigh for redemption. It is of no use to tell others about grace, for they grasp only the outward change of customs, with which they tickle themselves for an hour, but soon, as sated people, they are disgusted with all sound doctrine. But the change of the ungodly customs will sufficiently arise by itself, where that main piece of doctrine, well presented, will be accepted in godly hearts.

1) According to Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib.* II, x. 219, these preachers were Andreas Wilhelmi (Wilms) and Joh. Walhof.

2) Instead of *vsl* we have assumed *ut*, so that *ut* and *ita* are Correlativa.

has taken root. For they will immediately recognize how great an abomination and blasphemy that Papist idol is, namely the mass and other abuses of the sacrament, so that it is not necessary to fish before the name, that is, to tear it down first, before asking about the righteousness of the faith. Among the most important things, however, you will constantly memorize both for yourselves and for the people the prayers and litanies, private and public, namely, for the purity and fruit of the word, for common peace and for the authorities, and for all other things, as you can read in the litany. These few words of a remembrancer, I ask you to receive with favor, as from those who are partakers of your gift and service. Christ himself, our one and only Sustainer, will be with you and will teach and direct through you that which will serve his glory and common salvation, amen. Wittenberg, January 12, 1530.

No. 1503 .

Torgau.

January 18, 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector exhorted Luther not to stop preaching, but to preach at least once a week.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. N*, p. 109. 16. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 172 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 221.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! It has come to us many times in the past few weeks that you should have stopped preaching in our city and parish church in Wittenberg, which has almost distressed us, and especially because we cannot know why this is so, whether it has happened because of your incapacity or because of other things that have burdened you. 3) For if you

3) We do not know the actual cause. Mathesius writes about it in the 7th sermon (*Mathesius, Luthers Leben*, St. Louis Edition, p. 115): "In the beginning of the 30th year, his zeal burns against his own parishioners, gives them a fierce sermon of repentance, almost like the Lord Christ cried out against his Capernaïtes and Bethsaidites, because God's word wanted to become a mockery and ridicule to him, as the prophet Jeremiah complains miserably about his listeners in the 20th chapter. He also decided that he would no longer preach in God's name. So also the doctor let himself be heard publicly this time, never to preach henceforth, and also stopped for a while, until his zeal cooled down, or indeed his profession burned in his heart, so that he stood up again."

you are not able to preach often during the week because of your body, we would like that the burden could be eased for you so that you preach only one thing during the week, as approximately on Sunday during the mass. But if it would have been a burden for us in Wittenberg, we would not have liked to hear it, and it would have been quite a burden for us to hear that because of their clumsy behavior there should be a reason to slacken your preaching. Since you know better than we can tell you, [that] not only those of Wittenberg, but also ourselves, other countries and foreign people, are concerned that you do not stop preaching, our especially gracious request is that you, to the praise of the Almighty and to the comfort of poor eager people, do not completely cease or slacken your preaching. But, if you are at all able, preach weekly on Sundays at least only once, for if ours in Wittenberg are perhaps the cause of their clumsy nature, we are obliged and want to show ourselves, in which we as the sovereign should have understanding, with the help of the Almighty, that these complaints or the causes should be stopped. For if you should be sure to preach, it would cause us, as the sovereign, a great deal of concern for the government, and it would also be likely to give special pleasure to the opponents of the holy gospel. We will therefore graciously provide ourselves to you, and you will, to the praise of God and to our gracious will, begin to preach again next week and not let up on it. In this you do us a gracious favor, and we want to recognize this in all graces and kindnesses towards you. Date Torgau, Tuesday after Antonii [48 Jan.] 1530.

No. 1504.

Torgau.

January 27, 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

(Regest.)

After the Elector, in Luther's absence, had asked Bugenhagen for his opinion on the question of resistance against the Emperor, the latter requested that, since many people disagreed with Bugenhagen's opinion that one should defend oneself against the Emperor, Luther should consult with Jonas, Pommer and Melanchthon and send him his opinion.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, fol. 43. Printed in Hortleder, *vom deutschen Kriege*. Gotha 1645. vol. II, book 1, cap. 5, p. 4 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 223.

No. 1505 .

(Wittenberg.)

(February 1, 1530.)

To the Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 736.

No. 1506 .

(Wittenberg.)

(February 1, 1530.)

To the bishops of Brandenburg, Havelberg and Lebus.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 738,

No. 1507.

(Wittenberg.)

(February 1, 1530.)

To the Counts and Lords of the Electorate of Brandenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 740.

No. 1508.

Wittenberg.

February 1, 1530.

To Catharina Hornung in Berlin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 742.

No. 1509 .

(Wittenberg.)

(February 2 [?] 1530.) 1)

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Of the apostasy of the Strasbourg people from the empire, from the Turk 2c.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 71 (undated). Manuscript at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 43b (undated); in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 121 (dated 2 Feb. 1531); there *Cod. Guelph.* 214. *gud.*, fol. 1 (without the ending, 1531) and in 6oci. b, fol. 207 (without the ending and undated). Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 232 (after *Cod. Jen.*); in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 220 (after *Cod. Helmst.* 108 - Aurifaber, vol. III, fol. 121) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 227.

1) This letter is undated everywhere, except in *Cod. Helmst.*, where it has the date: "February 2, 1531", which De Wette assumed. The *Cod.* That the letter belongs to the year 1530 results from the fact that the people of Strasbourg became citizens of the city of Zurich on Jan. 5, 1530, and thus had fallen away from the empire, and Luther speaks of Cardinal Wolsey as still living, who died on Nov. 28, 1530.

To the man venerable in the Lord, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful and loud bishop of the church at Zwickau, his brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have nothing of news to report to you, my dear Nicolaus. You may have several. The people of Strasbourg have fallen away from the empire to the Swiss and want to oppose Emperor Carl. I have been a prophet, since I have always said that the spirit of the Sacramentirans is full of secret rebellion. It is now revealing itself. If God does not resist, they will give us a new mint, but to their destruction, so that they may receive their punishment for the violation and desecration of the Sacrament and the Gospel. Let the dead bury their dead. One rumor says the Turk is returning; another, Carl is going back to Spain. Everywhere the godless papists are seized by necessity, but do not go into themselves. England allows the gospel, with the king looking through his fingers. The Cardinal, 1) the demigod of England or rather of Europe, is condemned to eternal imprisonment. In France and Spain, the word is also beginning to go out. The Sacramentarians, after our meeting in Marburg, are burning more fiercely against us than ever before, for they are sorry that we could not be drawn into their abyss, and perhaps there are other things. Christ, who started it, will also lead it out. Farewell and pray for me. My mistress Kätke greets you reverently. The grace and gift [Rom. 8, 15] be with you, amen.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1510.

(Wittenberg.)

10. (?) February 1530.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

Luther jokingly reproaches him for his wantonness and reports Carlstadt's ingratitude and hostility.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 3d (datirt 18. Februar) and in *Cod. Rostoch.*

1) Wolsey was overthrown in October 1529 and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

(Feb. 10). Printed in Strobel, *Miscell.*, vol. III, p. 83 (Feb. 25); in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 171 (Feb. 25); in Schütze, vol. II, p. 121 (Feb. 10); in De Wette, vol. III, p. 549 (Feb. 10) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 229 (Feb. 10).

Grace and peace in the Lord! "Good makes you brave." That this is true I also learn from you, my dear Conrad, since you, perhaps also feeling your wealth, have dared to send back my Thaler 2) as if it were not worthy of being hidden among your treasures; then you also boast in a skillful manner of your reputation (*auctoritate*), through which you are able to do so much that the goldsmith, obeying your command, soon accomplished it in one day, while ours could not even accomplish as much in half a year, - you happy man! But see that you do not challenge Nemesis too much, who likes to envy the lucky ones. But God will grant that I can prove myself by another testimony as the godfather of your son.

By the way, yours, whom we liked to see and get to know, will report all ours. Carlstadt is resurrected by Satan in Friesland, and he pays us due thanks for saving his life at³⁾ by slandering me and ours everywhere in diabolical letters. You pray against him that the Lord may repay him according to his works as soon as possible. For there is no hope that he can be dissuaded from his blasphemies and rages against Christ. Greet your Christina with your son, and may you all be well in the Lord, amen. February 10, 1530.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 1511.

Wittenberg.

February 15, 1530.

To his father Hans Luther in Mansfeld.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1794.

2) *Vallensem*, the Thaler, which Luther had sent as a godfather gift, not, as De Wette assumes, "a compatriot from Mansfeld in the valley".

3) About Luther being the lifesaver of his enemy Carlstadt, see St. Louis Edition, Introduction, Vol. XX, p. 24 f.

No. 1512 .

(Wittenberg.)

February 25, 1530.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther wanted Hausmann to write a memo for him about the things that seemed to be lacking in the church, and he reported on his work.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 60. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscanum*, Ms. 26, fol. 36b; at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 5 and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 122; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 170; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 558 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 231. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1375.

To the venerable man in the Lord, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the very loud bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your letter was pleasant to me, my dear householder, as your letters always are, because of the extraordinary simplicity of spirit and the highest benevolence towards me, of which they are always full. But I would like you to tell me once everything and anything in order that seems to be lacking in the church. For I am neither mindful of all things, nor do I see them. This I would have as a memo, and since it would be before my eyes, I would perhaps try to express it if the opportunity and leisure arose; otherwise I am disturbed by the most diverse matters, forget it from one day to the next, and the time passes. Now we are preparing Daniel for printing, as a consolation for this last time. We have also taken Jeremiah and the other [prophets] in hand. We will publish the New Testament at the next Frankfurt Fair,¹⁾ whereby we will, of course, arouse a new rage against us among the papists, for we have explained the Revelation of John completely with a diligent preface and glosses. You pray for us, as you do. My Käthe greets you respectfully. February 25, 1530, your Martin Luther.

1) This new edition, which he edited together with Melancthon, received, in addition to changes in the text, new marginal glosses and a new, longer preface to the Revelation of John. Köstlin, M. Luther (3.), vol. II, p. 161.

No. 1513 .

(Wittenberg.)

February 26, 1530.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

Concerns about a marriage case, since one had married the widow of his father-brother.

Manuscript in Gotha, Cod. 402, fol. 185; in Wittenberg, *Cod. Schleusner* and in Greifswald, Mss. tksol. 4°, no. 35, fol. 24. Printed in Schütze, vol. III, p. 166; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 554 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 232. In German translation (datirt den 3. März) in sämtlichen Ausgaben der Tischreden, Cap. 43, § 110 (except the St. Louis edition, where this passage is referred to) and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 114.

Grace and peace in Christ! I believe you remember, my dear Spalatin, that I have already made known my opinion about the matter of this widow, who had been the wife of his uncle 2): that I could not in good conscience approve of such a marriage, since it seemed to be expressly contrary not only to Mosiah's law, which is not Mosiah's law as well as nature's law, but also to the civil laws. Ignorance or deceit, as you know, do not excuse it; the fact that they have lived together for a long time is not enough for me to weigh down my conscience with this deed. Let him do as he pleases, and do not ask me for counsel. I am moved by Paul 1 Cor. 5, which is so inflamed because of the stepmother that he does not want [such unions] to be called marriages among Christians, which are not considered such even among pagans, and he clearly calls it a more than pagan fornication, and separates them. He would have done the same in this case, and would have called it a more than pagan fornication, since in the customs and laws of our peoples there is no such example, and it appears as a mere abuse of evangelical freedom. According to my will, I would gladly be compliant with this rule: many things are not permitted, which are nevertheless retained after they have been done, but my conscience and the new deed leave me uncertain. There you have what my opinion is. Pray for

2) A certain Ezold (not Ehold, as he is called in *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 14) had married the widow of his father-brother and produced several children with her.

us. Fare well in the Lord. February 26, 1530, your Martin Luther.

It is claimed that it is certain that the Turk has returned to Constantinople; so it is written from Poland.

No. 1514.

(Wittenberg.)

February or March 1530.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. VI, 892.

No. 1515.

(Strasbourg.)

Early March 1530.

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

(Regest.)

Gerbel describes the difficulties that it would cause to fulfill the order given to him by Luther to reconcile the parents of Christoph Lasius with him: 'He reports that Carlstadt has arrived in Strasbourg and that further machinations by him are to be feared. Of a rumor that Melancthon had died and left something behind that was contrary to Luther's opinion.

Handwritten in Strasbourg, *Thes. Baum.*, III, 656 (*e Ms. Semin. Protest.*). Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 447 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 234.

No. 1516.

Wittenberg.

(Early March [?] 1530.) 1)

To Justus Menius in Eisenach and Friedrich Myconius in Gotha.

Luther approves of their plan to publish a book against the Anabaptists.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 207; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 558 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 236.

To Justus Menius and Friedrich Myconius, bishops of Eisenach 2) and Gotha.

Grace and peace in Christ! It pleases me, my dear Justus and Frederick, that you have written the book against the Anabaptists.

1) The approximate time of writing of this letter results from the comparison with the one to Justus Menius of April 12.

2) Menius, who had previously been in Erfurt, had accompanied Luther to Marburg and had not returned to Erfurt, since he had become superintendent in Eisenach on Luther's recommendation.

No 3) Come out as soon as you can. Then, since they are not only blasphemers but also completely rebellious, let the sword use its right against them. For this is the will of God, that he who resists authority should receive judgment upon himself, Rom. 13:2. Therefore, let us think no better of these people than God Himself and all the saints. This in short, since I am very busy. By the way, pray for us as we do for you. Christ be with you, Amen. 1530. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1517.

(Wittenberg.)

March 5, 1530.

To Adam Adam.

Luther praises Adam's zeal for the right doctrine of the sacraments and comments on the Marburg conversation.

Handwritten in *Cod. Gothan.* Printed by Schütze, Vol. II, 123; by De Wette, Vol. III, p. 559 and in Erlanger Briefw., Vol. VII, p. 237.

To the man to be revered, Mr. Adam Adam, the servant of Christ in the word of truth, his brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! My dear Adam, I have gladly heard and perceived your zeal for the truth of the Sacrament; but your disputation xxxx xx [?] seems pointed, but it has no meaning in this matter, since those are not moved by much stronger things. It is still my intention to write about the sixth chapter of John when I get leisure and time; you will see my work, God willing. By the way, that I am vehement is not to be wondered at; if you were what I am, you would perhaps be even more vehement. Different people are touched in different ways, therefore they are moved in different ways. You haven't fought any wars yet, but only watched, but as that 4) says: Regiment shows what kind of man one is. This for you.

3) Luther wrote a preface to this book, which is included in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XIV, 306. There the complete title of the book is given. The entire book together with the preface is found in the Wittenberg edition (1551), Vol. II, p. 299d ff.

4) In the St. Louis edition, Vol. III, 1574 and Vol. VII, 1374, Luther attributes this saying to Bias, but *ibid.* Vol. I, 834, § 24 to Aristotle, and Vol. III, 964, § 3 to the pagans in general.

That others take offense at our meeting in Marburg, they are right to do so, since they do not want to be edified. Since so many errors had been overcome and confessed by the Zwinglian party, they must rightly be annoyed by the fact that they postponed their opinion in this one article, as if it were really up to us to force those who have been convicted to confess. In the same way, I would have them be angry with Christ because he often convicted the Pharisees and Sadducees, and yet could not persuade them to confess. So despise this kind of people, who are looking for offences to take offense at, and do not even look at the works of virtue by which they would like to be edified. I do not dignify them with a word or a look, for they will constantly find something to slander. You are well and pray to God for me. March 5, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

I have written to the Prince of Liegnitz once before, but I have achieved nothing with him; there is also no hope that anything will be achieved by letters.

No. 1518.

(Wittenberg.)

March 6, 1530.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 544.

No. 1519.

(Wittenberg.)

March 12, 1530.

To Joseph Levin Metzsch in Mila.

This letter, which is included in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1814, does not belong to the year 1520, as we see from the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 249, but to the year 1530. We have placed it, just as the earlier editions, *sub* No. 273 also in the year 1520. In the Zwickau Rathsschulbibliothek there is a copy of Stephan Roth, which is undoubtedly made after the original, with the year *Anno* XXX, which will be correct, because Roth was in the closest contact with Metzsch. Metzsch studied in Leipzig in 1522. The debts seem to have weighed heavily on him, so that he once seriously thought of selling his Mila estate. Perhaps the strong child blessing - until 1546 there are 3 sons, 3 daughters, three times twins and another son born - contributed to his indebtedness.

No. 1520.

Torgau.

March 14, 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther and his Colleagues.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 635.

No. 1521

(Wittenberg.)

March 14, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 637.

No. 1522.

Torgau.

March 21, 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

The Elector requested that Luther and the other theologians come to him in Torgau as soon as possible to discuss a number of matters.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. E*, fol. 37, No. 1, p. 18. Printed in Förstemanns Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 112; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 33 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 279.

No. 1523.

Berlin.

March 24, 1530.

Catharina Hornung to Wolf Hornung with Luther's preface and glosses.

This letter is the answer to No. 1505 to No. 1508.

First printing: "Ein antwort Kathermen Hornung, auff D. Marti. Luthers notbriefe, An Wolfs Hornung." At the end: "Printed at Wittemberg by Nickel Schirlentz. Ym Jar. M.D.XXX." 6 leaves in 4. Then in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 280.

Preface [Luther's].

Luther had several letters of distress (as he calls them) sent out to the Margrave, Elector of Brandenburg 2c., and to the same country's commoners and estates, as well as to Katherina Hornung's, to admonish them all to join the shameful, blasphemous cause, which stinks through the whole empire and gives great annoyance to all the world. To such letters, she alone answers Wolff Hornung, and defends both herself and the Elector, speaking to him at the end: "This is what I have told you in response to your cry."

and do not want to restrain Luther's chatter." Because it should be answered to such public letters, it would be a pity that [it] should not go out publicly, so that everyone would know what Luther's answer to his letters had been.

And it is truly a very feminine thing that it is not easy to grasp who is the master over such a woman, unless one has gloves on of deer skins lined with misery skin, 1) as everyone can well notice. Her name is Mrs. Katherina Blanckenfelt, and yet Luther had written to Katherina Hornung. But perhaps the saying Mosi, Genes. 2, 24: "The two are one body"; 2) although Moses strictly forbade [Deut. 22, 5] that a man should not wear female clothing. And God will protect each one's own from this woman Katherina Blanckefeldin,³⁾ unless a good healer would have come upon her with a sharp pinch, and would have made a borgel⁴⁾ out of it, so that she would not have to make a vain Katherin Blanckefeldin out of it. What a shameful, impudent thing it is about whores and boys.

Follow the letter from word to word:

Wolf Hornung ! ^{a)} I have received your letter together with an enclosed copy of some alleged writings,^{b)} which your god and councilor, Luther, is supposed to have done and sent out to my lord, the prince and sovereign, also to the three bishops, counts, lords and knighthood of this electorate of the Mark of Brandenburg, which I, having found little truth^{c)} in it, neither allow myself to be mistaken nor to dispute.

a) Dear, speak: Good morning, Wolff Hornung!

b) Devil! She is truly angry, and talks to her husband as a great prince and lord.

c) "little truth". So I can hear that nevertheless not everything is a lie. We thank such report and confession.

1) Such gloves were worn by princes and great lords; neither blow nor thrust passed through.

2) This goes to the Elector Joachim and Catharina Hornung, behind whom the latter hides in this letter. From this also the following becomes understandable.

3) That is, before the Elector Joachim, who hides under the woman's skirt.

4) Borg == a castrated pig.

For I have no doubt that the common and noble estates of these lands will not allow themselves to be moved by such a man's loose, open, unsealed, untrue fiction and maps, first of all against their most gracious prince and sovereign, and likewise against me, to do anything displeasing, ungracious or repugnant. ^{d)} But here you see how much Satan would like to blow fire out of his envious mouth, if only it would ignite or stick. ^{e)} And Luther should truly not worry so hard, but should rather reflect to himself how good marriage and faith he kept to his lost nun, when he walks along the gaff at night with the lute^{f)}. But so that I do not forget my need for you, I do not want to tell you that I have not confessed to Luther or to you of your unknowable and fictitious statements, nor, if God wills, shall I be proven with truth and reason. ^{g)} For the fact that I am held against you by force, or protected for injustice, you do first of all, together with your followers, to my most gracious lord, the prince and sovereign, and likewise to me, unkindly, violence and injustice. For your tyrannical, murderous evil deed, which you perpetrated on me while I was sitting by your side and at your table, without cause and in a dishonorable manner,^{h)} is unlawful to the city and the country, and must also be executed and proven with a living document in case of necessity. So I can still show it with the sign on my body,ⁱ⁾ so I have from you; so you can also deny or contradict it with no truth or reason. The sworn, prescribed and sealed receipt is yours,

d) It may also truly good, strong hope, because it is probably such an evil thing.

e) Yes, are you here troffen, you noble blood? In *aeternum, Domine*, whores and knaves never part.

f) Here I want to swear on Katerninus 6) and Katerina's chastity that it was not a lute but a bagpipe.

g) There would be two or three whore children from your whore host.

h) Behold, Hornung, rub against me more, if thou wilt see Rome!

i) And with the landmark, 7) which dll have from your little dream, you can probably prove more, what he and you are.

5) schleuplich == slippery, insidious, insidious.

6) This is the Elector of Brandenburg.

7) namely the child she had from the Elector.

which you have, without all compulsion and urgency, confirmed, sealed, and also fastened with a physical oath^{k)} (to which you have never urged or induced either with tower or stick or some imprisonment or punishment of severity ¹⁾), unpleasant or burdensome, so I have nevertheless, I have, as far as the marriage and the divorce are concerned, always offered myself to due and proper right, that I hereby, if you do not want to remit me ever speech, offer myself again on my proper judge and my *ordinarium*,^{l)} not to be before you right and fairness of the place. But as far as the goods are concerned, which you handed over to me according to the sworn contract, you know to remember that you did not bring me more than one and a half hundred florins against my contribution, which extends to a thousand florins. Now you bought the house in which I still live for three hundred florins, paid one hundred florins on it alone, and left me with a debt of two hundred florins to pay on the house. Item, with my most gracious lord, the Elector, three hundred florins of borrowed money, item, with Claus Fugen one and a half hundred florins, which debt I have then paid and laid aside in your absence, praise God! from mine,^{m)} and not from yours. Now make a calculation of what I may owe you of this, if it should come to a division. Therefore, it would be unnecessary for you to complain so highly that your great property is held up to you, for from this you have to judge how much you should be entitled to if it is to come about right away. But so that I am not lacking again for the sake of the piece, an honorable councillor here in Cologne on the Spree, where I am possessed, shall be my rightful and powerful in all equity. ⁿ⁾

k) Oh, on my holy cross! she means the contract, sealed with the sausage.

l) Well, my dear, if you are torn, then the devil will lapp you!

m) Dear, but did you pay it from yours, from which yours? since you sit on? 2) or on which you live? If it is to be divided, then half of it must go to Hornung and the other half to your Träutlein, and perhaps that would be right.

n) I hear nothing unequal nor unreasonable, except that the above division shall proceed equitably.

1) That is, by threatening torture.

2) These words are to be taken literally.

I also want to be hopeful and undoubtedly confident, if you want to take me to the end of one with justice, and my most gracious lord, the Elector, will ask for such justification for escort, it will not be denied to you. But that I should turn to you again with my body or person, that I cannot bring myself to do,^{o)} for that I once encountered from you, I would also have to worry about you further. But for an amicable agreement, so that I would be separated from you, I have often offered to come to you in and outside of the country,^{p)} as namely to Jüterbach, Baruch and many other places, but that you wanted to provide me with a princely escort to Saxony. For this purpose, I have twice sent you the sealed escort of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Brandenburg, so that you would never lack safe access to me,^{q)} but it has always been you and not me who was lacking. From this it appears publicly, with what reason and truth that you are shouting me out together with your followers so publicly and yet blamelessly^{r)} and educating the people, and also with what evidence it is imposed on my most gracious lord, the Elector, that I should be protected and handled in my will of courage or against fairness, since I can tolerate and suffer justice^{s)} and fairness and have never refused it. And to top it off, and over and above my previous ordinary legal submission, I am once again inclined to accept and wait for an amicable day and trade with you at an appropriate place of this Electorate border, as Mittewald, Potsdam, Brietzen, Trebbin, Sarmund, Köpenick,^{t)} which places are located to you, and if you would also ascribe daytime, I offer to you once again of my most gracious lord, the Elector 2c., certainly

o) I believe that, on my oath, because you have something greater to bring over your heart, for which you would need such an amicable agreement.

p) Thus a wife shall write to her husband, for good example and honor to all wives.

q) Believe the devil with your skillful escort in my place!

r) Truly, quite innocent! how manly conscious.

s) "Right" - that Hornung would sit in the tower and have to watch whores and boys; if it were still so good for him!

t) Oh, to Berlin would probably be better!

and to obtain and send a vehicle (escort) 1)^u) so that you will not be lacking again for my sake. But if all this is not convenient nor acceptable to you, then I place it at your disposal to take not only one, but two or three nuns or others of your liking who have gone astray,^{v)} and shall not give me anything to do with it. ^{w)} Your bishop at Wittenberg will undoubtedly allow you to do so, and will bless it,^{x)} . I did not want to hold this against you in response to your letter and Luther's talk. Date Thursday after Oculi [March 24] 1530. Katherina Blanckenfelds, ^{y)}

u) The woman must truly be at court and have a mad lord that she, as her beloved, is so powerful.

v) Grammertzyl! 2)

w) Do not be very angry, tender beautiful woman, or you will turn black.

x) Whichever dog the shillelagh meets, he cries.

y) Bad: "Katherin Blanckfelt", and not: Katherin Hornung. For she has divorced herself, is herself judge, plaintiff and culprit, and all in all: nevertheless she is pious, just and honest, as this letter testifies and does not deny.

No. 152 4.

(Wittenberg?)

(End of March or early April 1530.)

Luther's (?) expert opinion for the Elector John of Saxony, for the Diet of Augsburg. 3)

He answered how one should behave when the emperor offered fasting food, forbade preaching, and demanded that the Elector go with him to the church.

Handwritten in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. E*, fol. 41, bl. 327 d and in *Cod. Rostoch*. Printed in Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, Vol. I, p. 197 (as an unnamed concern about the middle of May); in Schirmacher, p. 145 (according to *Cod. Rostoch*. with the superscription *Aurifabers: Ein ander Bedenken I*). Martini *Luthers an den Churfürsten zu Sachsen*; p. 482 set after June 16) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 285.

1) Added by us.

2) *Grand merci* == Big thanks.

3) Brieger, *Torgauer Artikel* (in *Kirchengesch. Stud.* for Reuter. 1890, p. 281, considers that form and content make Luther probable as author. He assumes March or early April as the time of writing, because the Elector, as a result of the news received from Innsbruck by Hans von Dolzig (Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, p. 177) of May 8, which included a ban on preaching

Whether Imperial Maj. Maj. would ask or command that my most gracious lord should allow fish and not meat to be eaten on Fridays and Saturdays,

it happens,

My most gracious lord may again ask that His Imperial Majesty will spare His Lordship. Maj. will spare his Lord's Grace with this. But if a serious commandment is to follow, my lord may well do so. Lord may well do so, at the service of His Imperial Majesty. Maj.'s service, but with notice that it is not for conscience' sake, but for His Imperial Majesty's love and obedience. Maj. for love and obedience. For hitherto my most gracious lord, in other imperial assemblies, with the same, and not with imperial maj. Maj. as sovereign, nor has any seal or letter then been presented as an imperial order. Maj. command, as now would be present and command.

On the other hand, whether Imperial Maj. Maj. would request or command that his Lordship not allow preaching, his Lordship cannot grant this, but shall be free to allow his Lordship to preach, for St. Paul says: God's word shall be unbound; yet up to now every prince has been allowed to hold masses and preach his chaplain in his court and camp. However, it is not in his power to close the house or to forbid other people to come to it, because he is not the master of the people of Augsburg.

Thirdly, whether Imperial Maj. Maj. would ask or command that His Imperial Grace should go to mass with him: here I fear, because the devotees at Augsburg have now trampled the Sacrament underfoot and reviled it to the highest degree with a shameful chant, 2c. that His Imperial Grace would do well if she at least went to church with them once for nieste, but that the boys who desecrate the Sacrament should not go to mass with them,

On May 11, he again requested Luther's advice in this matter, and in his letter he refers to a previous concern of Luther's, namely probably to our document. Therefore, Förstemann's time determination: "approximately in the middle of the month of May", will be too late, but even more so Schirmacher's: "after June 16", since the preaching ban really took place on June 18 (see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 749, No. 944). However, the fact that such a concern about the three points was demanded so early, in March or April, can be explained by the fact that these were taken over as open questions from the Imperial Diet at Speier in 1529.

may not boast that his Lordships keep it with them. So it does not harm the conscience, because his Lordship does not keep such a mass as a sacrifice (although who knows whether the priest himself would make a sacrifice out of it, who keeps such masses? They are probably so crude and wild), but rather, as a servant to his master of the house, the Imperial Majesty serves and does his will. But the annoyance that one might take from this is less than the improvement that the enthusiasts might take by avoiding such masses. Thus we have here a mighty example of the Scripture, 2 Kings 5:18 f., that Elisha the prophet permits the prince Naaman of Syria to go with his lord king to his idol's temple and to be with him. And if they are angry, it will be found in other things, in which his lord will hold differently than all of them; the deed will prove it, and is fed with obedience and willing humility with good grace to the false mouths.

No. 1525 .

(Wittenberg.)

1. April 1530.

To Georg Wicel and Anton Hermann in Belzig.

Wicel, born in 1503 at Bach, preacher at Niemeck, had taken in Joh. Campanus from Malseick in the diocese of Liège, who studied in Wittenberg and denied the Trinity, and was therefore, as well as Campanus himself, imprisoned along with Hermann. Campanus was subsequently released, under the condition that he leave the country. Wicel and Hermann also gained their freedom through Luther's use. Wicel remained in Niemeck until the summer of 1531; then he left it under a pretext and returned to the papacy. Nothing further is known about Hermann.

Printed by Zeltner, *hist. Cryptosocinianismi Altorfini. Lips.* 1729. p. 350; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 126; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 172; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 565 f. (from an alleged original in private possession) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 288.

Dell noble men, M. Georg Wicel and Anton Hermann, his afflicted brothers in Beltitz. ¹⁾

Grace and peace in Christ! I immediately wrote to the prince about your lot

1) Already because of two wrong readings in this inscription, namely *Wiselio* instead of *Wicelio* and *Bilnitz* instead of *Biltitz*, the document used by De Wette cannot be original.

I have even sent my own messenger at my own expense. For I knew nothing at all about your being thrown into prison, and such a severe and cruel one at that. ²⁾What the fault is, I do not know either, if it is not perhaps the harboring of Campanus, but I hope that this will be easily obtained. For he has already been in Torgau for almost 15 days and has brought forth wretched monstrosities of doctrines, which, however, have not yet come before my eyes, but have only been told, so that I cannot sufficiently guess what he is up to. Therefore, in the meantime, suffer patiently, and I will faithfully strive for you so that you will soon be released. Be well in Christ. Friday after Lätare [April 1] 1530, Martin Luther.

No. 1526 .

(Wittenberg.)

2. April 1530.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 664.

No. 1527.

(Wittenberg.)

2. April 1530.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 665.

No. 1528.

Weimar.

April 12, 1530.

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

On the writing against the Anabaptists, which Menius was about to publish together with Myconius. Luther draws attention to a weighty reason of evidence against them, which should be added.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 125; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 569 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 293.

Grace and peace! Your writing against the Anabaptists ³⁾ pleases me very much, my dear Justus, although Philip fears that its expansiveness, which is, however, necessary in my opinion, will do harm to the sale. It seems to me, however, that noth-

2) Here we have with Zeltner and *Strobel-Ranner* *Si audem* omitted.

3) See No. 1516.

It is necessary to add this part, namely of the calling, 1) because they cannot be refuted by a stronger reason than that they run since they are not called, since they are not sent, since they sneak into the corners. For these are clear signs that they are servants of the devil. All this piece, if thou canst or nullest, thou must strongly press with examples and testimonies of the Scriptures. For Christ, who is not deceived, declares them to be thieves and murderers, John 10. But here the sow teaches the cook (*sus Minervam*). Thou art well pleased in Christ with wife and children, and pray for us. Weimar, 2) Tuesday after Palmaram [April 12] 1530. Martin Luther.

No. 1529 .

(Coburg.)

April 18, 1530.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

News about the expected arrival of the emperor in Germany and about the coronation celebrations in Bologna.

Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 190 (with the wrong date: *Altera Novembris*); by De Wette, vol. III, p. 564 (set too early, in March) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 294 (April 17 or 18).

Grace and peace! Our Ziringius 3) will tell you more about the Emperor's affairs, for it is a long story. It is true that he has decided to come to Germany, and he will come shortly, as everyone believes, full of wrath against us, unless the Turk makes peace, as he did at Vienna, where he induced the most arrogant dukes of Bavaria to write most humbly to the heretical princes for help. It is said that the Turk is in Hungary and has decided to return at the beginning of spring. One of the envoys sent by our princes to the emperor and captured or detained by him has been with us.

1) This was done at the end of Scripture, Wittenberg ed. (1551), vol. II, p. 349 d f.

2) On April 3, Luther, accompanied by Veit Dietrich, had gone with the other Wittenbergers to Torgau, and from here, on April 4, he left with the electoral retinue. In Altenburg, Spalatin joined them on the 6th, and on the 8th they were in Weimar, where they rested until the 12th.

3) *Album 128: Johannes Czirius Magdeburgens...*, inscribirt end 1526.

were. 4) He tells wonderful things about the pomp when the emperor was received by the pope at Bologna, where he has now been crowned. But after his feet had been kissed, the pope said: Your Majesty will excuse me: I did not like that they kissed my feet, but the law of ceremonies requires it. Then the Emperor knelt down at his side, the Pope kissed the Emperor often on the cheek, until all his great ones had kissed him in the same way, and it was reported that gold was scattered among the people, 4000 ducats. Carl gave the pope 4000 gold medals in a gold purse, 5) that is, gold coins embossed with his and his brother's image, which we usually call "gift coins or honor coins". May the canons rejoice and triumph, so that they may quickly perish, amen. For the world must rejoice and the apostles be sad, but this joy will find its due end. Let us only pray, and the gates of hell will not be able to do anything. Fare well in the Lord. On Easter Monday 6) [April 18] 1530. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1530 .

Coburg.

April 18, 1530.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 667, no. 916.

4) Namely Michael von Kaden. (See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, No. 849 ff.) In a letter of April 7, the Elector had asked the Nuremberg Council to let Luther and his famulus Veit Dietrich 'live in Nuremberg during the Reichstag, because he wanted to have him near him. The council refused because Luther was still in the Reichsacht after the Worms Edict, but did not want to give the negative answer by letter, but sent Kaden to the Elector to communicate this orally. Kaden arrived in Coburg on Easter evening, April 16. (So Kolde in the Kirchengeschichtl. Studien; Luther writes to Hansmann; April 17, St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XVI, 667.) From the time of his presence, the date of the letter can be determined with certainty. Förstemann's Conjectur: *Altera Paschatis* (April 18) will be correct (Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 147, note 3).

5) We assume with the Erlangen correspondence instead of *medanos* the conjecture *medallos*, think coins.

6) This is, as already said, Förstemann's Conjectur instead: *Altera Novembris*. - Because of the *luit apud os* April 18 is more likely than April 17.

No 1531.

Coburg.

April 22, 1530.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 669, no. 917..

No. 153S.

Coburg.

April 23, 1530.

To Esban Hesse in Nuremberg.

Luther jokingly apologizes for the rarity of his letter.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 285 B, on the reverse of the original of the preceding letter. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 130; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 6 (wrong: April 24) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 300.

To Mr. Eoban Hesse, his extremely dear brother, the highly famous poet of Germany, the good and godly man.

Grace and peace in Christ! I send you four letters at the same time, my dear Eoban, and they are lively and eloquent, yes, exceedingly eloquent, the Justus, Philippus, Spalatin and Agricola; I would have liked to be the fifth, but there was one who would tell me: Silence, you have a bad voice! 1) Perhaps the peculiarity of this region is to blame, which hates the five number of senses, and under tasting (*Smegkan*) combines two. 2) Therefore you may also recognize me as the fifth in Philip the fourth. Beware henceforth that you do not ever complain that letters are rarely addressed to you. I have made you so overburdened that you can never answer me enough with letters. This

1) The meaning seems to us to be that Luther wants to say: You highly famous poet would say to me: Silence, you are not fit to speak among these extremely eloquent, finely educated humanists. - Scholars do not agree on the interpretation of this passage. Rückert, *Luthers Verhältniß zum Augsb. Bekenntniß* (1854), p. 17, refers the expression *mala vox* to Luther's decisiveness and vehemence. Knaake, *Luthers Antheil an der Augsb. Conf.* (1863), p. 42, says: "It must have been unpleasant for the opponents to hear Luther's voice, because his person was abhorrent to them" 2c. D. Enders would like it to be Germanized thus: "Shut up! you have an evil mouth!" We must confess that none of these attempts at explanation seems to us to make the right sense, fitting into the context.

2) In Upper German, "Schmecken" is used for both "smelling" and "tasting".

I know, and I know that you also believe it. So that I do not do injustice to these exceedingly eloquent letters by this silent and dead letter of mine, I will refrain from writing more now. You live, be well and enjoy these of my heart beloved (*visceribus*) blessedly in Christo. I wish that your royal 3) Halls be well, your queen, the royal children and the royal servants. For the Osiander, Wenceslaus, Schleupner, Thomas 4) and others to greet from me, have these my living letters order. The Lord be with you. Pray for us. I also pray for you. "I know this well." Amen. Coburg, St. George's Day [April 23] 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1533.

Coburg.

April 23, 1530.

To Catharina Jonas in Wittenberg.

Luther replies to a letter addressed to her husband, concerning family matters.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 15; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 6; in the Leipzig, vol. XX II, p. 556; in Walch, vol. XXI, 303 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 142.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have read your letter, dear Lady Doctor and Godmother, written to your Lord Doctor Jonas, and I was almost pleased that God has given you easy courage and good hope, both because of the fruit of the body and the harm of the lot. Your Lord is not so easy of heart, but is very anxious for you, and is angry, reproachful, and cursing for the sake of the breaking of the house, and is impatiently so near to the Blessed 5) as he dwelleth near to him for the sake of the room. But be of good cheer; there will be no trouble with the house, for the matter is settled. So

3) Reuchlin had given Hesse the epithet *Rex* from the ancient Greek word xxxxx, king. Hesse himself made frequent use of this joke by dating his letters "from the royal castle".

4) Thomas Venatorinus (actually: "Gechauf", not: "Jäger"), born in Nuremberg in 1488, the first Protestant preacher at the Church of the New Hospital in 1523. He was lent to Rothenburg a. T. in 1544 to introduce the Reformation there, and after half a year returned to Nuremberg, where he died in 1551.

5) Licentiate Christoph Blank.

I hope that God will also graciously relieve the burden of the body, and God wills that there be a couple. But I think it will be a daughter, who behaves so strangely, and must be too narrow for a big house; just as mothers do, who also make the world too narrow for a poor man. Give my regards to your dear Jost, 1) and to your grandmother, and also to yourselves. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Given at Coburg, on St. George's Day [April 23] An. 1530.

Martinus Luther.

No. 153 4.

Coburg Fortress.

April 23, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2307, annex, no.4.

No. 1535 .

Coburg Fortress.

April 23, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1750, no. 1165.

No. 1536 .

Coburg Fortress.

April 23, 1530.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1754, no. 1167.

No. 1537

Fortress of Coburg. Between April 23 and 29, 1530, **Luther's draft**

of a section of the text: "Vermahnung an die Geistlichen, versammelt aus dem Reichstage zu Augsburg.

The Erl. Briefw. brings this writing as "Luthers Bedenken an den Chnrfürsten Johann von Sachsen für den Augsburger Reichstag über die streitigen Artikel", und datirt (nach Förstemann, Urkundenbch, Bd. I, S. 66): "zwischen 14. und 20. März 1530", while also this piece is regarded as belonging to the Torgau Articles. This error has Brieger in his writing "about the Torgauer articles" (in the church-historical studies for Renter, 1890) uncovered and proved, what also the Erlanger Briefw., vol. VII, p. 391 recognized, and the

1) Justus Jonas, the younger, born Dec. 3, 1525, the only son of this marriage to reach manhood, later caused his father much grief and was finally beheaded in Copenhagen on June 20, 1567, because he was involved in the Grumbach trades.

true character of our writing. Although we are not dealing with a letter here, we did not want to withhold from the buyers and readers of our edition this most interesting document, to which we already drew attention in the 16th volume, Col. 985 in the note, and think that we can communicate it most easily here. Our time determination is based on the following. On April 23, Luther arrived at the fortress of Coburg. The first larger writing, which he took there before the hand, was his "admonition to the clergy" 2c. On April 29, he wrote to Melanchthon (St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2310): "My admonition to the clergy is advancing; both the material and the impetuosity of the attack are growing under my hands, so that I am compelled to drive back, almost by force, a great many lansquenets 2) who do not cease to advance uninvited." We have no doubt that in our draft we encounter not a few "Landsknechte" whom Luther drove back, and who are no longer found in the Scriptures themselves at the corresponding place (St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XVI, 985 ff.). Our determination of the time will therefore be, at least approximately, correct. We have already communicated the locations at the place just indicated completely in the note there. Bretschneider, *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. IV, 973 f., assumes that Jonas is the author of this draft; Seidemann, "Lauterbach", p. 103, Note, agrees with him.

In the Church of Christ, one demands these rewritten pieces:

First, a righteous preaching ministry, where the holy divine word is diligently and faithfully preached and taught according to pure Christian understanding, without the addition of any false teaching.

In such a sermon it is clearly, actually and correctly taught and presented what is Christ and the gospel, righteous repentance and fear of God, how to obtain forgiveness of sin, of the ability and power of the keys of the church.

This doctrine and the whole summa of the gospel is practiced in this church of Christ with diligent true adherence daily and without ceasing, both in the congregation and in each Christian for himself, by preaching, reading, comforting and exhorting, by expounding the Psalms and all kinds of books of Scripture, as Paul writes in 1 Cor. 14.

There we are taught about Christian freedom, how consciences are free in Christ.

And to obtain such teaching is had with great seriousness and utmost diligence respect that

2) See l. c. Col. 2310, note 2.

Schools for boys and maidens 1) are to be established and maintained for the good breeding of youth.

There are also the gifts of language: Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and the bishops do diligence so that such studia, so highly necessary to understand the Holy Scriptures, do not perish.

There are also
Baptism,
Supper of Christ,
Recognition of sin and divine wrath,
Knowledge of grace,

truly The Holy Spirit with his gifts,
Christian Love,
Lessons from the cross and suffering,

Teaching of right good works,

Faith, hope, confession and
righteous custom of absolution,

Righteous discipline of children and instruction of the youth in catechism, as the Ten Commandments, Our Father, faith, short comforting psalms, Beuedicite and Gralias, and narration of some sayings before the parents' table. Item, in the morning, when the children get up, that they are admonished by the parents to pray righteous earnest prayer, both publicly and secretly.

Christian litanies and prayers for all kinds of conditions and needs.

Righteous ban, that is, that some are not allowed to the sacraments for the sake of public vices.

In the Church of Christ, the righteous are learned bishops and preachers, mighty of the Scriptures, and, as Paul says [Titus 1:9, 11], equipped and skillful to teach, to comfort, and to shut the mouths of the adversaries. Righteous diaconi who take care of the poor.

1) In Förstemann: "meidlich". The copy is very faulty; in Brück's manuscript it will have read: "maidlin".

Right, clear, certain and thorough teaching, what there is the Christian church and [where] 2) it is.

Providing for the poor; proper ordering of common chests; hospital; visiting and comforting the parishioners, all the sick, all the fainthearted, all the afflicted; afflicted and dismayed consciences; proper comforting instruction at the hour of death for the dying.

Rightly, clearly, certainly founded instruction from the Scriptures, which estates or lives are divine: from authorities and their office; from parents; what there befits to keep sons, daughters, servants, maids, lords, subjects, husbands, all kinds of offices and estates, so that they may lead their estate and life blessedly, chastely 3) and divinely.

There are also orderly, proper, outward ceremonies and services, right fasting, honest clothing, free use of food, honest churches and places where the Word of God is preached. There are also proper external ceremonies and services, proper fasting, proper dress, free use of food, proper churches and places where God's word is preached. And this old with right instruction of Christian liberty, and how one may divinely use the outward services.

The present bishops ask little or not at all about these highly necessary things, in which alone lies all power, and without which no Christian church can be. And it is to be pitied and eternally lamented that they do not care at all about such great things, which are proper for right bishops to know, do not think about them or know about them, nor do they want to be instructed or taught about them.

In the church of the pope you can find these pieces:

Doctrine contrary to the Gospel; fasts of XI 4) days; the LXX^{ma}, and LX^{ma}, L^{ma}; Ash midweeks put ashes on head; Quatember 5) Friday, Saturday, Wednesday all kinds of holy office; hunger or painted fasts.

2) In the manuscript is missing: "where", and in the editions still in addition wrong punctuation: "and she be:".

3) In the handwriting only: "to" instead of: chastely.

4) In the handwriting: "XC".

5) The Quatember (*quatuor tempora*), in the middle of each quarter, namely Wednesday after Ash Wednesday, Wednesday after Pentecost, Wednesday after Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14) and Wednesday after Lucia (Dec. 13), were celebrated by fasting for three days.

1) and break the neck of the fasting; cover the golden plates²⁾ and holy images with cloths; confess twice. Martyrdom Week: Shoot palms, consecrate³⁾ palms and wort (Worth), make pylm crosses, swallow palms for some illness, ride Christ on the donkey with his belongings, read the whole Passion four times Latin. Green Thursday foot washing or mandate⁴⁾, Passion preaching at night eight hours. Am. silent Friday half masses without the figure of wine; worship cross and offer four, 5) bury cross, read Psalter at the grave day and night; sing dark prayers with "poor Judas" and scold Jews. 6) Pupils bypassing with rattles⁷⁾ altar and washing with brooms, and putting little wax lights in five places. Consecrate baptism⁸⁾ with dunking of Easter candles and many ungodly songs. Consecrating new fires on Easter Eve. Make Easter candles, put florins and pennies, nutmeg and the like into the wax. On Easter take cross from tomb and sing *Advenis* 2c., storm hell, 9) consecrate pancakes, hams, sausages, meat and eggs, procession around churches with flags, candles, sprinkling kettle, monstrance, heaven 2c. All are commanded to communicate on Easter Day. At the baptism all go to vespers 2c. Christ's image going up to heaven

1) On the first Sunday of Lent, an embroidered or painted blue curtain was hung in front of the high altar, which was only pulled back on Sundays and removed again on Char Friday. It was called the Lenten or hunger cloth, *velum quadragesimale*.

2) These are pictures painted on gold background. "Pictures" - statues.

3) That is, to throw palms (willow branches) on the palm donkey moved in procession.

4) The washing of the feet was called *mandatum* according to Joh. 13,14. f.

5) Joh. Eberlin mentions the "four and seven sacrifices" among the things with which the priests scam money.

6) In the manuscript: "with the poor, Judas" 2c. Not only "with the poor" were the dark prayers held, but everyone, old and young, was involved, with great fanfare. The song: "O poor Judas" is well known.

7) Because the bells were not rung on Char Friday, the students went around with rattles to indicate the beginning of the service. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. X VI, 988.

8) That is, the baptismal water.

9) See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1126, ? 83.

ren to the None¹⁰⁾ On the day of Pentecost send the Holy Spirit. ¹¹⁾ The holidays of the saints: St. Martin's evening,¹²⁾ St. Sebastian fast for pestilence, St. Burkhardt's day. ¹³⁾ The parish week for the poor souls. All Souls' Day. Vigils, soul bath. ¹⁴⁾ Begängniß with many masses on many altars in one church, singing among each other and drawing a little long for the sake of the sacrifice. Advent with fasting. Three masses on Christmas Day, midnight mass. Cross week, and going to the villages with crosses, item, going around the corridor. Procession *Corporis Christi*¹⁵⁾ with great pomp, flags, candles 2c. Decorate altars in all houses 2c. Procession on all Sundays and saints' days. Sing Rorate-¹⁶⁾ masses. Singing *Apparuit*, cradling the children. ¹⁷⁾ St. Michels

10) On Ascension Day, Ps. 47 was sung at the ninth hour (3 o'clock in the afternoon, from which the day itself was also called the ninth, the beautiful ninth day) and accompanied by hand clapping. Then a carved image of Christ was pulled up into the church sky on a rope, accompanied by the singing of Ps. 47:6 with trumpets and timpani. After that, a lighted grimace representing Satan was lowered from above, over which the children rushed, whipping Satan with rods and tearing him into small pieces. Then followed the bread from heaven, small host-shaped cakes, which were thrown down, and while they fought over it, the water of life was splashed from above under the dense tangle, which burst apart with shouting and laughter to the main amusement of the priests. Even the churfürstlich Brandenburgische Kirchenordnung of 1540 still allowed this use, but with the exception of the water pouring.

11) By lowering a carved or even a live dove, imitating the roar of the wind, and throwing down lighted tow to represent the fiery tongues.

12) On St. Martin's Day in some places began the Advent fasts, so it was also called the little carnival and was solemnly celebrated by feasting (St. Martin's goose).

13) The 14th of October. It was celebrated for the sake of the new must. - The Gemeind week is the first week of October, which, like All Souls' Day, was celebrated by masses for the dead and visits to the graves.

14) Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1926, § 14.

15) Corpus Christi Day.

16) Not "Rogate", as Bretschneider assumes. The *Rorate*, named after the introit Is. 45, 8, are the votive services in honor of the Virgin Mary, which began on December 18, the feast of the expectation of the birth of Mary, and lasted until December 24, and were held early in the morning. This gave rise to great gross immorality. See Table Talks, Cap. 14, ? 44, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 308 f.

17) These two pieces will belong together and correspond to the "Apparuit und Spiel" (St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XVI, 989).

Letter 1) 2c. big lies. St. Michael's children, who went with the ensign, idle loose boys. Putting the bier in the church with four wax candles. Item, the ceremonies to bury the dead with stoles, censer, holy water 2c. Item, various vessels at funerals, both in villages and towns. To lead childbedded women into the church. Women who die in childbirth are also buried with their own ceremonies, under which they are led into the church. 2)

Churches, altars, bells of various kinds; 3) cymbals, bells, organs; images of golden plates; wooden, stone, silver images. Service of saints, *Salve Regina* 4) and the like much. Baptismal font, *Gloriam*, chalices, candlesticks, monstrances, flags, candles, censers, heavens and the like. Rosary, Our Lady's Psalter, *Horae privatae*, Our Lady's Mass, doubled Rosary, *Compassio d. Virginis*. Brotherhoods: Kalend, 5) St. Sebastian's, all crafts. Portatel altar in houses, Marmel, field chapels 6) 2c. Caseln, albums, choir shirt and other church ornaments. Holy water vessels in front of doors, in chambers, parlors, with confidence that it will take away sins. Sprinkle holy water on the graves of the dead, as if it should also help the dead. For this reason, in the Oberland, a separate sprinkling vessel is placed on each grave. 2c.

St. Brigitten prayer; St. Bernard's verses (*versus*), which shall be as good as 8 whole

1) Jesus is said to have written it with his own hand and to have sent it through the angel St. Michael to the mountain Gargarus, which is called St. Michelsberg (compare St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1020 f.). The same was printed in Cologne in 1604 "with the approval of the spiritual authorities" and sold as a flyleaf. It protected against all kinds of harm and helped in many hardships. - St. Michael's children" are children who (even against the will of their parents) went on pilgrimage to St. Michael in Normandy, as for example from Schwäbisch-Hall in 1448, on the Thursday after Pentecost, 100 boys set out on such a pilgrimage, to whom, since they could not be restrained by their parents, the council gave a schoolmaster and a donkey as a precaution.

2) The corpse of a woman in childbed is placed at the door of the church.

3) This is Bretschneider's Conjecture instead of: "Maucheley".

4) A blasphemous song in which all the honor due to Christ alone is attributed to Mary.

5) The Caland brothers got their name from the fact that they gathered on the first of every month, the *Calendis*.

6) "Marmel" are marble kissing tablets, in which there was usually a relic. - "Feldcapellen" - places of pilgrimage. - In the manuscript here is found: "Inn heusern marmel feld, Cappellen 2c."

Psalter, and was thereby written to St. Bernard in red ink; Tenfel would have taught it himself, that [it] would be right. Countless prayers with red titles of indulgences, of angelic revelations. *Validi mendicantes* [healthy, strong beggars, beggars who went about with excess, sitting in front of the churches and pretending to be sick, lame and crippled; when the beadle came with the rod, they could walk. Consecrate holy water every Sunday; consecrate salt; eat garlic Panthaleonis 7). Consecrate salt and carry it around. Consecrate spice. Light consecrate *purificationis*. Write on the lights on St. Agatha's Day: *Mentem sancum spontaneam* 2c. St. John's fire. St. John's drink on St. John's Day. Johannis Trunk, which also the princes and lords had consecrated outside St. Johannis day, when they wanted to depart 2c. Assumption honey, spice consecration. With the nail of Christ pennies and florins pierced and the middle piece of gold and silver kept as a landmark.

Own apostles choose after the little wheel or lucky loos and Wohlgerath 2c. Assumptionis the disciples with apple trees in the procession go, all kinds of indulgences, since then was innumerable abuse. The barefoot monks put twelve paternoster seeds on all doors 2c., with promise of innumerable indulgences 2c. and forgiveness of sins. Neither the pope nor the bishop watched and gave indulgence to such an impudent lie.

Casus reservati of the pope, sin, since no one could absolve from because the pope 2c. Pilgrimages with vows to St. James (Jacoff) is also groundless of abuses with innumerable chapels. The Golden Gate, the Golden Year of Rome.

The holy blood, when the threshers from the barn, the workers from the field, the maidens with sickles and large cloths ran from a mad arrival 9) 2c. Against such innovation, which is against all Scripture and the Word of God, no bishop watched, but let the poor consciences be seduced. Now the

7) Pantaleon's Day (July 28) was therefore also called Garlic Day. De Wette, Vol. V, p. 753. Lauterbach, p. 103, note.

8) In the manuscript: "zwolff patter noster, kornnclein, an alle thurmen".

9) "Arrive" == Incursion.

true gospel and the old true doctrine, so Christ himself [and] the apostles preached and wrote, to be a novelty and heresy! The abuse of the holy blood is still reported today in Brunswick, where in the monastery of St. Egidii the sanctuary is praised as if it were the blood that Christ shed on Mount *Calvary*, for which reason indulgences are also given out in particular, and special seals are made, on which this title is: The Seal of the Blood of Christ.

On many pilgrimages, women and men, as well as children, have been weighed on large wagons, leaving as much wax or grain as they weighed.

Sanctuary, which piece but completely groundless of abuses and outrageous lies. There is Our Lady's milk, Joseph's pants, St. Francis' low garment, a glassful of wine, Christ made of water in Cana Galilee 2c, the foreskin of Christ's circumcision 2c. St. John's Gospel hanging on neck. ¹⁾ Blasius light hang on neck. With St. Anthony sanctuary lace, 2) coat girdle.

Forbidden marital status of the clergy.
The bishop's official [has] taken one florin annually from a concubine, as in recent times the official at Halberstadt has taken in five hundred florins of interest; so strongly have they kept their saying: *si non caste, tamen cauto*. For a priest's child also one florin. For without children the priests with their cooks were but of a degree more holy and chaste.

Plates of the priests. Seven times, horae *canonicae*, of which the priests themselves spoke mockingly, and said that they had poured out several bushels of vespers and meads on stock 2c. This piece contains unspeakable blasphemy and mockery of God.

Parson's will /
Legends / preach.
Traditions /
Not righteously have they preached of all the cancelled pieces, since we said of the Christian church 2c.

1) This protected against thunderstorms; "Blasius light" helped against throat diseases.
2) "Senkel" == cords to hold the clothes together.

The noblemen who went to war gave themselves to St. Jörgen 2c. prisoner, so that they would not be captured.

Poltergeist belief.
After 3) women in Carthusian monasteries [have been] in their churches, with fire wipe the dust, and [the] way, where they went, burn clean again 2c.; the like in other monasteries, and that only to the pious women 2c.
The masses hold all kinds of abuses, which are horrible and innumerable.

Consecrate churches and consecrate oil.
Item, that in the ashes the suffragan bishops painted some *characters* from a book. ⁴⁾
Bells baptize, as one in the hundred or two hundred Gevattern let only grab the rope 2c.
Altar baptize.
Kresem on Easter to get money.
Item, that the Corporalia 5) and such holy utensils had to be washed not by women's hands, but by men; no Lai was allowed to touch the chalice or the altar cloth.
Sufficiency in many ways for sin.
The great spell.
The seven number of sacraments.
Ordain priests, not to teach or preach 2c., for thus the ordaining bishop said: *Accipe potestatem consecrandi ac offerendi pro vivis et mortuis* 2c.

/ Tonsorists /
Lectores on title of a nobleman's
Consecration of a cleric table or otherwise a
/ Diaconos partyke 2c.
/ Presbyteros

The suffragan bishops have performed miraculous works with churches, bells, altars, images 2c.
From the synods, which they called *Episcopalianis*, they have sent a printed note indicating how to chant verse 2c. and the *Benedicamus*. This they have called *ordinem divinorum* or *divinum*.

named.
Of monks we will say another time, but it is also worth remembering that the Barefoot monks persuaded the people that knights and counts had settled in the monastery.

3) In the editions wrongly so interpungirt: "After the,: women" 2c. - Erl. Briefw.: "with fire-wiping".
4) At the consecration of a church.
5) Linen cloths to cover the hosts.

They let them bury their caps, thinking that whoever enters the grave with a cap cannot be lost. What would the apostle Paul have said against such shameful abuse if it had happened in his time? 2c. But the devil is not ashamed of any lie 2c.

Epistoler, Evangelier, only ordained to carry the book and wear Diacon skirt 2c.

The suffragan bishops fermeln and too much other childish Geberde with cheek beating 2c.

Oaths of those who are consecrated.

Freedom and privileges for the priests' houses, goods, household 2c.

All this has happened with these abuses in parishes alone.

Above it is still the right *mare magnum*, 1)

what in /
monasteries, /
nunneries, /
Carthusian
monasteries, /

The church has been a newly invented church service with many prayers, rules, and statutes. There is an innumerable canker of many ungodly errors, of which we will write [at] another time.

About it still the bishops Officialat, Commissarien 2c.

Without all this, the Christian Church can be and exist as it was at the time of the apostles.

The bishops want to forget these public abuses, but experience shows what great, terrible damage this has done to souls and consciences. May God the Lord grant that all lies and hypocrisy be put to shame, and may God's Word, as before, penetrate, run swiftly and be praised, amen.

No. 1539 .

Nuremberg.

April 28, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

All kinds of news: that the Emperor has escaped from Mantua to Germany; of the Turk; of the . State of affairs in Italy 2c.

Handwritten in the *Ms. Manlianum*. Printed in Melanchthon's Letters, ed. Peucer. 1570, lib. I, x. 1, and in the London edition of the same, 1642, lib. I, ep. I; in Corp. ref. , vol. II, 38 and in the Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 310.

To Doctor Martin Luther, his extremely dear father.

Hail! We did not stay more than one day in Nuremberg, because we learned that the emperor had broken out of Mantua on the day after Easter 2) and was hurrying to Germany with a few troops. It is firmly asserted that the greatest danger threatens from the Turk. The affairs of the pope in Italy are still very much hindered. For the siege of Florence has been lifted without result, because after the Spanish garrison at Pistoja 3) (Pistoriun) had been overpowered and killed, the army which was in camp near Florence hurried to Pistoja to punish the disloyal confederates. Thus Florence was abandoned. Other tales are told here, but they are not worth writing, about the Africans who made the entire Mediterranean Sea unsafe and intercepted several galleys (*triremes*) from the emperor, and the like. The constancy of our prince is highly praised, that he had no hesitation to travel to this imperial *conventum*, and it is hoped that this proper conduct (xxxxxxx) will have a
will have a significant influence on the preservation of peace. We have been to Pirkheimer today, I and Jonas, who thinks honorably of you and your cause; but he is a little too violently enraged against Osiander. 4) Today we go on. Christ keep you; pray for us all. Fare thee well. Nuremberg, Thursday after Quasimodogeniti [April 28] Anno 1530.

Phil. Melanchthon.

No. 153 8.

Coburg Fortress.

April 28, 1530.

To his table companions in Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1752, no. 1166.

1) *Mare magnum* (the great sea) here denotes not the two otherwise so-called bulls of 1474, in which Sixtus IV summarized the privileges of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, which received a supplement and extension in 1479. It stands here appellatively.

2) Exactly: on Easter Tuesday, April 19.

3) five German miles northwest of Florence.

4) Because of Osiander's position on the monastery question, by which family members of Pirkheimer were affected.

No. 15 40.

Coburg Fortress.

April 29, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

Congratulations on the birth of a son.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 9, and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 131; in De Wette, vol. V, p. 9 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 311.

Xxxxxxxxxx, xxxxx [Five boys producer, be greeted]. To the producer of five sons, the very great and strong gentleman Doctor Justus Jonas, who fights for the Gospel at Augsburg. ¹⁾

Hail, you exceedingly strong producer of five boys! and I do indeed wish you happiness with the second, recently born, Friedrich; but since you are in a hurry to see the letters from Wittenberg yourself, I do not want to delay your joy. Only I would like to admonish you to consider your God's repentance, through which he has been compelled to give you the joy of a new Frederick for the sadness over the first one, who was taken from you. 2) He has shared with you; He must be borne, yes, He must be praised. The small enclosed note was sent by my Käthe. But you will hear everything from the letters themselves. On the first day after our separation we wrote 3) letters to you, perhaps you will receive this one together with those; I do not know what I wrote in them. The Lord who gave you joy, keep you and bless you, Amen. From the kingdom of birds and kingdom of jackdaws, on Friday after Quasimodogeniti [April 29] 1530.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 15 41.

Coburg Fortress.

April 29, 1630.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2309, annex, no. 5.

1) The Wittenbergers did not arrive in Augsburg until May 2.
2) The first Friedrich had died in 1529 at the age of two; the second lived only three days, as Jonas himself reported to Luther on June 12, not "a few weeks" as the Erl. Briefw., p. 312, note 4, indicates.
3) On April 23 (No. 1535).

No. 15 4S.

(Coburg fortress.)

(End of April 1530.)

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther makes ideas against the mass demolition of the houses in Wittenberg, which should be carried out because of the fortification of the city.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. S.* fol. 23. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 494 (with the superscription: "an Churfürst Johann Friedrich") and in Erl. Briefwechsel, Vol. VI, p. 314.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have received the report through Doctor Brück, Chancellor, that E. C. F. G. has graciously commanded me to do,⁴⁾ about the demolition of houses in Wittenberg, and I have been extremely frightened by the same, God knows that! I also did not want to believe that E. C. F. G. had commanded it in such a way. The merciful God also 5) protect E. C. F. G. from such cries, which would 6) fill heaven and earth! God has so far graciously protected E. C. F. G. in great dangers. But herewith His mercy shall cease to protect, because this plan can almost be seen as a humanly unnecessary shield, since, without necessity, the third part of the city is almost ruined, and, as they 7) show E. C. F. G., so many citizens are to leave in a hurry, with wife, child, household goods and livestock, - most gracious Lord, where to? Wittenberg can well do without such damage to the city and without the disadvantage of so many good people, and also without E. C. F. G.'s great costs and burdens,

4) Burkhardt remarks on this letter: "In any case, at the end of April from Coburg, after several Wittenberg residents had already made representations to the Elector on April 15 against the mass demolition of the houses by Captain Metsch, who was to fortify Wittenberg Castle, whereupon the Elector may have turned to Luther for his opinion. The acts state that 30 family dwellings were to be torn away, which the captain had bought for the then enormous sum of 6900 florins. At first the owners of the houses agreed to the sale, then they remonstrated against it. The demolition of the houses does not seem to have proceeded in the intended manner."

5) "also" put by us instead of: "me".

6) "that" put by us instead of: "that", and immediately following: "fill" instead of: "fall".

7) namely the citizens of Wittenberg in their petitions.

If such a fortress is dared to be built, where it would otherwise be suitable, it will nevertheless be strong enough to resist the neighbors; in addition, because it is done without the will of the citizens, it will certainly become an example almost like that of King Ahab with Naboth, 1) as E. C. F. G., as a Christian prince by the grace of God, has himself considered and ordered me to report. Several have written to us here from Wittenberg with complaints and lamentations, 2) but we did not want to believe it.

Therefore, most gracious Lord, I have ever asked, so I now ask most earnestly, that E. C. F. G. would graciously consider their poor, faithful subjects in this, and take the great cry and lamentation of the people to heart, as this may also be enough for the annoyance and disgrace of our Gospel, although I hope that E. C. F. G. will do more than we desire without this. For it is easy to reckon that neither we nor anyone else care about the land and people as much as we do about E. C. F. G., their rightful natural sovereign, of whom they are the property; although Satan is a master at hindering and challenging such love and grace (as well as all other works of God). For this reason, I do not want to say much more here, and will explain this in E. C. F. G.'s gracious concern.

Christ, our dear Lord and Savior, strengthen and comfort E. C. F. G., so that we and all her subjects may be comforted thereby, and give E. C. F. G. a heart for the project in question, so that such a trade, which is to be ordered in Wittenberg for the sake of the houses, may be carried out beneficially and the poor people again comforted, as E. C. F. G. may well have it done with good grace without male displeasure. C. F. G. can let such things be done with good grace without male displeasure, since E. C. F. G.'s comfort and joy is truly the comfort and joy of all of us and should be just.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

1) In the original: "Nabaioth". Meant is 1 Kings 21.

2) This passage proves that this letter is addressed to the Elector from the fortress of Coburg and does not belong to the year 1531.

3) In the original: "the".

No. 15 43.

Augsburg.
1530.

Beginning of May

Johann Agricola to Luther.

(Regest.)

Agricola thanks him for his greetings to Aquila and him, and tells that they had joked with Aquila by prophesying that the bishop of Augsburg (whose prisoner he had already been once) would throw him into prison. In addition, Melancthon had a dream: he had seen that an eagle (*aquilam*) had been transformed by magic into a cat and then put into a sack. When the cat cried out, Luther came over it and ordered that they let the cat out, and so it was freed. About this dream various interpretations were made: Some said that it meant that the Elector John would come into great distress at this Imperial Diet for the sake of the Gospel, from which he would only be freed by Luther's coming to the Imperial Diet; others that it meant evil and murder and death for Aquila and his family; Still others said that it meant that the emperor, enchanted by the cardinals and sophists, could not understand the least thing about Luther's cause, nor even hear it, but that after hearing Luther and learning about the cause of the Gospel, he would be freed. - Luther refers to this in his answer of May 15.

Printed in Kapps kleiner Nachlese, Vol. III, p. 363, No. 29 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 316.

No.1544.

(Nuremberg.)
1530.

Beginning of May

Joachim Camerarius to Luther.

(Regest.)

With this letter written in Greek, Camerarius sends foreign sweets to Luther on Melancthon's behalf. Luther replied to him with a letter written in "Turkish." See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2314, note.

Handwritten in Munich, *Cod. lat.* 941, p. 88b. Printed in Kolde, *Anactecta*, p. 450 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 318.

No. 15 45.

Augsburg.

May 4, 1530.

Justus Jonas to Luther.

Jonas testifies to his longing for Luther and hopes to see him again soon, safe and sound. The Elector arrived in Augsburg with his councilors and theologians on May 2. The emperor's arrival is still uncertain. In the meantime, the Count of Nassau has written a friendly letter to the Elector, which testifies to the Emperor's peaceful disposition. Everyone is surprised at the early arrival of the Elector, while the other princes are still on their way, but will soon arrive. Jonas thanks Luther for his congratulations on the birth of his son, asks him for his intercession for his wife and child, as well as for the Imperial Diet 2c.

The original is in Hamburg, Ms. I, 90. Printed in Kolde, *Anactecta*, p. 121 and in Kawerau, Jonas' Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 146 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII,

S. 318.

Grace and the peace of God in Christ! Although all these friends, Philip and the others with whom I am now dealing, are very great and very pleasant people, and one cannot wish for more pleasant or more sincere people than these, and we are also dealing with a large number of great people here, I still do not know, dearest father, since you are absent, what kind of image of being orphaned and alone seems to float before my eyes. That is what I wish above all things, and we all wish that we will see you again as soon as possible, safe and sound and happy, God grant it!

We finally arrived in Augsburg with the most illustrious prince on Monday after Misericordias Domini [May 2]. The prince entered in churfürstlichem decoration, and some ceremonies and pomp were used after the manner of the ancestors, with Joachim Pappenheim carrying the silver sword in front. You know the rest of the kind.

The emperor's arrival has so far been uncertain, as it was when we were together, even among those who alone seemed to know about it and are quite reliable. A young man, M. von Hutten, has been sent from our troupes, 2) a very fast and almost winged horseman, and a very skillful scout of these things. He has reported that the Emperor has departed from Trent and will hold a Diet of the cities and nobility in the Austrian region at Hall or Innsbruck; however, he will hasten his arrival because of many important causes that incite him both privately and in family matters.

What the Count of Nassau, to whom the doors are always open not only to the Emperor's chamber but also to his ears and heart, has written to our Prince, and of other things belonging to this whole matter of religion and the public affairs of Germany, you will learn by the letter of Philip 3). There is nothing more gracious and kind than the piece which is in the tender (*diplomate*) or citation of the Kai-

sers 4) in which he promises that he will not only recognize the matter but also seek ways of harmony with the utmost diligence. The rumor has not reported anything 5) contrary to this. Everyone says that the emperor will listen to both sides graciously and will not do anything tyrannical. What is left but to ask the Lord that, as in the past, so also in the future, the Lord himself may form the hearts of the kings and the emperor in his hand in such great matters and rule as a faithful builder.

Our prince is the first of all at the Diet, to the amazement of many, to the astonishment of all. I don't know what the papists had said, as if the prince feared very much for himself and began to distrust the matter. But now, thank God, they see this fear. Let Jesus Christ strengthen him and us. That haste seemed to many, as well as to us, not to be wisely undertaken, but God directs these things wonderfully. Every day we learn that this hastening brings significant fruit. Of course, there is a great shortage of grain here, and a roll that one buys for a heller in Wittenberg is hardly bought for a penny here. The same is true of other things. But the loss in costs will be compensated by God's grace elsewhere. The other princes are on their way. Duke George, about which we have a certain report, has passed through Nuremberg and will come here tomorrow: The Prince of Hesse is on his way, as Schnepf has told us. The Electors who live on the Rhine are all expected by the coming week. Therefore, as I hope, and as the Wittenberg Church has requested, the Diet will have its progress; may the Lord grant that everything be ordered and arranged for the glory of his holy name.

As far as my private affairs are concerned, by God's grace I received the next day, after the Prince entered Augsburg [May 3], the most desired and joyful news, which pleased me, God knows! extraordinarily, by bringing me the good news that the fifth son had been born to me. [In passing: so that you would not have written in vain: These walls which sanctified the cry of five sons;⁶⁾ yet this for a jest]. And since I

4) St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 622, no. 890.

5) We have accepted the conjecture of the Erl. Briefw.: *pertulit*, accepted. Kolde reads: *pro nobis*. The manuscript is damaged.

6) Compare St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XVI, Anh., No. 5, where Luther uses these words, therefore we have assumed *scripseris* instead of *scripserim*.

1) Fungirender Vicemarschall for his grandfather, the Reichserzmarschall Sebastian von Pappenheim.

2) The same is reported by Melancthon, St. Louis edition,

3) St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, 650, No. 902. By this reference it becomes most probable that also our letter was written on May 4.

I received your exceedingly sweet letter, 1) which announced the same to me, namely that I would be publicly rich through such a great blessing of God and publicly blessed. I recognize, 2) my dear father, my weakness, yes, my sin and unbelief, and I am ashamed of the sadness over the death of the first Frederick, under which the Lord had hidden and concealed such a great comfort. But what good deeds of God are not more glorious and higher than that all understanding of all men could attain! [In passing: What should our barrenness accomplish? The Psalms are poems to extol the virtues, yea, the daily creations and wonders of the so great LORD]. To the only gracious, the only powerful, the only wise and merciful toward us, be praise, honor and glory forever and ever, Amen. You, my dearest father (I beg you), will pray for the childbed and the newborn Jonaslein (*Jonulo*), that we may see them safely. For the Diet, I ask you to pray daily (as you do). We do not see, but grasp with our hands.... 3) the miracles of godly prayers and the unspeakable victories 4) of Johannes Luther and Lippus Melanchthon and Just (Jostes) Jonas, "who as children fight against the pointed sacrament-dishonor-devil and the re-devil-devil and other devilish cunning with the 10 Commandments, Our Father and faith". The Lord Christ, I hope, will grant that we will soon see you yourself, best and dearest Father. Farewell in Christ. Augsburg, Wednesday after Misericordias Domini [May 4] Anno 2c. 30. J. Jonas.

[As an aside: If the Holy Spirit did not praise the ravens in the Psalms (Ps. 147, 9.) and in the Gospel (Luc. 12, 24.)] praised the ravens as birds born for the common good, I would wish the executioner (*malam crucem*) on those ravens and jackdaws that disturb your sleep, my dear father; but what shall I wish the executioner to the ravens, since they delight in the cross and gallows, if only it is not empty, but full of good fellows, 5) whom not the seventh commandment nor the law of Moses, but the Saxon mirror and (the emperor's) hangings (-laws) have made a long letter. 6)]

1) No. 1540.

2) Instead of *agnosce*, we have adopted *agnosco*.

3) Here three words have become illegible due to the folding of the letter.

4) Here Kolde places a punctum, having previously read *orationem* instead of *orationum*, with omission of *miraoula*.

5) That is: from bad guys.

6) *Literam longam ex se facere*, to make a long I of oneself, that is, to hang oneself, *Plaut, Aul.*, I, 37

No. 1546.

(Augsburg.)

4. May 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 650, no. 902.

No. 1547.

(Augsburg.)

4. May 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 690, no. 928.

No. 1548.

Augsburg.

II May 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 656, no. 905.

No. 1549.

(Augsburg.)

II May 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 654, no. 904.

No. 1550.

(Coburg Fortress.)

May 12, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2312, annex, no. 7.

No. 1551.

(Coburg Fortress.)

May 15, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther instructs him to teach Jonah the death of his newborn child as gently as possible.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Aug.* 34. 2, fol. 103 (only the second half). Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 132; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 16 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 334.

To the worthy man, Mr. Philipp Melanchthon, the servant and disciple of Christ, his brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have commanded that this letter be sent to you especially about

(Kawerau ad h. 1.). Here: to have brought to the gallows. - The last words in the Latin text are: et... *pensiles*. To this Kolde remarks: "Seems to be still something cut off at the margin"; this we have supplemented by *leges*. In the gap D. Enders believes to recognize: *Cesueo*; Kawerau conjicir: *Cesaris*, which we have assumed.

My dear Philip, because no other way presented itself to me to deal with Justus Jonas. You will see to it that he, as much as possible, experiences the loss of the child in a gentle way. His wife and the servant write to him that the boy is indeed ill, but in words that greatly abhor death. But my wife writes that she was present when he died of the same plague as his little Frederick recently. Namely, that the child was weak, he had previously recognized enough from its birth, and the complaint of the mother, since she was pregnant. I did not want to write anything to him, so that I would not increase his grief, but will keep quiet longer, as I will write at another time. We are depressed everywhere, yet we do not despair. Perhaps this is our hour with the woman in the Gospel [John 16:21], who has sadness when she gives birth, but we will have joy when the man is born into the world. If our word is the truth (which even the raging and nonsense of the enemies has sufficiently demonstrated), then the matter stands well. We are victorious and before Him. Our cause, our prayer and our hope will be for Him; the word is certain [Titus 1:9]. In the meantime, comfort the man who must be so afflicted before the world that it rejoices and we are afflicted. The Lord be with you. May 15, 1530.

Mart. Luther.

No. 1552 .

(Feste Coburg.)

May 15, 1530.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 657, no. 906.

No. 1553 .

(Coburg Fortress.)

May 15, 1530.

To Johann Agricola in Augsburg.

Answer to Agricola's letter No. 1543, which Luther sent to his Käthe (not, as De Wette thinks: "About a letter from Agricola to Luther's wife"). He sends an old song, which he has improved and provided with a text, in order to have a joke with Dl. Georg Rörer to make a joke.

Printed in *Schlegel, vit. Langeri*, p. 143 (from the second paragraph); in *Schütze*, vol. II, p. 140 (from June 15); in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 36 (from June 15) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 336.

Grace and peace! I have sent your letter, 1) my dear Agricola, to my mistress, but I can easily guess her answer for you. For after she has read the letter, she will soon laugh and say, "Eh, how M. Eisleben is a basic scoundrel!" But I hope that Caspar Aquila has returned to you, freed from his transformation into a cat. "You are very bad boys to vex the good man."

But I send here to you for your practice a certain song. For since I could neither read nor write for four days, I happened to find a paper in the secret room on which this old chant was set for three voices, which I have cleaned, corrected and improved, and added the fourth voice, and composed a text for it from the chorus: namely, with this suggestion, I would like to deceive our Capellan, M. Georg, 2) that he would receive this chant, sent to me by you, as a new one published in Augsburg from the Cantorei for the arrival of the Emperor and Ferdinand. But it is hoped that he could be deceived if you will praise it to me a little, especially that you have heard that the simplicity in it pleases many, and that you will send the rest of the text. If you are willing to live to please me, then I will send him all of this, and if the matter succeeds, that I will have deceived this Bavarian 3) critic and untimely reprover (*Momum*) of music, then I will have forever taken away from him the power to judge the music in which he is not a little pleased. Perhaps we will also chase away some sirens from here. 4) Therefore, do your duty here and attend to this matter diligently. More another time. In the meantime, be well in the Lord, all of you with one another. May 15, 1530, your Martin Luther.

1) No. 1543.

2) Rörer.

3) Rörer was from Deggendorf near Straubing in Bavaria.

4) The "sirens" will mean the jackdaws in Coburg.

No. 155 4.

Feste Coburg.

May 19, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther consoles him over the loss of his child.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 14b; in Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, fol. 222 and in *Cod. Jen.* b, fol. 194. Printed in *Coelestin.* vol. 1, p. 43 (datirt May 22); in Buddeus, x. 94; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 18 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 337.

Grace and peace in the Holy Spirit, who is higher than all reason, grant you Christ, my dear Jonas. I am a burdensome and unsuitable comforter, which comes from the fact that I am also not at all rich in spring thoughts and flowery heart movements, as I would like and would be necessary for you. I am also often scorched by the wind and the heat, so that I am like this arid and thirsty region of ours. But see that you are strong in Christ, whose work and art, yes, whose whole kingdom is that in our weakness strength and victory may come forth. The wicked are joyful, they are secure, they also utter threats and seek bloodshed; meanwhile we must suffer and grieve. All this must be done so that the Scripture may also be fulfilled in our bodies; if it is not fulfilled, we cannot be well, but if it is fulfilled, we shall live. You do not suffer alone, but have comrades who also groan, almost wearied by suffering; we are esteemed like sheep for the slaughter [Rom. 8, 10]. "Is it but vain suffering, one upon another?" because he who hates and persecutes us neither tires nor sleeps. Then you have many and exceedingly great gifts to oppose this One Evil, if you will but consider it. Among these is that of which the Scripture boasts, saying that it is something very great [Sir. 26, 19. f.]: "There is nothing dearer on earth than a chaste woman, and there is nothing more delicious than a chaste woman," and [Proverbs 31, 10.]: "To whom a virtuous woman is given, she is far more noble than the most precious pearls." 2c. Nor do you want to be completely in lust, according to the example of the feast [Luc. 16:19], and not be like the brothers of Christ in any way, who through many tribulations have reached the kingdom of God with

You will be taken by force [Apost. 14,22. and Matth. 11,12]. Therefore I pray thee that thou bear this chastening of the Father wisely. For there is a time to be happy, and there is a time to be sad; we gladly accept the former, but we must not reject the latter either. The Lord Jesus, who has taken your son to Himself and will take better care of him than you, comfort and strengthen you, amen. From the kingdom of the jackdaws. May 19, 1530.

Martin Luther.

No. 1555.

(Feste Coburg.)

May 20, 1530.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 690, no. 929.

No. 155 6.

Augsburg.

May 21, 1530.

Urban Rhegius, preacher in Augsburg, to Luther.

(Regest.)

Rhegius expresses his joy at the personal meeting with Melanchthon, Jonas, Agricola and Spalatin. He was invited to the table by the Landgrave of Heffen and discussed the whole matter of the Gospel with him, who was well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and then two hours more about the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The prince had all the arguments of the Sacramentarians at hand and wanted to hear their refutation from Rhegius. In the process, he had come to the conclusion that the prince did not hold with Zwingli, but only had a heartfelt desire for harmony.

The original is in Hamburg, Vol. I, fol. 100. Manuscript in Dresden, *Cod. C* 342, fol. 10. Printed in *Innocent News* 1745, p. 929; in *G. Chr. Joannis, Tabularum litterarumque Spicilegium.* 1724, p. 551; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 58; in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 124 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 340.

No. 155 7.

(Augsburg.)

May 22, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 688, no. 927.

No. 155 8.

Feste Coburg.

May 28, 1530.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2310, annex, no. 6.

No. 15 59.

(Feste Coburg.)

(End of May or June 1530.) 1)

To Justus Jonas in Augsburg.

Luther expresses his satisfaction that Jonas translates his interpretation of the Prophet Jonah into Latin and thus contributes to its dissemination, because the article of grace, of justification or forgiveness of sins is also diligently and faithfully taught in it, as opposed to all doctrines of works. Finally, he sweetly consoles Jonah about the death of his son.

First printed in a single edition of the Latin translation of Luther's interpretations of the prophet Jonah, which Justus Jonas had prepared and which appeared in September 1530 with Johann Secerius in Hagenau (see St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 836, note); then in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1552), tom. IV, fol. 539b; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 174 (datirt: *mensis Maio*); in Kawerau, Jonas' Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 174 (datirt: 1530, June); in the Erlangen edition, *exeg. opp.*, tom. XXVI, p. 36 and in the Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 347.

To the worthy man, D. Justus Jonas, the Wittenberg theologian, wishes^ Martin Luther

Grace and peace in Christ! Although I never hoped, nor did I wish, that my little books should have any permanent name or reputation in the world, since I have always been content if, through me as a reminder or guide, people were moved to read and understand the holy Scriptures, whether, since the Spirit is their guide and master, they might draw better from the full sources themselves than they can lick from my little books: I begin not to hate my little books so much, nor do I begrudge them the publicity so much as I have always done before, since I see that among the great multitude of those who treat the Scriptures, there are only few and rare people who attack them in a beneficial way, most of them even tamper with them in a malicious way and interpret them corruptly according to their own spirit.

For even though I am nothing, even though I am that unlearned and un-German in the spelling of my German language, I have nevertheless understood that which is the main part of Christian doctrine and which is

the summa of the whole Scripture, namely the article of grace, of justification or forgiveness of sins, certainly diligently and faithfully, so that I dare to boast in the Lord with St. Paul [2 Cor. 11, 6.]: "foolish in speech, but not [foolish] in knowledge". You see yourself, dearest Jonas, how cold, how ignorant in this matter are all those who today are outside our fellowship, and write books and interpret the Scriptures, so that if the government of the churches were given to them alone, one could expect nothing more certain under their government than a kind of new papacy, where Christ would be abolished anew with all our wisdom, which is the knowledge of the righteousness of faith. For in their hearts the delusion of human righteousness or righteousness by works is so stubbornly ingrained that they cannot in any way separate it from righteousness by faith or grace. And this, of course, is not to be wondered at. Until this day, I have experienced in myself, through many and great struggles, how difficult and purely divine it is for this knowledge to take root in the human heart, that we are justified by grace and without works, and that faith in Christ alone is the one and only righteousness of the saints of God, I say, as the scholastics (*scholae*) speak, the essential (*formalis*) 2) and perfect righteousness. This is far beyond the comprehension of the human heart and the measure of knowledge and speech on earth. What would those do who have learned nothing of these things, and imagine that they can learn by reading the Scriptures alone, and so presumptuously, that when they have once read any book, they are fully convinced that they have grasped the whole matter. True, they learn by a kind of habit to say these words: Faith justifies, works do not justify 2c. But when they come across passages of Scripture in which this matter is taught most beautifully and strongly, they pass over them as if they were blind, deaf, and dumb, so

2) On the *formalis justitia*, see Luther's "Detailed Explanation of the Epistle to the Galatians," St. Louis edition, vol. IX, 175 ff.

1) This letter must have been written after May 19 (No. 1554) and before the time of the interruption of the correspondence between Coburg and Augsburg, before June 5.

they also do not remember this matter with a word, and certainly by this they sufficiently show their testimony that they have learned the words from us, but never seriously and truly recognized the matter. But to treat the Scriptures without this article is rather to obscure or falsify the Scriptures, since there is almost no syllable which does not do this, so that Christ may be known. Since I see this (as I have said), I gladly suffer that some of my little books are added to the best books of our time, as it were, as a covering of goat's hair [Ex. 26:7] to the purple covering of the tabernacle, and also brought into the Latin language, among which I also count this Jonah, which you translate. For I have had this one thing in mind with special diligence, that I should illustrate the power and strength of the Christian faith by some glorious example, as far as possible, to the unlearned people. For before there was indeed nothing easier among all prophets than this history of Jonah, since everyone presumed to know it perfectly by a single glance or a single hearing. But now it is of such a nature even for the highest men in the spirit that they are forced to confess that they have not yet learned the first rudiments in it, at least I myself, who have interpreted it, have said only very little and barely droplets for so great a matter, and yet I have not yet sipped these my droplets, while those in the meantime may have swallowed the whole sea by which Jonah was swallowed, at the same time as the whale itself, - quite a hateful sort of people, to whom, being so soon satiated, these eternal delights of the word of God become a disgust, of which even the angels are never satiated, but they desire to behold the same for ever [1 Petr. 1,12].

Therefore you do right, my dear Jonas, that you have given yourself to this work of translating my interpretation, especially for the sake of the honor of the faith (as I have said), which I very much wish to be praised in every way, on every occasion, whether this be done by my, that is, an un-German and unlearned, or by

yours, that is, a graceful and brilliant writing. You will certainly promote the cause of the saints of God not insignificantly and offer God a sacrifice to the sweetest smell. And I have no doubt that this interpretation of mine, refashioned by your talent and eloquence (with which Christ has adorned you before others), will not only speak in better words, but also show the readers the matter itself more abundantly and vividly; and it will happen that henceforth the book will not be called mine, but, after I have been robbed, yours.

This robbery will not be offensive to me, but will delight me, and I will accept this robbery as an excellent mercy. I do not flatter you, nor do I caress myself by speaking so boastfully, but it is my zeal that flares up and overcomes me, seeing how the whole world neglects this cause, nay, even resists it with all its strength and efforts, and wishes it to be cursed and eradicated, while meanwhile the eloquence of all tongues praises mere antics, yes, filth with such great pomp, with such full cheeks, that before those things we can hardly hear and see even our own.

But I hope that this work will also be useful to you, and the translated Jonas will pay the translating Jonas with immediate wages. For he will comfort you and heal the wound of death, by which your little Frederick has left you as a wounded man, now already the fourth little son, who has been snatched from you by a premature death. For in your mourning my Jonas will say to you in every syllable: What do you mourn, Jonas? Look at this Jonah, whom the depth of the waters and the belly of the whale drives around in constant darkness in the whole sea for whole three days, and who looks the fear of death without end, if he looks it differently, and does not die rather without intermission as it were of the eternal death and succumbs to the victorious death. Your sorrow is great, but such a sorrow that can give room to tears and finally be soothed by the tears that burst forth. But my fear not only does not allow tears, but also exhausts all moisture and completely dries out the marrow. Remember therefore, living

Jonas, this dying Jonas, for you have not yet experienced the depth of the sea and the belly of the whale, unless you imagine that your tears are deeper than my sea, and your pain is harsher than my whale.

Then behold also this, how great the incomprehensible mercy of God is, who has not only kept me alive through so many deaths, so often lost, but has made me a well and exceedingly joyful victor and master of the devouring sea and the digesting whale. How much more will He wipe away these thy droplets, by which thou art a little sprinkled, not devoured, with a lighter mercy, and make thee with other gifts a proud despiser and king of these trailers? howbeit, if thou dost rightly estimate the gifts already received of him, thou shalt find so many and so great, that they might in truth be called a sea of grace with which thou art showered, and a whale of mercy by which thou art taken, so that in comparison with me, who is drowning in my sea and whale and can hardly breathe a short and small breath to live, you appear as a completely different Jonah, who is living and rejoicing in the sea and whale of mercy and goods, and hardly feels a small drop and a small breath of the north wind. So, I say, my Jonas will talk to you and add very much and talk out better than I can indicate after my childhood. Therefore I will command you two Jonas to one another, and I commend Jonas to Jonas, knowing that as they are of the same name, 1) so also they will be of one mind in peace and joy of spirit. That this may be with you and us forever, may He, our peace and joy, give Christ Jesus, highly praised forever, amen.

No. 1560.

Coburg Fortress.

June 1, 1530.

To Jakob Probst in Bremen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2302, annex, no. 2.

1) Erl. Briefw.: sint instead of: sunt.

No. 1561.

Coburg Fortress.

June 1, 1530.

To Johann Zelst, 2) preacher in Bremen.

Ueber die Secten und Schwärmer in Ostfriesland.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 23. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 133; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 29 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 356.

Grace and peace! I write with wavy words, since I am partly ill, my dear Johann. I have written a letter of admonition to the Count of Friesland. I have approved of his order and advised in every respect that he should not tolerate any sects in his country, then also punish the rebels who break into the churches and blaspheme, as you indicate, and, if they do it again, punish them with the penalty of rebellion. Perhaps you will see the letter. As for what you want, among other things, from Ulrich's book 3) against Heinrich von Zütphen, it seems to me that he is carried away by anger and arrogance, although I cannot adequately understand the matter myself; but he seems to me to be causing a dispute over words. I do not praise this Melchior with his figure. What can I say? Man has long since been handed over to Satan. Avoid ihu! His views are completely rapturous, meanwhile Christ is lost among such good-for-nothing talkers. You can see the other from the letter to Jakob Probst. Greetings to both John (the one from Amsterdam 4) and Pelt [*Pelzium*]). I am forced to be brief. I wish to treat the sixth chapter of John, 5) if the Lord permits. You be strong. The LORD will be with you; comfort your churches also. When I go home healthy

2) Zelst was provost's chaplain at Our Lady's Church in Bremen. He died in 1562.

3) Perhaps Ulrich von Dornum, captain in Oldersum, who had made common cause with the swarmers Carlstadt and Melchior Hofmann.

4) *Amsterdamus* is Johann Timann, so called from his hometown. He had been a preacher at St. Martini in Bremen since 1524. He died in 1557 - Johann Pelt, since 1525 preacher at the Ansharius church in Bremen.

5) Luther did not get to do this. On the other hand, during Bugenhagen's absence in Lübeck, he preached on the sixth to eighth chapters of John in Wittenberg from November 5, 1530 to March 9, 1532 (see St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 2192 ff.).

we will do more, if Christ is gracious. The grace of God be with you, Amen. From the desert, June 1, 1530,
your Martin Luther.

No. 1 562.

Augsburg.

June 1, 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 707, no. 932.

No. 1563 .

Coburg Fortress.

June 2, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2306, annex, no. 3.

No. 15 64.

(Coburg Fortress.)

June 5, 1530.

To his wife.

About the image of his little daughter Magdalena. Advice on weaning her. About the frequency of visits to Luther. The glasses that Christian Döriug sent do not fit Luther. Rumors that nothing would come of the Reichstag.

The original is in Hamburg, Offenbach-Wolfsche Sammlung, vol. 5, p. 1 (damaged in some places). Printed in A. von Dommer, Autotypen der Reformationzeit auf der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek, Heft II, p. 68 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 362.

My beloved housewife, Katherin Lutherin zu Wittenberg, for your attention.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Käthe! I have received all of your letters. This is the fourth letter 1) that I have written to you since John left for you. I also have Lenchen's copy with the box. I did not know the hair at first, it seems so black to me. I keep where you want to put it down and 2) blow, that [it] is good in the way of milings, so that you first break it off once a day, then twice a day, until [it] thus drains cleanly. Thus Georgen von Grumpach's mother, Mrs. Argula,³⁾ advised me; she has been here with us.

1) The other three letters are missing".

2) "and" put by us instead of: "of". - "wehnen" (English: *to wear*; Low German: "wenn'n") == wean. - The original should read: "weylinger", instead the Erl. Briefw.: "meylinger", that is: "allmäliger", vermuthet, what we have assumed".

3) Argula von Staufen.

and has eaten with me, Hans Reinicke full of Mansfeld also, and George Römer, that we all have to go to an external place, it wants to become a common pilgrimage here.

Tell Master Christianus that I have not seen my day of shameful glasses, because they come with his letter; I could not see a stitch through them. Thus the letter from all Cuntzen's father has not been sent to me, nor am I in Coburg; but if I can do otherwise, I will not let it go. You should nevertheless have your letters sent to the castrator⁴⁾, who will probably send them to me.

In Nuremberg and Augsburg, doubts began to arise as to whether anything would come of the Diet. The emperor is still consuming at Insbruck. The priests are up to something, and ses's gehet with herbs 5) to, God grant that the devil shit on them, amen. Let Mr. Pommer read the letter from 6) D. Wencel. Hurry; the messenger does not want to wait. Greet, kiss, hug and be friendly to all and to each 7) according to his state. Early on the day of Pentecost [June 5] 1530. Martin Luther.

No. 1 565.

(Feste Coburg.)

June 5, 1530.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther consoles him about the death of his daughter. About a passage of Scripture. About the uncertainty whether the Reichstag will take place. About his state of health. He reports the death of his father. About the too great frequency of the visits.

The original is in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 285 B. Handwritten there in *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 19d. Printed in J. M. Krafft, Ein Zweyfaches Zwey-HundertJähriges Jubel-Gedächtniß 2c., Hamburg 1723, p. 87; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 179; in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 31 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 364.

To D. Wenceslaus Link, the most faithful servant of the Word at Nuremberg, who is highly renowned in the Lord.

Grace in Christ our Lord! I have heard Peter Steckner, and have offered to do as much as I can, as he himself will report, to help my

4) Paul Bader.

5) That is, with magic.

6) The original should read "to"; probably a reading error.- Should "to" be correct, the next letter would have to be understood, which was sent unsealed.

7) In the original: "jder".

dear Wenceslaus. I know that your deceased little daughter, if you have ever been a father, will now teach the number of those who come here; tomorrow we will you what it means to be a father, especially of the sex move. Mrs. Argula von Stauffen has been with us, and which, even more than is the case with sons, excites pity Hans Reinick von Mansfeld. "The pilgrimage wants to very much. But you know that she is now in the kingdom become too large here"; the prince wants to take offense of heaven more blessed than all of us, who are at it. reproach of men and a mockery of devils, then also a spectacle of the world and a temptation of sin. Christ help us in that hour, amen.

From the passage [1 Cor. 15:29]: "Why are they baptized over the dead?" I still have nothing other than what is in the marginal gloss 2) of my German Testament.

I do not like to hear that the Diet is becoming doubtful, because this is not a sign of peace, but of the wrath of God, which the bishops provoke by their unworthiness, so that they may go to the bottom, but not without our misfortune.

I say thank you for the small gifts sent.

I have indeed suffered from buzzing in the head before the arrival of yours, but nevertheless, thank God, I am better, except that I must work gently and be very idle and indulge my thoughts. I have been very sad while writing now, for I have received the news of the death of my extremely dear and beloved father, the elder Luther, 3) and even though I wish him such an easy and godly death in Christ that he can rest in peace, freed from this rage and the monstrosities of the world, my whole inner being is significantly moved. For it was from him that God gave me life and education. May the grace of God be with you always, amen. Greetings to Spenglern, to whom I will write next, when I have become more cheerful. On the day of Pentecost itself [June 5] 1530.

(Feste Coburg.)

June 5, 1530.

No. 1566 .

To Melanchthon.

Luther complains about the silence of his friends in Augsburg and reports the death of his father 2c.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 18 b. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 137; by De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 32 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 366.

Grace and peace in Christ! I wrote in the last letter, my dear Philip, that we were annoyed that you let the messenger return to us empty, since you are so many, and almost all of you are *scribaces*. Now you have already let the second messenger return equally empty, the former messenger of Apel, but now 4) the wagoner of the Wildprets of Coburg. I cannot think enough about whether you are so negligent or whether you are unwilling, since you know that we here in the desert, as it were in a thirsty land, long for your letters, from which we can learn all about yours. We have indeed heard that the emperor has ordered the Augsburgs to release the recruited soldiers and to remove the chains in the streets. 5)

The day before yesterday [June 3] Argula von Stauffen was here, telling of the extraordinary pomp with which the Duke of Bavaria will receive the Emperor in Munich, with spectacles and other new honors. 6) Yes, from Nuremberg they are beginning to invite us...

4) Instead of *hunc* we have assumed *nunc*. - The venison for the Elector was sent from Coburg to Augsburg. See St. Louis Edition Vol. XVI, 909, No. 982.

5) Both, the recruitment of mercenaries and the blocking off of the streets with chains, had been done in order to counteract possible tumults that might arise upon the arrival of the emperor with foreign warriors.

6) The description of these festivities is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 710 ff, no. 935.

1) In Latin: *discere*, since Luther here transferred the so frequent confusion of "to teach" and "to learn" also to Latin.

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1867.

3) This must have happened during the course of the day, because the previous letter, which was written "early" the same day, does not yet report anything about it. Luther's father had died on May 29.

If this happens, it is a sign of God's wrath against the bishops, which cannot be appeased, that he himself will not listen to our petitions made on their behalf.

If the judgments about my booklet 1) should turn out differently, then do not let that move you; my God is a God of the foolish and is used to ridicule the wise. Therefore, I also do not care about them.

Today only Hans Reinicke has written that my extremely dear father, Hans Luther the Elder, has passed away from this life, just -on Sunday Exaudi [May 29] at one o'clock. This death has truly put me into mourning, which I remember not only for nature, but also for the exceedingly kind love, because through him my Creator has given me all that I am and have; and although I am comforted by the fact that he writes that he has gently fallen asleep strong in the faith of Christ, the lamentation and the memory of the exceedingly sweet contact with him has shaken my innermost being, so that I have hardly ever despised death so much. But "the righteous are snatched away from calamity and enter into rest" [Isa. 57:1. f.], namely, so often do we die before we die ONCE. I now enter into the inheritance of the name that I am almost the oldest Luther in my family. I am now also entitled not only to the approximation, but also to the right to follow him through death into the kingdom of Christ, which he graciously bestows upon us all, for whose sake we are the most miserable of all men and the reproach of the whole world. Therefore, since I am all too afflicted, I do not write more expansively now, because it is fair and godly that I, as a son, should entrust such a father, from whom the Father of mercies has received me and by whose sweat I have been nourished and formed, as I am. Indeed, I rejoice that he lived until these times, that he could see the light of truth. Praise be to God in all that he does.

1) "Admonition to the Clergy, Assembled at the Imperial Diet at Augsburg." St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 945, no. 1000.

and counsel for ever and ever, amen. Other things at another time. Greetings to all of ours. On the day of Pentecost itself [June 5] 1530.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 1567.

Coburg Fortress.

June 5, 1530.

To the abbot Friedrich Pistorius in Nuremberg.

Luther gives thanks for a gift and gives his opinion that the oath of a papal abbot is void.

Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 21 b; again there fol. 151 b and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 134; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 34; in Scbirmacher, p. 378 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 369.

To the in Christ highly venerable Mr. Friedrich, head of the Aegidien monastery in Nuremberg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord! I have received the sword you sent, dear man, although it was not necessary to deprive you of it. Poor me, I have nothing to give but my empty letter.

About the oath, about which you, worthy lord, desire [my opinion], this is my opinion, that it is first of all devoured by itself by saying that it happened to the bishops who enter [into their office] in a lawful way. But where are such bishops nowadays, who enter in a canonical way, and do not rather buy from Rome by simony, then enter elsewhere as thieves and robbers, so that they slaughter and perish? Since they are not bishops, nor do they want to be bishops according to Christ, they could not demand such an oath, nor could anyone take it, and it is completely null and void and must be annulled until he [the bishop] enters in a canonical way, and does what the Holy Spirit commands a bishop to do Tit. 2 and 1 Tim. 2. And so it [the oath] is null and void as far as the person of the one who demands it is concerned. Then, even if the person were fit, as even the tyrant must keep that which has been sworn, yet the thing itself which is sworn cannot be performed without dishonor to the name of GOD by which it is sworn. For he requires that Christ be denied, and that

He said that he would not allow his abominations to be seen. Here I stop the pen, so that I do not make you more carried out in his place and that his soul would be silent by writing. Greetings to all of us. The grace of God destroyed by his corrupt obedience to him. But if he be with you, Amen. June 7, 1530.

wanted to change the matter, that is, to admit the gospel, My mistress Käthe writes that the Elbe has leaked even to demand it, he would rightly be sworn in. 1) But anew, although there has not yet been the slightest rain. they do not, or rather they want to perish. But they do not Many waters are many monstrosities. Farewell. Your do that, or rather want to go to ruin. Therefore, both in Martin Luther.

person and in substance, this oath has been nothing, is nothing and will be nothing, but must be condemned and trampled underfoot. Let him keep it who is an abbot, that Augsburg.

is, who is a comrade of ruin and abomination. Aegidius no longer has an abbot in Nuremberg 2) so that the oath has also fallen away for the sake of the person who must take it. I consider this to be the truth, and you, worthy lord, will take it for the best. On the day of Pentecost itself [June 5] 1530. Worthy Lord,

Your most devoted Martin Luther,
D.

No. 1568.

(Feste Coburg.)

June 7, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther complains again about the silence of his friends in Augsburg.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 23. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 139; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 35 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 370.

Grace and peace in Christ! I see that all of you have decided to plague us with silence; therefore, so that we do not harden ourselves unavenged, we announce to you by this letter that from now on we want to compete with you in silence, and if you perhaps despise this, I praise the Wittenbergers, who, although they are very busy, write three times before you idle people write once. I have received a consolation about the death of my extremely dear father; if you want to know it, you can learn it from this letter of Michael Cölius 3).

1) We have adopted the reading of *Cod. Rostoch.*: *ei* adopted instead of *si* or *she* in the other editions.

2) On July 12, 1525, Abbot Pistorius had handed over his monastery to the Alms Office.

3) Cölius had been court preacher in Mansfeld since 1525. He was present at the death of Luther's father and also at Luther's death in Eisleben, where he preached a funeral sermon. He died on Dec. 13, 1559.

No. 1569 .

June 12, 1530.

Justus Jonas to Luther.

Jonas goes on to explain at length why he and the friends in Augsburg "cannot be blamed" for Luther not receiving letters. About the imminent arrival of the emperor. He reports the death of the imperial chancellor Mercurinus and of Count zu Salm, a famous war colonel, whose passing at this time was to be greatly regretted. Agricola and Schnepf had preached the main Christian doctrines in front of a large audience, but as soon as they had taught about the Holy Communion and against the Sacramentarians, the large number of Zwinglians there had become extremely unwilling. The largest crowd was Michael Cellarius (Keller), a Zwinglian. He asked Luther to write more frequent letters of comfort to Melanchthon, who was making a lot of trouble for himself. From Daniel Bomberg, the editor of Hebrew Bibles. Finally, he asks for a comfort letter for his wife.

The original is in Hamburg, Ms. Vol. I, fol. 93 (very damaged). Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 126; in Kawerau, *Jonas' Briefwechsel*, vol. I, p. 149 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VII, p. 371.

To the exceedingly faithful and loud preacher of Christ, D. Martin Luther, his very dear father in the Lord.

"Doct. Martins zu eigen Handen."

Grace and peace of God through Christ! Since I had recently received a letter from Pomerania Wittenberg and then also from my house servant 4) about the death of my exceedingly dear and beloved son, who lived only three days in this world, my dearest father in the Lord, and had learned the same from a letter from my wife, who somewhat darkly, I do not know from what godly dissimulation, hinted at the same case in a gentle and coy manner, 5) Philippus and I have immediately responded to our

4) This will be the "scribe Viola" mentioned by Melanchthon in his letter of May 22. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 688, no. 927.

5) Compare No. 1551. - About the things of the messenger, see No. 1557.

I hired a messenger at your expense, who was to run first to you in Coburg, then to Wittenberg to my wife quickly and quickly. For I was very worried about my wife's health, and therefore I had asked you in my letter that you would deign to write a letter of comfort to her, and in this sad case of mine, with which the Lord has again wanted to exercise me, according to His holy will, I also awaited your answer 1) so that there would be something with which I could calm myself. For nothing is more pleasant to me than the conversation with you when you are present, and your letters in your absence. But this messenger of ours, who was sent to bring us back an answer from you, either did not come to Coburg at that time, or he lost the bundle of letters to you on the journey, or he is an impostor and a very great scoundrel. 2) For since you complain about our silence in the letter [No. 1566] that he brought [to us] 3) and demand from us the duty [of writing] that we have written so abundantly through the same messenger, we can assume nothing else than that our letters have not reached you at all, be it that this has happened through some [coincidence] and little finger of Satan or through the malice or disloyalty of the messenger. We at least gave this one a large bundle, we wrote the name Coburg on it, [also] 4) the name of the captain; 5) we also dropped (*communicavimus*) something of a [secret, and] 6) added: of the prince and even of the [pope], so that the letters would be delivered faithfully. But now we are all angry that they have not been delivered, and we are almost bursting with anger. But this does not only annoy us for your sake.

1) This answer will be No. 1559. It can be inferred from this that Jonas did not receive Luther's letter of May 19, No. 1554.

2) In any case, the messenger was innocent, because as we see from Luther's letter to Jakob Probst of June 1, Luther received Melancthon's letter of May 22.

3) Here and in the following lines the final margin of the sheet is torn off. We have tried to fill in what is missing according to the sense as far as we could. Here we have inserted *nodis*; in the following gap: *scribendi*; in the third: *scrisimus*; in the fourth: *casu*.

4) *etiam* added by us.

5) *praelecti*. ... This refers to the castle of Coburg, von Falkenstein.

6) *myst*... we have added *mysterio* st, the following gap is filled by *pontificis*. - After *addidimus* Jonas himself crossed out the words: *nostra et etium*, but Kolde retained them in the text.

whose loneliness 7) is increased by this silence of ours, however, through no fault of ours, 8) but also for our sake and especially for mine, who is now eagerly awaiting your extremely pleasant letters this whole month. But now you see, my dear father, that this silence is not to be construed against us, and we will make every effort to compensate for this lack of letters by frequency in the future.

As far as the common matter of the Imperial Diet is concerned, the Emperor has not yet arrived, but it is said that he will certainly be here by next Wednesday or Friday 9) and will first celebrate the Feast of Corpus Christi in Munich with the Bavarian princes, and yet there are people who claim for certain that he will come here the day after tomorrow, so that the Lutheran princes may go with the Emperor in the pomp of the procession 2c. From both courts, that of the Emperor as well as that of Ferdinand, many 10) Spaniards on horses, on mules, in carriages have already arrived as forerunners, and already that brother of Ehinger 11) has arrived, who, as it was said, has received a new island as a gift. The latter celebrated his wedding here, and it is said that now, after so many forerunners, the emperor will certainly be there. The chief chancellor, Mr. Mercurinus, who recently became a cardinal, and who was said to be of all people at the emperor's court the most approvingly opposed to the Lutheran doctrine, and who with a sincere mind sought ways to give peace to Germany, died, if I am not mistaken, on the Saturday before Pentecost. There is some news of this here, and it is not doubtful. It is said that he was very old, quite at the end of his life; he had passed his 77th year. The death was not untimely, but nevertheless, I do not know by what miraculous fate, sudden. Since the emperor was about to leave for the Imperial Diet in Insbruck, Mercurinus, having already packed and arranged his belongings, had also left.

7) We agree with Kawerau that after *solitudo* no gap is to be assumed. The Erl. Briefw. would like to add *tua*.

8) This much seems to be clear from this letter, however, that the Augsburgs did not write from May 22 to June 12, i.e. a full three weeks, despite Melancthon's assurances in the letter of June 25 that he had written every week.

9) That is, the 15th or 17th of June, The Emperor arrived on the 15th.

10) Kolde reads *mihi* instead of *multi*.

11) The imperial council Ulrich Ehinger, whose brother Johann, mayor of Memmingen, had been one of the envoys to the emperor. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, 471, No. 852.

He had come down from his room, had said goodbye to the landlord, and (it is wonderful to hear) as he was about to mount the horse or the carriage, he suddenly felt a kind of faintness and I don't know what kind of pain all over his body, but the man's voice did not immediately fail him, but he said: I feel that I don't know what kind of dwindling of all strength is coming over me, and so he fell to the ground dead. This has been attributed to Duke George, and our bridge has heard this from Doctor Pistor, George's chancellor. Some think that the man, exhausted by the exceedingly great and prolonged labors at court, and broken by the worries and cares of the very great affairs, thus died, since old age now fell heavily upon him, from the stroke, or also from old age itself, which in itself is a disease; others think, because he seemed to give a little too healthy and fair counsel in regard to this matter of religion, that he had been struck by a Guelph weapon, or had drunk a Venetian soup. However it may be, it is a sign from God that is not very good that such a great man dies just at the beginning of the Diet and on the journey to it. Moreover, the Count of Salm, that highly famous count who handed over the King of France, who had been captured in battle, to the Emperor as a defeated man and prisoner, has recently passed away; he has also departed in these days. Behold, my dear father, the highest man in the council and then the greatest leader in warlike affairs are taken away almost at the same time. What those may think whom God warns by such examples, I do not know. I certainly wish that both of them were alive, for I hear that they were good men and lights of the court. Also the confessor of the emperor, who also shortly before had received the badge of honor of the Cardinal's hat 1), is also said to be dead. But it is said that he died out of pure carnal sadness, because the emperor, after he had received the cardinal dignity, excluded him from his closer contact and did not want to have such a great gentleman as a confessor.

But so that I may also write something to you about the condition of this city, whose appearance is truly very miserable and lamentable, perhaps it would be useful to first touch on something about our preachers. M. Agricola of Eisleben, the preacher of our court, has, from the

In his sermon, he dealt with several main articles of Christian doctrine: of faith, of works, of the sacraments, and under these articles he preached for four days against the error of the sacramentarians. There he touched a wasps' nest, and the crowd takes it with the utmost displeasure that in this city the Zwinglian doctrine is condemned or even lightly hyped. The Prince of Hesse has not yet been to our sermons, not even with our Prince. He raised that well-known dispute with Eisleben 2) by claiming that Eisleben had publicly sinned, I don't know what, against Christian love, therefore it was not possible that he could edify 2c. But you know that another cause could be behind it; about that verbally, if something else is not objected to in the meantime. The Margrave, 3) Duke Ernst of Lüneburg, the Prince of Anhalt and several others attend our sermons. The preacher of the Prince of Hesse, Schnepf, has so far preached in another church, St. Ulrich's, before a very large audience and with the whole city in attendance, also before a larger crowd than ours, and taught exceedingly loudly. But today, on Trinity Day, he began to touch on the article of the Sacrament, and said: he did not hate the persons, Zwingli rc.⁴⁾ or others, but this whole doctrine was [ungodly]. 5) Then the crowd suddenly began to get excited and to hiss and murmur with each other, then they began to go straight away from the church and to give obvious signs of an offended mind and their excitement. But Schnepf remained firm as he had begun, [and with] great strength of body and spirit he brought [the sermon] to an end. About the Prince of Hesse another time orally. At another time [more]. Augsburg is completely devoted to a certain Michael 6) and it swears by his words. He was in Wittenberg for a while and went out from us, but he was not of us [1 John 2:19]: an un

2) Because of the collection of proverbs. See No. 1462.

3) George of Brandenburg. - The "Prince of Anhalt" is Wolfgang, who came in the entourage of the Elector. Cf. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 661, No. 910.

4) Instead of *et*, we assumed *etc.*

5) We have filled this gap by *impiam*; the following one by [*emo*]tionis; the third by *et cum*; the fourth by *sermonem* and the fifth by *plura*.

6) Michael Cellarius (Keller) from Memmingen, who was preacher at the Barfüßerkirche since 1526. A stay in Wittenberg is not provable, therefore D. Enders thinks that Jonas is confused with Martin Cellarius.

1) Kolde has put a question mark on *Galeri*.

learned man, yet confident and presumptuous, and equipped with a wonderful, more than Swabian loquacity. In front of him, Urban Rhegius, Doctor Frosch and Doctor Stephan stink here in the large crowd. ¹⁾ One can hardly see two hundred listeners in Urban's sermons, in Michael's sermons six thousand people. But this is especially peculiar to the German people, that they are exceedingly ungrateful [for] 2) the highest benefits of God, [but at] new things they straighten their ears and pay the most eager attention. But so that I may also report something cheerful in the long letter in which I am endeavoring to write in order to do enough for that faithless messenger of ours, you should know, 3) my [dear father, that we are] otherwise quite well through the Lord; in particular, that the troubles in this common matter, as is [his nature,] plague the Lord Philip quite well. He admits that these exceedingly great things have now come to depend on no human counsel, but nevertheless he would gladly be present at the deliberations in heaven (as we are all minded) and would gladly give counsel to God, if He would (as you are wont to speak) admit us as counselors. I would have you write to him very often for our mutual comfort, yours and ours. We pray, and in such great distresses and in such times we cry out to heaven. What more can we do? If the prayers of the godly do not snatch us from these powers (*imperiis*), no human advice will pull us out.

In these days the gentleman Daniel Bomben⁴⁾ was with us, the one whose name you read at the end of the Hebrew Bible, who maintains at his expense in Venice until this day well learned people in Hebrew and has published for us already times a Bible, Concordances 2c., and he alone has a very large Officin. He is a very educated man and has discussed many things with us in a friendly and amiable manner; he has given remembrance to the Kabbalah 2c.: in the word *baroschis* [xxxxxx] are the years from the time of his birth.

creation of the world to the passion of Christ, and

and the like. He seems to be completely judaizing in the manner of those who, not preserved by the knowledge of godliness, hebraise too much; but otherwise he is a very good and finely educated man. But here I stop. I have wanted to write the greatest trifles to you, my dearest father, and to be exceedingly garrulous after the manner of Jonah, lest you, as you threaten, continue to be silent against us. Your truly prophetic book 5) is read by all the godly, gods and men applaud it, only Satan is angry and gnashes his teeth.

I ask you to send a letter of comfort to my wife, or some other small letter, so that you will not renew the memory of the death of my son. ⁶⁾ The Lord mercifully visits me here and elsewhere, and also comforts me in the most merciful way. I only now see how 7) many and innumerable are the people for whom we, by God's grace, are exceedingly rich in all spiritual blessings. Fare well in Christ. Given at Augsburg, on the day of the Most Holy Trinity [June 12] in the year of the Lord 2c. 30.

J. Jonas, your son.

No. 1570.

Augsburg.

June 13, 1530.

Justus Jonas to Luther.

Jonas reports that 500 copies of Luther's "Admonition to the Clergy" have already been sold in Augsburg, even to opponents who had expected a retraction. About a statement by Fabian voll Feilitzsch. Of the great impression made by that writing, which is only reviled by the sacramentarians. Of a joke that a citizen of Augsburg made with Faber, and of a conversation Melancthon had with Duke Heinrich of Brunswick, who had spoken approvingly about various demands of the Protestants. Finally, he expresses his condolences over the death of Luther's father.

The original is in Hamburg, Ms. Vol. I, fol. 96. Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 131; in Kawerau, Jonas' Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 154 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 379.

Grace and peace of God in Christ! Eight days ago, a certain bookkeeper published your book "To those gathered here on the Reichstag

5) The "Admonition to the Clergy" 2c.

6) Instead of *renoves* in Erl. Briefw. reads Kolde: *reuiues* with (*sic*).

7) Here Jonas has crossed out *coeci*, which the Erl. Briefwechsel has put back into the text after Kawerau's process, because it "belongs here after all".

1) Agricola (box builder).

2) Here we have added *pro*; in the following gap *sed ad*; in the third *avidissime*; in the fourth scribe; in the fifth *satisfac[i]one*; in the sixth *pator, nos*; in the seventh *in[r]imis* and in the eighth *suo more*.

3) Instead of *scias*, Kolde has read *suas*.

4) In the text *Bamberg*, but his name was Bomberg. In 1517, he established a printing house in Venice devoted exclusively to Hebrew literature, which flourished until 1550. It produced several good editions of the Bible.

I have brought the "ecclesiastical prelates" here, my dearest father, and put out 500 copies for sale, which soon found their buyers. For they were also taken up with extraordinary eagerness by the adversaries, who wished to know what you would now dare to write, while you, as they interpret it, were so much frightened by the arrival of the emperor. For what else could they have meant than that you would now at this time be intent on a retraction and a humble apology or could ever write something else: which they have now, if everything does not deceive me, with complete Lutheran pusillanimity written down perfectly and in every respect (as the godly could only wish) well worked out, well executed and exceedingly decided. Mr. Fabian Feilitzsch has rightly said about the preface to the book of Christian freedom 1): If the pope and the bishops can be reconciled so easily, why have they not been invited to peace and concord sooner by this kind of peacemaking? But, joking aside, my dear father, I do not doubt that the Lord has spoken through you in this little book. We have learned by many examples that the Pharisees, when asked in a calm manner, boast, but when scolded quite freely, become more pliant. I thought that at this time the minds of some would be extraordinarily irritated and inflamed to fiercer hatred by this exceedingly frank, prickly and, as they say, very vehement writing, but by God's grace I see that Christ is victorious in you, and that your mouth and wisdom are given to you, especially in the case of adversity, which they can neither resist [Luc. 21:15] nor dare to do so. In all those who contradict us, I see that by this unexpected, admirable and exceedingly powerful *apologia*, even the great ones are so struck that they themselves confess that this is and always has been the very concept of truth, so that no one can dare to contradict it, to speak against it.

Almost only the Sacramentarians revile this book and say that you plead for mercy with a certain art and in a hidden way, but nevertheless even they are instructed and many of them deny that there is anything in this book that you did not write from the best heart and with the highest zeal and endeavor to benefit the churches and the commonwealth.

counsel. I give thanks to Christ for his unspeakable gift. I at least hope that the Lord will hear us wretched sinners and preserve the course of the Word under so many and so great temptations.

I mentioned the Reichstag in the other letter. Two days ago Johann Faber, the Costnitzer, came to Augsburg, who, as one has heard from his brother, who is a citizen here in Augsburg, has become bishop of Vienna. When it was said that he was coming and approaching the city, a local Augsburg citizen, who is a good Lutheran, posed as if he were a papist, quickly mounted a horse and hurried to meet Faber, and spoke to him while the latter was sitting on the horse, as if he could not suffer a delay because of love. He complained to him about many things: how the Lutheran princes had brought preachers with them who preached against the papist religion, and he inquired of Faber whether he knew what the emperor intended to do with the Lutherans, and so he fished out many things from him and learned them. Afterwards, he ridiculed everything to the utmost among his friends. "That was quite a basic talk."

Today Mr. Philippus was called to Mr. Heinrich, the Duke of Brunswick, who is in Italy 2c. He talked a lot with him about Antiochus 2) and his thoughts and plans. He testified sufficiently that he disliked all the counsels that Antiochus was pursuing with the Strasbourg storm and in this whole matter with the conclusion of alliances 2c. Among other things, this Duke of Brunswick discussed some very good things about the common cause with Philip. For he said that he, too, had been reading the New Testament for some time, perhaps since his return from Italy, and he had gained much fruit from this reading: he saw that both forms were free 2c.; the marriage of priests, the freedom of the monastic state 2c., the abolition of the buying fair 2c., the freedom in food were articles of such a kind that could not rightly be condemned, and in them, with God's help, ways to harmony could be found. But he would never agree with those who completely abolished the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as with the Zwinglians 2c. We are all amazed at this change in such a prince, but the Lord will perhaps work even greater things, and we

2) This refers to Landgrave Philip of Hesse, not to Archduke Ferdinand, as Kolde and Kawerau think.

We cannot yet be sure of anything, given the great variability and diversity of the expressions of the will. Nevertheless, they are good signs. Let us continue to cast our concern on the Lord in prayer.

D. Cochläus was at dinner with us yesterday, and he now speaks more calmly of both forms and the articles than ever before. But during the meal we answered quite freely to some harsh and poisonous speeches.

I received news of the death of your father, the worthy old man, through your letter 1); I was greatly saddened by this news for your sake, but nevertheless, since the worthy old man has undoubtedly fallen asleep in Christ at a great age, we must give thanks to God that he has lived so long and has departed from this life in the confession of the Gospel, now that the Gospel of Christ has been spread through you, his son, and this Christ has been known.

Greet, I beg you, in your letter in my name your wife, "Muhme Lenen", your son Johannes and your little daughter Magdalena. Given at Augsburg, in haste, on the day after Trinity [June 13] in the year 2c. of the Lord 30.

J. Jonas.

I ask you to remember us in your prayers, my best Father.

Tomorrow, they say, the emperor will certainly be here; tonight he will come to Bruck, 5 [to] 6 miles from Augsburg.

No. 15 71.

(Augsburg.)

(June 13, 1530.) 2)

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon gives as the reason for his silence that he had waited for the fulfillment of his request that Luther write to the landgrave to admonish him from an alliance with the Zwinglians, who reproached him for overrunning the papists with war. About the behavior of the papists. About the Emperor's request to the Elector of Saxony to come to him, and about the Emperor's imminent arrival. About Erasmus' illness and his own worries.

A copy is found in Paris in the *biblioth. teempli St. Genovevae*, Cod. D, 54³. Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. IV, 1008 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VII, p. 383.

1) The letter to Melanchthon of June 5 will be meant.

2) In the copy, the letter is undated. The date, however, is certain from the previous letter, because there as well as here it is reported that Melanchthon had talked with Duke Heinrich of Brunswick today.

Hail! The waiting for your letter to the landgrave has tormented me so much that I could not write anything in the meantime. 3) I asked you to write a letter to him so that he would not plunge into the ungodly cause of the Zwinglish-minded (xxx xxxxxxxxxx).

For he is extremely at odds with everyone over this matter. Today, Henry of Brunswick has complained to me very severely about the disputations of the landgrave in this matter, and asks that we make every effort that he not be separated from us. The Zwinglians are extraordinarily persecuting him. Here they publicly boast that they will attack the empire. Such a great rage has taken possession of their minds. And you are regarded by many as having prophesied in your booklet about the spirit of Münzer. 4) It is undoubtedly driving that party. Our adversaries triumph as if they had completely defeated us. We cannot yet guess anything about the emperor's will, at least he has not made anything known about it yet. He has absent-mindedly disputed with us by summoning our prince to him, but with this condition that he should not have an alliance. 5) I believe that he still suspects that there is an alliance with us. The emperor will be here within two days. Erasmus is dangerously ill and it is said that he is profoundly insane by some kind of madness. I am almost consumed by the most miserable worries. Therefore, you will ask Christ for us.

No. 15 72.

Augsburg.

June 18, 1530.

Justus Jonas to Luther.

Detailed report on the emperor's entry into Augsburg and the negotiations with the princes that immediately followed. The emperor had brought fifteen doctors from Spain. After the death of Mercurinus, there was no hope for a union. The pope had promised money and warriors to suppress the Lutherans. Melanchthon was tormented by worries,

3) On May 22, Melanchthon had made the urgent request that Luther write to the Landgrave (see St. Louis ed., vol. XVI, 689, s 4). It was not until June 20 that Luther complied with this request, but sooner than this letter had reached his hands, for he did not receive it until June 21 or 22, and, being incensed at the long silence of his friends in Augsburg, at first did not want to read it at all (cf. Melanchthon's letter to Luther of June 26, St. Louiser Ausg., vol. XVI, 896, no. 975).

4) This is "Ein Brief an die Fürsten zu Sachsen von dem aufrührischen Geist," St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 4, No. 763.

5) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 697.

but the fruit of the church's prayer was felt under all the threats. The emperor had forbidden preaching, but in the next few days the opponents should see from the articles to be handed over that the evangelicals confess the gospel of Christ. At the end a short message.

The original is in Hamburg, Vol. I, fol. 212. Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 134; in Kawerau, Jonas' Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 157 it was long argued whether the legate should go a and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VII, p. 385.

To the true and faithful apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, D. Martin Luther 2c., my father, who is most dear to me of all men.

"Doctor Martins at Your Own Hand."

Grace and peace of God in Christ! Just on St. Vitus Day, the day before the Feast of Corpus Christi, the Emperor, whom the Estates of the Empire had been expecting for about two months, has now entered Augsburg. 1) How his majesty was met, how the emperor was also received outside the city with a speech by the Cardinal of Mainz, and about all the very great splendor, we are sending you a German text written by Spalatin, 2) although I know that you do not care much about these things. Through this messenger, my dearest father, you shall have this about the entry for the time being. 3) The princes of Bavaria led the emperor with five hundred well-equipped horsemen, equipped with spears and dressed in red. In the center of the city the monks and the canons, these two most poisonous enemies of the word here, received the emperor with bells and organ sound, dressed in Aaronic clothes, but 2c.; these antics and powerless and despondent mockeries against the gospel are not unknown to you. Three things I have in mind in all the pomp: the Emperor's gesture, our Elector, who carried the sword in front, and in which place the Cardinals (*Cardines*) 4) of the Holy Roman Church went. Next in front of the Emperor rode our most Serene Elector, who carried the silver sword. The other Electors went ahead, then the Emperor came alone under

1) About the Emperor's entry into Augsburg compare the documents in the 16th volume of the St. Louis edition, Col. 708ff. No.935ff.

2) Perhaps this is the relation found in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, 732, No. 937.

3) This sentence finds its understanding in the fact that Jonas had first written *mittemus*, which was later corrected to *mittimus*, after he had received Spalatin's relation, as we see from the postscript.

4) Campegius, Matthew Lang of Salzburg and Bernard of Cles of Trident.

a completely golden umbrella roof, dressed in a golden robe, with horse blankets set with precious stones, with a golden sword decorated with precious stones 2c., in short, in a more than royal splendor.

The emperor was followed first by King Ferdinand on the right and Cardinal Campegius on the left. Outside

the city, when the procession (pompa) was ordered, it was long argued whether the legate should go a *latere* before the king or vice versa, but the times have

won the victory, which in the present changes 5) have a very great force. The Cardinal had to bear it with equanimity that he went to the side of the King. When

one came into the city, the Cardinal did not bless anyone by hand movements, fearing that the foreign

and Welsh blessings would be mocked, since our Germans have learned the sanctity of the Welsh and

their concern for religion 2c. and indeed have become thoroughly acquainted with it, especially here in the

neighborhood of the Alps. Outside the city, however, when the princes who had gone to meet the Emperor

were already greeting him, Cardinal Campegius gave them all a free blessing by the movement of two little

fingers. When the other Electors fell on their knees, the Elector of Saxony, standing, received or rather

spurned the blessing that was stored in the Cardinal's hand (*Cardinaliciae chirothecae*). Being asked by the

Margrave if he would not also bend the knee, he answered: "I let the rogue have a good year!" 2c.

Before GOD one should bend the knees. While they were arranging themselves and now approaching the

city, almost five hours passed, "and there was such a crowd that many gentlemen, also our young lord, rode

home from the order before to the inn, so that there would be room for the other stuff" 2c. The emperor

therefore entered the gate at eight o'clock in the evening or in the middle of the eighth hour, the

procession and the cavalry were led through the middle of the city to the cathedral church, and barely

at nine o'clock he arrived at the inn. When the other princes and bishops left, each to his own inn, our

Elector, Margrave George, the Elector of Lüneburg, and Hesse were immediately asked to stay, for the

emperor had something he wanted to present to them. So much so, they decided to attack those who

would not suspect this 2c. These princes, however, the emperor asked immediately mjt the saying of the

living

Stimnie (*vivae vocis oraculo*, as the jurists speak) that immediately the next day our preachers should desist [from preaching]. Something has been added of the procession of the feast of Corpus Christi 2c. Of these things, therefore, consultations are now taking place at court and with us, 1) and yet God would that you were with us; how we would like that, the Lord Philip and the rest of us, or that we had your counsel and opinion! But now this is over. The Prince did not go along in the Corpus Christi procession, nor the younger [Prince], nor Margrave George, nor the Hessian, nor Lüneburg 2c. The emperor brought 15 Spanish doctors, monks and others. Today Ziegler wrote from Ferrara to Philippus [about the same] 2). He writes that those Spaniards are ignorant of godliness and [of the Scriptures]. Cornelius Schopper,³⁾ whom you know, that eloquent man whom the expelled King of Denmark had with him at Wittenberg, has talked quite confidentially with Philip and with me about the common cause. He says that now that Mercurinus, the only author and mediator of peace, is dead, he despairs of [establishing] harmony, because the Welsh are pressing the emperor against the Lutherans with such impetuosity, and the pope promises troops of war, money, auxiliaries and assistance of every kind, and that for a long time, against the Lutherans. Although frightening rumors about the Turk have been spread by quite reliable people, in the meantime one keeps silent about it (dear God, what blindness Christ gives to His enemies!), and yet one sees that this is of all the greatest evil that Germany is facing. We are attacked here by Pharisaeic certainty, by Pharisaeic contempt, arrogance and hatred, and with quite satanic arts. The Lord Philip, as you know the man, is miserably tormented by the worries and cares of such a great cause, and we all also learn here in a good school what it is that the godly are full "of the proud

ridicule and the contempt of the hoped-for".⁴⁾ But we see daily, under so many threats and afflictions of the Pharisees, the fruit of the prayers of our Lutheran church and the power and effectiveness of the catechism and the children's litanies. You, my dear father, continue to pray as you do. The Lord has made us rich through you. We have the Psalms, we have Paul, of whom we now see that it is clear and revealed to us, although it is now closed and completely sealed to so many doctors and wise men and mighty men.

Today, on Saturday, the Emperor, by a public proclamation made by four trumpeters and by the voice of the herald, 5) has ordered the cessation of all preaching on both sides throughout Augsburg, both ours and the papists, for a time, until the matter is recognized, and only the bare text of the Gospel is read before the Emperor and the princes. "This will make much gossip." But, my dear father, do not believe the rumors of the great crowd unless you see our letters. We will, God willing, hand over articles in the main next Tuesday [June 21] (as I hope), then they will see that we freely confess the Gospel of Christ. I would like you to write a letter of comfort to the prince soon. Farewell in Christ, my dearest father, and greet your wife and your little son and your daughter and "Mume Lene". Given in haste at Augsburg, on the Saturday after Trinity [June 18] in the year of the Lord 2c. I ask you, my dear father, to pray constantly for us.

From the bottom of your heart, your J. Jonas.

"The Bishop of Mainz is holding his own until now, as is Duke Henry of Brunswick. Things are on the right track." May the Lord have mercy.

Greetings, I beg you, in my name to M. Veit. Mr. Spalatin sends you the history of the chanting at the emperor's entry. Philip and Mr. Agricola greet you. I would like you, my dear father, to send very frequent letters of comfort to Philip, but only in general, that he may be of good cheer, since the greatness of the matter is such that it must be governed not by human but by divine wisdom. Again, be well, my dearest father.

From the heart your Jonas.

1) Cf. the concern of the Saxon theologians, St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 680, no. 923.

2) The Erl. Briefw. notes: "There is a small word missing at the beginning of the line, of which only *d can* be read, the rest has been torn out by the letter folding." We have *de iis* conjicir. The gap immediately following, where a word has become indissoluble by an ink blot, we have filled in by *scripturae*.

3) Schopper (Schepper, Scepperus), after your King Christiern of Denmark ran out of money, entered the service of the Emperor, who made him Secretary of State.

4) Ps. 123, 4. The last words find written in Hebrew.

5) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 749, no. 944.

No. 15 73.

(Augsburg.)

June 19, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 734, no. 938.

As we can see from the eighth volume of the Erlanger Briefw., p. 2, which has come into our hands in the meantime, the original has the time at the end: "Sonntag post corp. xxxxxxx" [Sunday post corp. xxxxxxx]. [June 19] and the signature: xxxxxxxx.

No. 1 574.

Feste Coburg.

June 19, 1530.

To Caspar von Teutleben in Wittenberg.

In a joking tone, Luther reports news about the Emperor's relations with Venice, Florence, the Pope and France.

From *Acta Comit. August.* at the Helmstadt Library, in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 63, no. 100; in Walch, vol. XXI, 305; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 37 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 154.

Grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, esteemed Doctor and dear good friend! That you and your dear Sophia are well, I am glad to hear from the bottom of my heart. I have no new newspaper to write to you, because our Junkern Schweigler in Augsburg do not write anything to me, which disturbs me not a little, and I know that your dear brother-in-law and my good friend, Mr. Nicolaus Amsdorf, should become extremely angry with them, if he knew that they had become such Schweigelingen, especially at this time; he should also become a judge over them.

From hearsay I have heard that Venice has sent and given many hundreds of thousands of florins to the Emperor, and Florence has offered five tons of gold; but they will not accept them for the sake of the Pope, who has promised to give body and goods to the Emperor, likewise the French also at his *par ma foi*, as the Pope *in nomine Domini*, and is *sanctissimum foedus*, a delicious thing in cap: *Non credimus*. But I have heard from Doctor Martin Luther himself: If Venice, Pabst, and Francis become good emperors from the heart, and do not put all their money and goods into it (for there are three persons in one being, of an incomprehensible anger and hatred against Imperial Maj. Maj., with hypocrisy, lies and deceit), 1)

1) These brackets are set by us.

until either they go to the bottom (that God help them), or bring the pious noble blood of Carolum in fear and distress, then he wants to have lost an ear and an eye. For *par ma foi* cannot forget the accident before Pavia; so the Lord *in nomine Domini* 2) is first of all a born whale, that is already too much; secondly he is a Florentine, that is even worse; thirdly a whore child, that is the devil himself; and cannot be as happy about the disgrace in sacked Rome as he is; the Venetians are nothing else, because Venetians, that is said enough, also have reasons according to their wickedness to take revenge on Maximilian's blood; *haec omnia in cap. Firmiter credimus*. But God shall still help the pious Carolo, who is a sheep among wolves, Amen. Greetings to your dear Sophia. Hereby commanded by God, amen. *Ex Erema*, on the 19th day of June, Anno 1530.

Martin Luther.

No. 15 75.

(Feste Coburg.)

June 19, 1530.

To Hieronymus Weller in Wittenberg.

Luther thanks Weller for taking care of his son and comforts him in his melancholy.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 25; in *Cod. Rostoch*; in Gotha, *Cod.* 402. 4. fol. 185 and in Hamburg, Ms. 46. 4. fol. 34. Printed in *H. Welleri opp.*, p. 204; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 141; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 39 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 4.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have received two letters from you, my dear Jerome, both of which were truly very pleasant to me, but the second one much more pleasant than very pleasant, in which you write to me about my son John that you are his teacher, but he is an industrious and diligent student. I would indeed, if I could, very gladly do something again to please you; what I am not able to do, Christ will repay. In addition, Magister Veit has indicated to me that you are sometimes plagued by the spirit of sadness. 3) These

2) Pope Clement VII. Compare Table Talks, Cap. 27, § 10 and § 44. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 851. 870.

3) In later letters of July and August 15, Luther also consoles Wellern in his melancholy. Compare the Table Talks, Cap. 26, ?43 and ?44, St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 807 ff.

Affliction is most injurious to young people, as the Scripture says [Proverbs 17:22], "A saddened spirit dries up the bones," and everywhere the Holy Spirit forbids this sadness, as Eccles. Sal. 11:9, "Rejoice, young man, in thy youth, and let thine heart be good'er things in thy youth"; and shortly after [v. 10], "Put away sadness from thy heart, and put away evil from thy body." So also says Sirach 1) Cap. 30, 22-25: "Do not make yourself sad, and do not trouble yourself with your own thoughts. For a merry heart is a man's life, and his joy is his long life. Do good to thyself and comfort thy heart, and drive away sadness from thee. For sadness kills many people, and yet serves nowhere." So also Paul tells all the Corinthians [2 Cor. 7:10.] that the sadness of the world works death. Therefore, above all things, you must firmly insist that these evil and sad thoughts are not of GOD, but of the devil, because GOD is not a GOD of sadness, but a GOD of comfort and cheerfulness, as Christ Himself says [Matth. 22, 32.]: "GOD is not a GOD of the dead, but of the living." But what is living but being joyful in the LORD? Therefore get accustomed to such thoughts here, so that you immediately drive them away and say, "The Lord did not send you. This plea is not from the one who called you. In the beginning the struggle is hard, but through practice it will become easier. For it is not you alone who must endure such thoughts, but all the holy people; but they fought and prevailed. So do not give way to evils, but face them all the more confidently. 2) The highest task in this fight is not to look at these thoughts, not to investigate them or to follow their *objects*, but to despise them like the whistling of a goose and to pass them by. He who has learned this will be victorious, he who has not learned it will be defeated. For sound at them and dispute with them until they desist or give way voluntarily, that is, irritate and strengthen them. As an example serve you

1) Also here, as in the previous place, *Ecclesiast.* (Eccl. Sal.), but it should be read *Ecclesiastic.* (Sirach) should be read.

2) *Virg. Aen.*, lib. VI, v. 95.

The people of Israel who overcame their serpents, not by looking at them or by wrestling with them, but by averting their gaze and looking elsewhere, namely at the bronze serpent, were victorious. This is the right and certain victory in this fight. Therefore, my dear Jerome, see to it that you do not let these thoughts settle in your heart. Thus a certain wise man answered a man who was thus afflicted, saying, "How do such evil thoughts come into my mind!" He said, "Let them fall out again." This man taught by a very good saying. And another answered someone who asked the same question: You cannot prevent the birds from flying over your head, but you can prevent them from nesting in your hair. 3) Therefore, you will be quite right if you joke with others or do other pleasant things, and then do not feel guilty about the joke. For God does not like that very trivial sadness. For the sadness because of sins is short and at the same time pleasant because of the promise of grace and the forgiveness of sins, but that is of the devil and without promise, but a mere sorrow about useless and impossible things that concern God. More when I will have returned. In the meantime, may you greet your brother 4) to whom I had begun to write, but the messenger hurried. I will write to him at another time and to Schneidewein (xxxxxxx) and to others. I commend your student to you. May the Spirit of Christ comfort and gladden your heart, Amen. June 19, 1530, your Martin Luther.

No. 15 76.

Feste Coburg.

June 19, 1530.

To Peter Weller in Wittenberg.

Luther thanks him for moving into his house with his brother during his absence, and reports on the Imperial Day of the Jackdaws.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 143; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 38 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 7.

3) The same history is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 445, § 200 and in the Tischreden, Anh., s 19, *ibid.*, vol. XXII, 1662 f.

4) The letter to Peter Weller (the following number) was nevertheless finished and left with him.

To the learned and at the same time godly jurist Peter Weller, his brother in the Lord.

"Grace and peace!" Since the messenger, contrary to expectations, postponed his departure by an hour, best Peter, I wanted to send you this letter at least as a greeting, since we still have no certain news from Augsburg. First of all, I thank you for having moved into our house with your brother during our stay abroad, and for having become the comrade and protector of mine, so that they may live all the more securely and in better hope. I also rejoice that they are in your trust, and I will do nothing better than to please you and your brother wherever I can. I am indeed quite well, except that so far I have suffered not a ringing but a thundering in my head, and I cannot discover the cause. But of this at another time.

The great ones: of our Reichstag run around cheerfully, or rather they sail and navigate the skies with their innate rudder. Early in the morning they set out for war in a hurry, armed with unconquerable beaks; thus they grant us peace throughout the day before their boastful songs of victory, while they plunder, rob, ravage, devour, for all have become men of war against the fruits of the earth. In the evening they return with very great triumph, joyful and full of victories, and they sleep wearily, but gloriously and victoriously, even gently. The other day we crept into their courts to see the splendor of their empire. But they were very afraid, suspecting that we had come to destroy their works of art: there was shouting and trembling, a miserable sight of the frightened. When we saw that we had frightened the likes of Achilles and Hector, we began to clap our hands and to throw our hats up bravely, thinking ourselves avenged if we could thus mock them and frighten them in various ways, merely by movements and gestures. And so much for revenge. This in jest, but in truth I believe that it means something (*allegoriam* esse) or is a prophecy, that so with the

Words of GOD those right birds of prey (*Harpyias*) tremble, not the dates, 1) but, reversing the word, the nobles who now screech to Augsburg 2) and parrot. God grant, amen. Fare well in the Lord. Greetings Georg von Grumpach. 3) From my desert, June 19, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1577.

(Feste Coburg.)

(19 June) 4) 1530.

To his son John.

Luther expresses his joy that his son is learning well and tells him a story about a beautiful garden for pious children.

Handwritten in Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, fol. 212 (with the date April 22) and at Zwickau in the Rathsschulbibliothek. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 442; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 268 (wrong 298); in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 403; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 558; in Walch, vol. XXI, 328; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 41 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 156.

Good and peace in Christ, my dear son! I like to see that you are studying well and praying diligently. So do, my son, and continue; when I come home, I will bring you a beautiful fair.

I know a pretty funny garden, where many children go inside, have golden skirts on, and read beautiful apples under the trees, and pears, cherries, spilling and plums; sing, jump and are cheerful; have also beautiful little horses with golden bridles and silver saddles. Then I asked the man who was in the garden, "Where are the children? He said, "They are children who love to pray, to learn and to be pious. Then I said, "My dear man, I also have a son named Hänsichen Luther. Wouldn't he also like to come to the garden and eat such beautiful apples and pears, and ride such fine horses, and play with these children?

1) Dale Dohle. "The dates" - "the nobles", this is how we have tried to render Luther's play on words: *monedulas* - *Edelmannos*.

2) Here Luther has the self-made word: *yuiritisantes*, which reminds of *quirites* and could perhaps be translated by "romanisiren", instead of: *quiritantes*.

3) Cf. no. 1564.

4) This date is almost certainly derived from the comparison with the beginning of No. 1575.

Then the man said, "If he is fond of praying and learning and is pious, let him also come into the garden, Lippus and Jost 1) also, and when they all come together, they will also have pipes, timpani, lutes, and all kinds of strings, also dancing, and shooting with small crossbows.

And there he showed me a fine meadow in the garden, prepared for dancing, there were all kinds of golden pipes, timpani and fine silver crossbows. But it was still early and the children had not yet eaten, so I could not resist the dance, and said to the man: "Oh, dear sir, I will go quickly and write all this to my dear son Hänsichen, so that he may pray diligently and learn well and be pious, so that he may also come to this garden; but he has a maid Lene, whom he must bring with him. Then the man said, "Let it be so, go and write to him like this.

Therefore, dear son Hänsichen, learn and pray confidently, and tell Lippus and Josten to learn and pray, too, so you will come to the garden with each other. Herewith to the Almighty God, and greet Muhmen Lenen, and give her a penance on my account. Anno 1530.

Your dear father

Martinus Luther.

No. 1578.

Feste Coburg.

June 19, 1530.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2314, annex, no. 8.

No. 1579.

Feste Coburg.

June 19, 1530.

To Gabriel Zwilling in Torgau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2316, annex, no. 10.

No. 1580.

Feste Coburg.

June 19, 1530.

Veit Dietrich to Luther's wife.

Dietrich gives news about the fate of Luther and his comrades. About the sent picture of Lenchen. How Luther received the death of his father and about a dream of Luther related to this death.

1) Philippus Melanchthon and Justus Jonas, both born in 1525.

Printed by J. Fr. Mayer, de Cath. Lutheri con
juge dissertatio, Hamb. 1699. 4, p. 56 and in the same "Unsterbl.
Ehren-Gedächtnis Frauen Catharinen Luthern". Franks, and
Leipz. 1724, p. 109 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 12.

Grace and peace from God. Kind, favorable, dear Doctor! Know that the Lord and we 2) with Him are still fresh and healthy from God's grace. God grant you also all good with your children. You have done a very good work by sending the doctor the counterfactual, because he forgot a lot of thoughts with the picture. He has pasted it on the wall above the table, where we are eating, in the prince's chamber. -- When he first saw it, he could not know her for a long time. Well, he said, Lena is so black! But now he likes her, and the longer he looks at her, the more he thinks she is Lenchen. She looks more and more like the Hänsichen with her mouth, eyes and nose, in sum with her whole face, and she will become like him. That's what I wanted to attribute to you this time.

Dear Doctor! I beg you not to worry about the doctor, he is, praise God, fresh and healthy, has forgotten about his father in the first two days, although it made him very angry. As soon as he looks at Hans Neinken's letter, he says to me: "Well, my father is dead, too! Then he quickly takes his psalter, goes into the chamber, and cries enough that his head was awkward the next day. Sint he let himself remember nothing more. On the Saturday before Exaudi 3), the groom was our guest for the evening, where the doctor, among other things, recounted how he had dreamed the next night, how a large tooth had fallen out, so large that he could not have been surprised enough. On the Sunday after that, the father was dead. I did not want to leave this undisclosed to you, please, accept my service in the best way. With that, God, Hans and Lenchen and the whole household are commanded. -- My George will give you three guilders, which you can take until we get more. On Sunday St. Veiten [June 19] at Coburg.

M. Veit Dietrich of Nuremberg.

No. 1581.

Feste Coburg.

June 20, 1530.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1960, no. 35.

2) Namely Veit Dietrich and Cyriacus Kaufmann.

3) That is, May 28 (not June 4, which the Erlangen correspondence offers); the day after, Luther's father died. - The "Kastner" is Paul Bader.

No. 15 82.

Feste Coburg.

June 20, 1530.

To Erhard Schneps in Augsburg.

Luther expresses his joy that the Landgrave has agreed to attend the Imperial Diet. He sends the previous letter to the landgrave, with the request to hand it over to him himself and to help support it verbally.

Handwritten in Gotha, Oock. *185. 4. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 145; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 44 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 15.

To the highly venerable man, Erhard Schnepf, the faithful servant of the Word in Hesse, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It is also a joy to me, as it is to you, my dear Erhard, that your prince has not despised this Diet, but has arrived; otherwise he would have weighed down not only himself with unbearable hatred, but also the whole cause of the Gospel, which is otherwise already sufficiently suppressed by these swarming spirits. The Lord testifies by such evidence that he is with us, and we see that our sighing accomplishes this, that the God of the humble and afflicted does not abandon us to the end, who gives that temptation may gain an end [1 Cor. 10:13]; to him be praise and glory forever and ever, amen.

I have written a letter to this prince of yours, which you see before you, and if it is convenient for you, deliver it yourself, and if it is necessary, strengthen him with words. I can neither hope nor despair as far as his faith is concerned; therefore, perhaps I have not admonished him urgently enough, nor even duly enough, as the matter requires, that he should avoid the pestilences of those people and the quite trivial enticements of Satan. One thing I rely on in the whole matter is that Christ Himself promised to hear our prayers, as it is written [Ps. 145:18.], "The Lord is near to all who call upon Him, to all who call upon Him earnestly"; and again [Ps. 34:18.], "When the righteous cry out, the Lord hears." Yea, and the same commandeth he also, saying [Ps. 50:15.], "Call upon me in trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt praise me." This shall be a wall of brass

1) Amen. May the grace of God be with you; be strong in Him and be well in Him, and at the same time be mindful of me in your prayers, just as I am mindful of you. From the desert, June 20, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 15 83.

Nuremberg.

June 21, 1530.

Andreas Osiander to Luther.

About the Imperial Diet in Augsburg before the handover of the Confession.

The original is in Hamburg, Vol. I, fol. 98. Manuscript in Dresden, Cod. C 342, fol. 13 b and at the Stadtbibliothek zu Bremen (not "Bern" as the Erl. Briefw. says), Ms. a. 11. Printed in K. and W. Krafft, Briefe und Documente. 1875. p. 67 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 16.

To the worthy man, Christ's servant, D. Martin Luther, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ, amen. Since I had received the opportunity of this messenger, which I could certainly assume would reach you, dearest brother in Christ, I could not avoid writing something to you, although I had nothing worthy of your ears, and also feared that I would sin against the common good, since I know that you are never idle. The emperor has finally come to Augsburg; we have nothing new yet, except that our people have neither wanted to take part in the pomp on Corpus Christi, nor have they given themselves up to free preaching; I say, however, of all our people who have so far received and held the word. However, there was a fierce battle over the sermons, the end of which was that all preachers were to be silent, except for those of the emperor, for he promised that he would decree those who would teach loudly, but ours retained the right to preach in their own inns. But this you may know better. It is said that Margrave George, our neighbor, said with great frankness before the emperor that he would rather lose his gray head than either deny God's word or be deprived of it. The emperor had answered: "not 2) to cut off the head, not to cut off the head!" because he understands neither German nor Latin properly, to our great detriment and to his shame, what he had said.

1) *Horat. epp., lib. I, ep. I, V. 60.*

2) Krafft reads: "more".

also recognizes. For he would wish to do without any other language and any kingdom, that he might speak German properly.

We cannot yet foresee what will happen, nor do we have any certain advice, only that we ask God to help our cause and have confidence that this will happen. I have been compelled to write a letter of defense or advice these days as to how our people should behave, 1) in the opinion that I thought that I, too, would travel there. 2) I do not yet know what will happen; certainly I cannot produce anything worthy after Philip, whose confession (*Apollogiam*) I have seen and consider very good. While I was leafing through the Acts of the Conciliar above, I came across a passage of Clement's *Apostolicae*, in which the communion with wives is clearly advised, even commanded. 3) This is the fifth and last letter, and yet the papists do not only keep such null and void things, but also publish them. I liked this passage very much because it can be shown by this evidence that there is nothing under the name of Clement that is what I would like very much, although this passage seems to be suitable to ridicule, revile, and hypocritize the papists. Your last letter,⁴⁾ although short, has been very pleasant to me, also for future use and benefit. By the way, since the matter that is being negotiated at the Diet is difficult, let us pray to the Lord that He may protect His Church, which I know you will do, but may you also pray for us that we may not forsake the Lord, for He will not forsake us. Fare well in Christ our Lord. Given at Nuremberg, June 21, 1530, your Andreas Osiander.

1) On June 15, the Nuremberg envoys in Augsburg had sent home the draft of the Augsburg Confession and asked for "the opinion and concerns of preachers and jurists" about it (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 105, No. 723). In addition to Osiander, the jurist D. Hepstein also submitted a council proposal (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 153, No. 751).

2) On June 28, during the night, Osiander arrived in Augsburg (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 153).

3) Here is meant the passage in the Pseudoisidoric 5th letters of Pope Clement I, which Gratian also included in his *Decretum* (*Dec. P. II, caus. 12., qu. I., c. 2*). The Pseudoisidoric Decretals were published for the first time in the work: *Conciliorum quatuor generalium etc. ed. Jac: Merlinus. Paris. 1523, also Colon. 1530* (our place here T. I, fol. 12b).

4) This letter is missing.

No. 15 84.

Feste Coburg.

June 25, 1530.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

News from the Imperial Diet in Augsburg. Luther is busy with the translation of Ezekiel.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 64. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 36; in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 40 and again fol. 49 b, and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 146; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 181; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 47 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 18 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1376.

To the man to be highly honored in the Lord, Mr.

Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of the People at Zwickau, his brother and superior.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have ordered my people in Wittenberg, my dear man, to send to you in Zwickau all the news that they have received from us, from which you will know what is happening in Augsburg at this Imperial Diet. I hope that all this has reached you, because I do not have time to write everything to everyone. Let us only pray diligently, as we have done hitherto, remembering how our fathers were saved. "The hand of the Lord is not shortened" [Is. 59, 1.], then the matter is not ours, but his; he will surely hear us.

I have written to your brother Valentin, 5) and comforted him as much as I could; you will see to it that the letter is given to him. I have leisure here now and am working on the translation of Ezekiel; in the meantime I am also doing some other things.

The papists indeed raged mightily, but our prince, gifted with an admirable constancy, confessed Christ freely. Likewise also Margrave George. The unbelievable mildness of the emperor is praised extraordinarily; he seems to be provided by God with a good angel. You will learn more from Wittenberg. In the meantime, you too pray for me, you man of God; in His mercy, be well for eternity, Amen. From the desert, on Saturday 6) after John the Baptist's day [June 25] 1530.

Your Mart. Luther.

5) This letter is missing.

6) Walch translated *Sabbatho* by "Sunday".

No. 1585.

(Augsburg.)

June 25, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

First, Luther's displeasure at the long silence of his friends in Augsburg. Report of the kind behavior of the emperor and the hatred of the other princes. Unfriendly behavior of the Salzburg Cardinal against Melanchthon. The Augsburg Confession is to be delivered on this day. About the proceedings at the Imperial Diet so far. About the Turk 2c.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 34 b; in Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, fol. 255; in Munich, *Cod. Bavar.* II, 638; and in Petersburg at the public library, *Cod. H* 842, fol. 17. Printed in Manlii farrago 402; in *Epp. Phil. Mel. libellus* III, ed. Ch. Pezelius, *Brem.* 1590, p. 142; in *Coelestin.* I, 138; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 125, no. 736 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 20.

Hail! Your letters, in which you complain about our silence,¹⁾ have caused us great suffering. For we have written quite abundantly every week, 2) but I do not know by what fate the misfortune has been added to our very bitter and lamentable sorrows in which we find ourselves here, that we have been condemned to take the blame upon ourselves that you do not write to us.

I have written you the beginning of the Imperial Diet. 3) The emperor greets our prince quite graciously, and I wish that our people would be more polite towards him. God would have you admonish our younger prince about this by letter. There is nothing milder at the emperor's court than the emperor himself. All the others hate us in the cruelest way. These days I have been with the Salzburger, who plagued me with a very long and oratorical account of all the troubles that have taken place in these years. He attributes all these troubles to us, and attached to it an epilogue written entirely in blood.

Today, the articles of our Confession will be handed over first, for which God may grant happiness and prosperity. For up to now, all time has been spent on the preparatory work (*prooemiis*) for the Imperial Diet, on the presentation, on the exposition of the common evils, on the determination of the order in which the matters to be discussed are to be carried out. This is proceeding slowly, as is natural with the Germans. In Rome, after the meeting

in Bologna 4) was finished, a female mule threw a young, and the same had feet which were not of one kind. You see that this signifies the downfall of Rome through *schismata*. There is nothing new about the Turk, but it is reported here that he is still preparing a move at home. Our adversaries are indeed threatening us in such a way that they show that they have completely forgotten the Turkish danger. The Landgrave approves of our confession and has signed it. You will achieve much, I hope, if you fortify him with your letter about the Lord's Supper. Brenz sat with me when I wrote this and wept with me; he told me to write a greeting to you in it. Fare well. On the day after St. John the Baptist [June 25].

No. 1586.

Augsburg.

June 25, 1530.

Justus Jonas to Luther.

About the letter matter already mentioned several times, with a detailed explanation that the letters must either have been misappropriated or lost. Jonas sends a printed description of the imperial entry. From a conversation of Melanchthon with the Cardinal of Salzburg and a statement of the imperial secretary Cornelius Schopper. - This letter is written earlier than the other of the same date, St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 817, no. 957.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Acta Comitiorum*, Oocl. 42. Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 138; in Kawerau, *Jonas' Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 160, no. 180 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 22.

Grace and peace of God in Christ! Since we already have, my dearest father, the worst and most cunning devils here at Augsburg on the Imperial Diet, and are plagued by their servants daily in many ways, as in the midst of the enemies and, as Christ says [Matth. 10, 16.], in the midst of the wolves, this has also greatly increased our pain and sadness, that we see from your last letter to Urban 5) and from the letter to Doctor Caspar that our letters have not yet been handed over to you. Nor can we think what a punishment (*mulum*) this is to our misfortune, that at this time, when we most desire that our letters to you should be

4) namely of the emperor with the pope.

5) Urban Rhegius. The letter is missing; it will probably be the answer to No. 1556 - "Doctor Caspar" is probably the electoral physician D. Lindemann. The chancellor Caspar Müller, whom Kolde and D. Enders seem to us excluded by the fact that he (as far as we know) was not a doctor. The letter is missing.

1) No. 1566 and No. 1568.

2) Since Melanchthon had written on June 12 and 19, but Jonas on June 12, 13, and 18, he could not remember the previous three-week silence. Cf. No. 1571.

3) No. 1573.

and receive yours in turn, in any case Satan wrings them out of our hands against our will and while we resist, as it were. From this I can assume nothing other than that he would like to increase your evil temptations, my dearest father, and deprive us of the comfort that we are now seeking so much and only. I have written four long and detailed letters to you within fifteen or at most twenty days. ¹⁾ I alone have written to you about the death of my son Frederick; 2) I have also written of the death of Cardinal Mercurinus, the Grand Chancellor, and of many other things in other letters 3); then also recently we, Spalatin and I, have written in many words and at length about the Emperor's entry. 4) May God again grieve those scoundrels who have either misappropriated or lost the letters they have received. 5) Every day we go from our inn to the court to the chancellors' tables. 6) Not a day goes by that we do not inquire whether they have messengers to Coburg, and if messengers are available, we do not let any go empty-handed without our letters. But we see that you are almost somewhat angry with us, who (the Lord knows) are without fault, and are constant in writing, and rather too verbose than negligent. We have made this known to Chancellor Brück, that the Prince sent this messenger on horseback, who will return here, and we ask and implore you for Christ's sake to make haste to inform us how many letters you have received within a month, or during this time that we are here. 7) That messenger, whom we sent at our expense 8) and to whom we had to give four gold florins, was not sent for the sake of my wife and ours, but for your sake. Now we have impressed this upon him above all things, that he should faithfully hand over the bundle of letters for you to the castle keeper at Coburg. Since that scoundrel returned and brought only a short letter from you 9),

1) The number of letters, four, is correct, but Jonas has forgotten that three weeks passed between the first and the second letter.

2) In the letter of May 22, lost to us. Cf. no. 1569.

3) No. 1569 and No. 1570.

4) No. 1572.

5) From Luther's reply to this letter, dated June 30, it is clear that these accusations against the messengers were unfounded.

6) Brück and Christian Baier.

7) Luther answers this in the letter of June 30.

8) The same brought the letter of May 22 to Luther. 9) Perhaps the letter No. 1568.

When we asked him whether he had received more detailed letters from you, he seemed to talk timidly and somewhat darkly, and while he was talking, something of a bundle of letters, which he had left behind at Torgau, slipped out of his mouth. But afterwards, when we cornered the scoundrel, we could get nothing else out of him than that he swore that he had delivered the letters to Coburg. You will kindly let us know how the matter stands, so that we can take revenge on that wicked scoundrel and monster for our pain, if he has dared to deceive us. He should go straight to prison or, if he is convicted, be nailed to the cross, for I hate nothing so much as this wickedness and disloyalty of rude people.

As far as the Imperial Diet is concerned, we have written everything to you in detail, at least what we have learned so far and which is of some importance, so that if I repeated it now, it would perhaps appear as something old. But about the Emperor's entry, if Spalatin's and my letter may not have reached you, I will send you the description of the pomp, which has been printed here.

10) Recently, the Cardinal of Salzburg summoned Philipp Melanchthon through Wolfgang Stromer of Nuremberg for a private conversation. When the latter, since it was already the second hour of the night, had returned well plagued by him, he told early in the morning what they had spoken with each other. He said: "I have heard nothing but the most extreme threats and almost a death sentence. You will hear wonderful things about this orally, dearest father, how certain they are, as if no God were alive, how they rely on human power, how we seem to them to be ants and flies.

We both, Philip and I, have also been to Cornelius Schopper, who was formerly at the court of the exiled King of Denmark, but is now the Emperor's secretary. He said, as he is wont to joke, "if we had money,"¹¹⁾ we could easily buy any religion we wanted from the Welsh; but if we had no pennies, our cause would be a dry and barren one. For he says that it is not possible in any way that

10) This paragraph and most of the following is also attached to Letter No. 965 in the 16th volume of our edition in all previous editions, except in the Erl. Briefw., which places the said letter on June 30.

11) These words, which we have highlighted with speech marks, are in brackets in the editions.

the emperor, who is now so surrounded by cardinals and bishops, could approve and accept another religion than the papist one; so the old one is persuaded to him. In short, they rely on men and ridicule Christ. The Salzburg had said to Philip, after hearing the word "conscience" (*conscientia*): "Ah, conscientia! what conscientia, conscientia! The emperor will not suffer a mean disorder!" But the wretched people do not know how the name of the Lord is a strong fortress and a wall of brass, a strong armor against all the power of the devil and the world. The Lord has so far given us strength and courage against those threats, and has so far glorified the gospel of His Son by the greatest miracles, as we also see in the suppression of the peasant rebellion. If he is our help, they will not touch us with a finger, and if people touch us, they will not be able to harm us. Everything will turn out for the best. Fare well in Christ. Given at Augsburg, on the Saturday after the Octave of Corpus Christi [June 25] Anno 1530.

From the heart, your Justus Jonas, Doctor.

No. 15 87.

Augsburg.

June 25, 1530.

Justus Jonas to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 817, no. 957.

No. 15 88.

Augsburg.

June 25, 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 752, no. 946.

No. 15 8 9

(Augsburg.)

June 26, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 896, no. 975.

No. 1590 .

Coburg Fortress.

June 27, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 894, no. 974.

No. 1591 .

Coburg Fortress.

June 27, 1530.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther asks him to carry letters received from Wittenberg to Augsburg, reports that "the Confitemini" is being sent by him to Wittenberg for printing, and asks him to get oranges for his wife.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 147; in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 50 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 37.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Wenceslaus Link, his brother and superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! The messenger who suddenly and unexpectedly presented himself, my dear Wenceslaus, hurried so that I myself did not have time to write to our people in Augsburg. Therefore, we have only handed over to him the letters received from Wittenberg, which are to be brought to you, and I beg you, when you have received them, see to it that they are faithfully and safely sent to Augsburg. For I believe that you can easily do this there, since you have a lot of messengers at your disposal. Another time, when there will be time, I will also write to you and others in more detail. The psalm "Confitemini"¹⁾ is laid out for Wittenberg and is to be printed with an eloquent explanation, so that it will displease me. In the meantime, greet everyone, Mr. Spengler, the abbot, Michael, Joachim, Eoban, 2) Osiander. If you could get my Lord Catharina "a shock" of oranges or about that much from good people, I would gladly pay her. She often pesters me with letters about this and says that they are not at Wittenberg. Fare well with your vine and your exceedingly lovely grapes. From the silent desert, on Monday after St. John's Day [27 June] 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1592 .

Augsburg.

June 27, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 898, no. 977.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1174.

2) The "Abbot" is Friedrich Pistorius; Michael is Rötting (Roting, Röttinger); "Joachim" is Camerarius; "Eoban" is Hesse.

No. 1593 .

Augsburg.

Around this time 1530.

Johann Agricola to Luther.

(Fragment.)

The story told here is found in Spalatin's writing: "Etliche Historien, so sich auf diesem Reichstag zugetragen" 2c., in the St., Louiser Ausg., Bd. Luther himself uses the same in his writing: "Wider den Meuchler zu Dresden" (Against the Assassin at Dresden), St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1706, § 14. What is reported in the second paragraph, *ibid.* col. 743, § 1, is inserted in the written answer of the Protestant princes to the emperor.

Manuscript in Munich in *Cod. Bav.*, Vol. II, p. 653; in Copenhagen, Als. 1393, fol. 287 and in Trier, Ms. 1800, No. 236. Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II; 147 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 40 f. - If Bretschneider's assumption is correct that Luther's letter to Agricola of June 30 (St. Louiser Ausg., vol. XVI, 750) is the answer to this letter, one must assume that the statement was already made on the day of the delivery or the reading of the Confession, June 24 or 25, and reported to Luther immediately thereafter. The Erlanger Briefw. places our letter on June 27.

Excerpt from a letter written by Johann Agricola at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg. 1530.

One of the highest princes said in an assembly of princes, aroused by anger: "They have inserted a writing, written on white paper with black ink. If we were emperors, we would answer them with a writing written with rubrics 1)." To this another answered: "Lord, if you want that, you must be careful that the presilige does not splash under your eyes."

Our prince replied to the emperor's prohibition of sermons in the houses, saying that he could not do without the word any more than he could do without daily bread.

No. 1594.

(Feste Coburg.)

June 29, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 901, no. 980.

No. 159 5.

Feste Coburg.

June 30, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 820, no. 958.

1) *rubricae* (*Pand.*); the titles of the laws were written in red. Therefore Luther has in his relation: "with blood".

No. 1596 .

(Feste Coburg.)

June 30, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 905, no. 981.

No. 159 7.

Feste Coburg.

June 30, 1530.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 908, no. 982.

No. 159 8.

Feste Coburg.

June 30, 1530.

To Johann Agricola in Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 750, no. 945.

No. 1599 .

(Coburg Fortress.)

June 30, 1530.

To Johann Brenz in Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 910, no. 983. '

No. 1600.

Feste Coburg.

June 30, 1530.

To Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1758, no. 1180.

No. 1601.

(Augsburg.)

June 30, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VI, 900, no. 979. - According to the sources available to us at the time, we have dated the letter there from June 27, where Burkhardt also places it in his regest, p. 179. - The following is to be added to the locations given there: Handwritten in Wittenberg in the seminary library; in *Cod. Jen.* n. 25; in *Cod. Rostoch.* and at Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, fol. 256 (undated). Printed by Baxmann in *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* 1861, 20; by *Bindseil*, *Suppl. ad. Corp. Ref.*, p. 62, no. 77 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 62. - The inscription reads: "An D. Martin Luther, his exceedingly dear father." The beginning of the letter: "We sent two special messengers to you this week, through whom we wrote what had happened here so far. And after that, nothing has happened that is noteworthy." The second sentence of the second paragraph reads thus: "I cannot even guess what we have to expect, with such great hatred of the enemies, with such great ignorance of the court on whose judgment we depend. I do not find a man there,

who is also gifted with only mediocre erudition. Therefore, help can only be expected from God" 2c. The news about the Turk comes before the report about the events in Altenburg. The letter closes with the words: "Be well. On the day after Peter and Paul [June 30]. - Philip."

No. 1 602.

(Augsburg.)

(June 30? 1530.)

Spalatin to Luther.

(Fragment.)

Of the arrival of the queens of Hungary and Bohemia in Augsburg and of a so-called prophet in Strasbourg.

Manuscript in Gotha, *Cod. Bavari*, vol. II, x. 653 and at Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, fol. 286 (with the superscription: *Excerpta ex literis M. Georgii Spalatini ad Martinum Lutherum*). Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 157, no. 753 (without the name of the addressee) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 64.

The Queen of Hungary and the Queen of Bohemia both arrived at Augsburg at the sixth hour on the day before Petri and Pauli [June 28], and were not received by any of the princes or rulers, whether this was because the emperor so willed or for some other cause unknown to us. Everyone was very frightened by the thunderstorm that occurred in Altenburg on Corpus Christi, especially because after the lightning strikes there was a great flood in the middle of the night.

John Baptist, the Italian, a prophet to many until now, was in Strasbourg during the last Lent and proclaimed not only that city but also all of Germany doom if they did not repent. He said that he would go straight to Ferdinand to admonish him and threatened him with extreme destruction if he did not convert to God, even daring to claim that otherwise he would be delivered into the hands of the Turks and executed with an axe. It is not necessary for me to write how few are on our side, and how many are either on the side of the Pope or of the Sacramentarians.

No. 1603.

(Augsburg.)

(June 30? 1530.)

Jonas to Luther.

(Fragment.)

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 883, no. 965. - All manuscripts and prints have appended to this letter as a conclusion what is found in our edition vol. XVI, 885 (line 8 v. o. to the end). However, the piece in § 3 and § 4 is a part of Letter No. 1586 (see the note towards the end there); § 5 belongs to the letter No. 1586.

(according to the text, which the *Erl. Briefw.* brings) as postscript to it and § 6 is contained in No. 1587 (*St. Louiser Ausg.*, Vol. XVI, 819, § 5). The *Erlangen Briefw.* has therefore omitted this here. - Knaake, Kawerau and Köstlin take June 27 as the date of this letter; the *Corp. ref.* dates it "about June 29," the *Erlanger Briefw.*: "(June 30, 1530)" and the Copenhagen manuscript has the date: "July 1." Since, as is often the case, the letters from Augsburg were sent together to Luther by messenger, the *Erl. Briefw.* decides for June 30. By the advice of the theologians for the Protestant princes mentioned in this letter (s 3), which is dated only from the 28th, the dating of June 27th is excluded.

No. 1 604.

Augsburg.

June 30, 1530.

Andreas Osiander to Luther.

(Regest.)

Osiander reports his happy arrival in Augsburg, rejoices in the company of the other theologians, and speaks hopefully of the Emperor's gracious disposition.

Manuscript in Munich, *Cod. germ. lat.* 940, p. 468. Printed in *Hummel, epp. eccl. hist. saec. XVI*, toru. 1, p. 36; in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 141 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 70.

No. 1 605.

Coburg Fortress.

July 1, 1530.

To the abbot Friedrich Pistorius in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1178.

No. 1606 .

Coburg Fortress.

(Beginning of July? 1530.)

Luther's concerns about quite a few articles.

The only thing that is certain about this objection is that it was written about some of the so-called Torgau Articles, that is, the disputed articles that form the basis of the second part of the Augsburg Confession. "As to the time of writing (says the *Erl. Briefw.*), it can only be asserted that it must have been written before Luther's letter to the Elector of Aug. 26, in which Luther comments in more detail on some of the questions occurring in our report. It was produced by questions submitted (by the Elector through Spalatin?), which were sent to Luther (with a missing accompanying letter). Possibly they are the articles about which Veit Dietrich writes to Müller; then they would have to have arrived and been answered between Müller's presence at Coburg, end of June, and the date of Dietrich's letter, July 17." Förstemann lets them be placed at Wittenberg in the time from March 14 to 20; Bretschneider places our concern "about March 26," Brieger, and him according to the *Erl. Briefw.*, to the time assumed by us. Bretschneider, Förstemann and Knaake

consider Melanchthon to be the author, whereas Brieger says: "At first glance, Luther presents himself as the author: no one else has understood how to write." He is joined by the Erl. Briefw. agrees with him, and we are of the same opinion. Also the *Cod. Rostoch.* (Schirmmacher, p. 147) ascribes it to him, in its superscription: "D. M. Luther's other concerns."

From the enclosures to Brück's *Geschichte der Religionshandlungen auf dem Reichstage zu Augsburg im Jahre 1530* (im Weimarschen Archiv, Reg. L 1. 41, Bl. 329) in Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, Vol. I, p. 93; in *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. IV, 981 and again Vol. XXVI, 189; in Schirmmacher, p. 147 (from *Cod. Rostoch.*) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 72.

The first article, of both forms of the sacrament.

If one wants to act here, that only the one form should be confirmed, then our most gracious Lord should not and cannot grant at all, since the clear Scriptures of the evangelists and St. Paul stand, so that even the adversaries confess this, and have nothing more to plead, except that it was not decided by the Christian church. So it is also certain that all Christendom throughout the world and the holy fathers and bishops have used both forms in unison for over a thousand years, and even today no one knows from whom or where the One Form has been caught, and nothing about it is written in Pabst's laws. They vehemently dispute that nothing new should be started without the command and order of the Christian church. To this it should be said why they have not so far resisted that the One Form should not be torn down, which is a right evil innovation against the clear Scriptures. In the same way, they should have resisted many other evil new things, where they did not want to suffer any innovation. So this is not an innovation, but a return of the old previous custom of the whole Christianity, and obedience of the Gospel.

The other article, from the priest marriage.

Here our most gracious Lord cannot allow the priests to live without marriage, as before. For there is strong scripture that God created man and woman to multiply, Genesis 2 and 3.¹⁾ And Paul 1 Corinthians 7:9: "It is better to be free than to be married.

1) Rather Gen. 1, 28.

Suffer rutting." Thus it is well known what terrible abominations of fornication and unchastity have resulted from the forbidden marriage. Also, such forbidden marriage has arisen not only without the approval of the Christian Church, but also against the Concilia, especially against the highest *Concilium Nicaenum* and *Constantinopolitanum sextum*, out of pure sacrilege and violence of the pope, which the priests in German lands have opposed and resisted for a long time.

Above this, the Pope and his own rights do not punish the marriage of priests more severely than with deprivation of the priesthood, nor do they consider it heresy, nor do they put anyone under ban for it. Now, however, it is not only considered heresy, but also condemned, persecuted with sword, fire, ban and all plagues as the highest heresy. From the beginning of the world it has never been heard in any nation or country that anyone should be put to death for the sake of marriage and not rather be honored. And among Christians, should one approve of this against their own Scriptures and established rights? Our most gracious Lord cannot permit such great abominations, nor can he make his conscience partake of them. So every prince must see to it, as he is obliged to do, that where marriage should be forbidden, especially in these last weak times, that no vices such as the Turkish or Curtisan ones come into their lands, as has happened in some countries.

And whether one could not obtain more, that one leaves the marriage to the parish priests, and remain canons, as they remain. For priests must keep house, which is impossible without a wife.

The third article, from the fair.

Our most gracious lord cannot and may not grant that he should leave the corner masses and purchase masses, as they were before, in his lands, or re-establish them. But the parish masses, where there are communicants, they are held in German or Latin, my most gracious lord shall base that they shall remain. For all the scribes among them consider the mass to be such a work that a priest, even if he is godless and unbelieving, may do for reward for the benefit of all Christendom, both for the living and the dead and for all creatures.

tur, which is a public idolatry. Whether they might now want to mend and gloss a lot, this need not strengthen such scribes' idolatry. For such glosses were not invented in those days, otherwise there would have been far fewer masses. For there is nothing in heaven or on earth that acquires forgiveness of sin or God's grace without united faith in the Word of God, for the sake of which Christ instituted the Mass, as he says: "Do this in remembrance of me. Since the corner masses, even the most holy ones, and the masses for sale are all based on the aforementioned idolatrous reason, that one wants to help people through them, as through a good work, no one can approve or help to establish them with a good conscience. Thus, even in the first Christianity and in the oldest fathers, there are no such idolatrous masses.

So it is obvious that the masses are of no use for the dead, for whom they are most of all instituted, because the dead must of course be justified and blessed by their own faith, like all other saints. Rom. 10, 10: "With the heart one believes, then one becomes righteous" 2c. Nor do the words in the Lord's Supper suffer, since Christ says, "Eat, drink, do these things." Now the dead cannot eat, drink, and do these things with us. But it is shameful that we should eat and drink for the dead. *Oportet coenam esse seu actum illum communem. Ergo non est sacrificium.*

The fourth article, of ordaining or consecrating.

There is no better means of unity in these matters than for the bishops to relax their oaths and duties in order to bind the ordinands to ungodly doctrine and to life without marriage, because in this way they would remain in their dignity and rule, and would get enough priests. But where they do not slacken, they must fall and perish. For what are now learned and skillful fellows, they do not want to burden themselves with such oaths, driving and godless doctrine. And in the end they will come to the point that ordination and ordaining will no longer be done by the bishops, but as it is otherwise due.

The fifth article, from the Pabstthum.

If the pope wants to be lord or sovereign, we let that happen, for we do not consider how great an honor or good he has, but desire that he leave the gospel free for us (as he is obliged to do). If he does not want to preach it himself, nor promote the word, as would be right, then he may be and do what he wants on his conscience; it is not our business.

The sixth article, from monasteries.

It is also not due to our most gracious lord to restore the monasteries and to fill them with monks or nuns, and he may say: I have not appointed the monks and nuns, nor have I ordered them to go out, nor have I ordered them to go in again, nor have I granted them permission to go. Summa, our most gracious lord should only throw such an article from himself.

The seventh article, from confession.

It is to be granted that the parish priests are ordered not to administer the sacrament to anyone who has sought and requested absolution beforehand. For the absoluteness, because it is God's word and command, should not be despised. However, there must be a declaration (preclarification) that, in order to receive such absoluteness, it is not necessary for people to choose all sin.

The eighth article, from fasting and difference of food.

Because they themselves, the popes and clergy, did not keep the fasts before and still do not observe them, we do not know what to do with them.

The ninth article, by the Sacramentirans. ¹⁾

. Our most gracious Lord shall help to condemn the Sacramentarians 2) as erring heretics, regardless of whether they refer to a concilium, or shall do more. Because they do not want to or cannot hold with us, they thereby separate themselves from us, and do not want to give us any more.

1) In the manuscript wrong: "Sacraments".

2) Manuscript: "Sacramenter".

We do not need to be afraid to accept their offer, as if our doctrine were still uncertain; but we must be certain in such a common public article, which must go daily by custom. If their plea and reason have been sufficiently heard, recognized, and settled, that they may not boast, they will be condemned unheard and unrecognized.

No. 1607.

(Augsburg and Feste Coburg?) (Around the same time? 1530.)

Melanchthon's and Luther's concerns about the staggering of bishops and the primacy of the pope.

The original is found in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. E*, fol. 37, No. 2, p. 160. The beginning seems to be missing. Printed in J. J. Müller, *der ev. Stände Protest*, p. 834; in Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. II, p. 75 (around July 13); in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 318 (end of August); in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 117 (in July); and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 77. In Seckendorf, *Hist. luth. lib.* II, p. 159b only Luther's text. Burkhardt, p. 181, in his regest, places our concern in the second half of July.

Melanchthon's concerns.

But that imagined Gradus are *humane traditiones*, may be indicated manifold.

Christ always punished the disciples when they asked which one should be the chief among them.

Item, Paul commands Timothy to set bishops, does not send them to Petro.

Item, Paul says, "If it be revealed to him that sitteth, let him that is in front hold his peace."

Item, the Primatus is never held, is also not possible to hold, because there must be Christians in all the world. Now the *ecclesiae* in India have never come to Rome to have their bishops confirmed.

Item, Jerome and others write that presbyter and episcopus is one degree.

Luther wrote on the back of the sheet:

Yes, because the Pope wants to enter into such things (as I said), I think we Lutherans want to help protect and handle his honor and supremacy better than the emperor himself and all the world. For we could do it without a sword, with God's word and power, which the emperor cannot finally maintain with his fist without God's power.

No. 1608.

Coburg Fortress.

July 3, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 913, no. 984.

No. 1609 .

(Coburg Fortress.)

July 5, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 914, no. 985.

No. 1610.

Coburg Fortress.

July 6, 1530.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 881 f., no. 964.

No. 1611.

Coburg Fortress.

July 6, 1530.

To Conrad Cordatus.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 914 f., no. 986.

No. 1612 .

Coburg Fortress.

July 6, 1530.

To Cardinal Albrecht, Elector of Mainz.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 916, no. 987.

No. 1613 .

Coburg Fortress.

July 8, 1530.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

Luther explains his Petschaft to him.

Printed in the Hallische Theile, p. 345; in "Waarhafftte Contrafactur D. Martini Lutheri Seeliger gedächtnus: wie dieselbe von Lucasser Cranichen dem leben nach gemacht; Neben Außlegung sein Herrn Lutheri geführten Wappen, Inmassen er solche Herrn Lazaro Spenglern, Rahtschreibern der Statt Nürnberg überschrieben. Männiglichen zu gutem in diesem Jubeljahr 1617. wider an den Tag gegeben". (An engraving of Luther, on which he holds his coat of arms in his left hand-the letter is below the engraving); in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 558; in Walch, vol. XXI, 307; in Haußdorff's *Leben Spenglers*, p. 170; in Junker's gold. and silver. *Ehrendgedächtniß Lutheri*, p. 228; in Richtet, *Geneal. Luther*, p. 661; in *Schlegel, vit. Langeri*, x. 146 k; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 79 and in the Erl. Ausgabe, vol. 54, p. 168. Latin in G. Serpitiu's, *Prüfung des Hohensteinischen Gesangb.*, p. 68 and in Hallische *Suppl. Epp. Lutheri*, p. 199.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, favorable, dear lord and friend! Because you desire to know whether my petition is right, I will show you my first thoughts for good company, which I want to put on my petition as a sign of my theology. The first shall be a cross, black, in the heart, which would have its natural color, so that I would give myself a reminder that faith in the crucified one makes us blessed. For if one believes from the heart, one becomes righteous. Whether it is a black cross, it mortifies, and should also hurt, but it still leaves the heart in its color, does not corrupt nature, that is, it does not kill, but keeps alive, *Justus enim fide vivet, sed fide crucifixi*. But such a heart shall stand in the midst of a white rose, indicating that faith gives joy, comfort and peace, and in short, puts in a white, joyful rose, not as the world gives peace and joy, therefore the rose shall be white, and not red, because white. Color is the color of spirits and of all angels. Such a rose stands in the heavenly field, that such joy in spirit and faith is a beginning of the heavenly joy to come; now already comprehended in it, and grasped by hope, but not yet revealed. And in such a field a ring of gold, that such blessedness in heaven endures forever, and has no end, and is also precious above all joy and goods, as gold is the highest, most precious ore. Christ, our dear Lord, be with your spirit unto that life, Amen. *Ex Eremo Grubok*, 1) 8. Julii MDXXX.

No. 1614.

(Augsburg.)

July 8, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 886, no. 966.

No. 1615.

Augsburg. July

8, 1530.

Johann Brenz to Luther.

Brenz thanks Luther for Letter No. 1599, which has strengthened him greatly, and asks him not to be too concerned for Melanchthon.

Handwritten in London, *British Mus. Add. Ms.* 21,524, fol. 16. Printed by *Hummel, Epp. eccl. hist.*, tom. II, p. 36; in Hartmann and Jäger, "Brenz," vol. I, p. 458; in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 142 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. VIII, p. 90.

Hail in Christ! I have received your letter, my dear husband who is always highly esteemed in Christ, and it is impossible to express with what joy of heart I have received it and have been strengthened in my heart by it. I can never give you the thanks you deserve, nor pay you back for the great benefits you have shown us through Christ. If I owe anything to anyone on earth, I owe it to you. Therefore, my dear father (xxxx), continue to comfort the afflicted and to uplift the saddened. There is no cause for you to be anxious about Philip in your heart. He is afflicted, he is sorrowful, and he carries sorrow, I confess. But these griefs and worries amount to driving him to pray all the more fervently. For what can you pray if the matter does not touch your conscience? how can you strengthen faith by the promises if faith is not challenged by adversities? Therefore, Philip has good hope in the Lord. He has with him at home the Reminder, the Holy Spirit, so that he does not need the remembrance of me, a wretched man. How the matter of faith stands, I assume, has been written to you, dear sir, by others. Our confession has been heard by the emperor. We daily await the confession or rather the *invective* of the adversaries; what will happen after that, the Lord knows. You continue, as you are doing, to support the exceedingly good cause by your prayers. Fare well in the Lord. From Augsburg, on the day of St. Kilian [July 8], Anno 1530, yours, Joh.

No. 1616.

Feste Coburg.

July 9, 1530.

To Heinrich Gnesius, pastor in Ichttershausen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2146.

No. 1617.

Feste Coburg.

July 9, 1530.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 814, no. 956.

1) From now on Luther uses this anagram of "Koburg" more often.

No. 1618.

Coburg Fortress.

July 9, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 927, no. 991.

No. 1619.

(Augsburg.)

July 10, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

News from Augsburg.

Manuscript in Ms. *Manlii*, p. 24. Printed in *Mel. epp. ed. Peucer, lib. I*, op. 8; *ed. Lond. lib. I*, x. 5; in *Coelestin*, torn. II, n. 209; in *Corp. ref.*, vol. II, 178 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 96.

Hail! Two days ago we gave letters to the Coburg messenger; because I saw him here yesterday, I easily beat him to it. Our Arnold returns home from the Mecklenburg court. Spalatin has written you the advice 1) of the Spanish greats about our cause, which in my judgment is very honorable. The sister 2) of the autocrat ("xxxxxxxxxxx"), a woman of very heroic character, of peculiar godliness and modesty, endeavors to conciliate the brother against us, but must do so in a shy and reserved manner. Only the peasant 3) rages extraordinarily and incites the Emperor that nothing may be left to us, which I have learned from Legate Campegius himself; and only the wicked count for 'something and are stronger in the worst cause than the good in the best. It seems that this will happen, that the emperor orders that everything be put back on the old foot (*in integrum*) until a concilium has judged these disputes. The adversaries have not yet answered, so we have nothing certain. This the adversaries only hiss among themselves. Farewell and pray for us. It is not necessary for you to write to each one, for by one letter you will do enough for all. July 10.

P. M.

No. 1626.

Coburg Fortress.

July 13, 1530.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 926, no. 989.

No. 1621.

Feste Coburg.

July 13, 1530.

To D. Johann Rühel in Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 926, no. 990.

No. 1622.

Feste Coburg.

July 13, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 931, no. 993.

No. 1623.

Coburg Fortress.

July 13, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 929, no. 992.

No. 1624.

Feste Coburg.

July 13, 1530.

To Spalatin in Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1759, no. 1181.

No. 1625.

(Coburg fortress.)

(July 13? 1530.)

Meanings about the abolition of the mass and monastic life 2c.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1724, no. 179.

No. 1626.

(Augsburg.)

July 14, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1010, no. 1008.

No. 1627.

Coburg Fortress.

July 15, 1530.

To Jonas, Spalatin, Melanchthon and Agricola in Augsburg.

Luther wants them to distance themselves from the Diet; nothing can be expected from the refutation of the opponents; they have achieved enough with the lecture of the Confession.

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 880, the penultimate paragraph. Also in Spalatin's Annals, p. 143 f. The letter is missing.

2) Queen Mary of Hungary.

3) Duke George of Saxony.

Handwritten in Berlin in the royal library, *Ms. germ. in fol. 15* and in *Cod. Rostoch* Printed by *Coelestin*, tom. II, p. 231; in *Buddeus*, p. 155; in *De Wette*, vol. I V, p. 96; in *Schirmacher*, p. 365 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 112. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1208.

To Justus Jonas, Georg Spalatin, Philipp Melanchthon, and Johann Agricola Eisleben, his peers, at Augsburg.

Grace and peace in the Lord! We received the letters brought by Arnold and the Coburg messenger yesterday, and I believe you already have the answer of the adversaries, 1) which, as you write, is expected from you, namely: Fathers, fathers, fathers, church, church, custom and habit you will hear, moreover, nothing from the Scriptures, and trusting in these arbiters and witnesses, the emperor will make his pronouncement against you. Threats and boasts will follow to heaven and hell. But the Lord will give you mouth and wisdom. By the way, as you write: "Of other things verbally in a short time", 2) so do. More has happened than was expected, namely you have given to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's: To the emperor a perfect obedience, in that you have appeared with such great cost, trouble and complaint; to God the chosen sacrifice of the confession, which will break through into all the courts of kings and princes, which will reign in the midst of his enemies and go out into all the lands with its sound, so that those who do not believe will have no excuse; namely, this will be the fruit of the silence commanded at the beginning of the Diet. If now this reward is added, that according to the testimony of the adversaries no article of faith has been violated, then we clearly obtain more than I have desired, namely we are freed from the shame of the heretic's name. May Christ Himself confess us as you have confessed Him, and glorify those who have glorified Him, amen. Therefore, I absolve you from this kingdom day in the name of the Lord. "Always home, always home!"

Do not hope for concord or slackening, and even I have never asked God for it, knowing that it is impossible.

but only that they would allow you to teach and grant peace. Since they themselves remain in their godlessness, even if they wanted to help us, how could they? 3) If the emperor wants to issue an edict, he may issue it after all; he also issued one at Worms. We will hear the emperor as emperor, not further, not beyond. What is this disguised (*larvatus*) emperor, the peasant,⁴⁾ to us? Here the same will create council, who has opened the door of the emperor and the kings to our confession, and if the emperor will push with force and weapons, which I do not hope, he will again create council. We will give way to the true emperor, but if the disguised emperor should do something, it will be something else. Therefore, obtain permission [to leave] from the emperor by leaving the prince's councilors there, who can cooperate in the remaining matters. Our cause is settled, and you will not accomplish anything better or more fortunate beyond that. That Campegius throws the power to dispense high, 5) to this I answer with the words of Amsdorf: "I shit the legate and his lord in his dispensation, we want to find dispensationes enough." Since the Lord commands, do not concern yourselves with the servant's dispensation, if otherwise such a great robber and attacker of the realm can be called a servant. "Home, home!" The LORD JESUS uphold and comfort you who have labored for His name's sake and have been afflicted enough, Amen. From Grubok, Friday after Margaret [July 15] Martin Luther, D.

3) We have framed this sentence as an interrogative sentence.

4) Duke George. - We have put a comma in front of *rusticus*; this prevents De Wette's misunderstanding: *Caesar rusticus*, that is, "the emperor acting under Duke George's influence". *Larvatus Caesar* belongs together, *rusticus* is apposition.

5) This refers to a passage in Melanchthon's letter to Veit Dietrich of July 8 (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 174): "Campegius says he can permit the use of both forms and the marriage of priests; with regard to the monks, he says, since the key is not lacking, it cannot be dispensed. There you hear the new religion of the popes. Only now they ask where the key is missing, whereas before, since this question was transitions, he could solve and bind everything."

1) The confutation was not read until August 3.

2) Compare No. 1614. - As we see here, Luther draws *brevis* to the preceding, not to the following; perhaps he did it jokingly.

No. 1 628.

Coburg Fortress.

July 15, 1530.

To Spalatin.

Luther awaits the return of the friends from Augsburg. The rage of Duke George had been humiliated by repeated fires in Dresden.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv. Handwritten in *Cod. Dessav.* No. 202; in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 57 d; in *Cod. Ratzenb.*; in the *Cod. Rostoch*; in Berlin, Ms. in fol. 15; in *Cod. Jen. a.*, fol. 224 and in *Cod. Jen. b.*, fol. 68. Printed in *Coelostin*, tom. II, p. 230; in Buddeus, x. 153; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 151; in De Wette, vol. IV, pp. 97f.; in Schirmacher, p. 131 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 114. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1205.

To his extremely dear brother in Christ, M. Georg Spalatin, the steadfast confessor of God at Augsburg.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I await you here, my dear Spalatin, on your return, and happily, that is, condemned to restitution by the emperor's edict. But come in the name of the Lord; he who has overcome the gates of hell has also overcome the threats of men. Add to this that in a special way the threats of the peasant 1) went up in fire in the armory in Dresden, 2) and now for the second time in the same city 45 houses burned down. He is sufficiently warned from heaven. But I praise the Enceladus and Typhoeus equals 3) bravery of the man who dares to face the thundering, even the lightning. For the lightnings, which have struck the towers of the godless places 4) at Alteuburg, are a good omen; and if they had struck godly ones 5),

1) Duke George of Saxony.

2) *Monach. Pirm. ap. Mencken* II, 1546 reports: "Anno 1530, Tuesday after Valentini (15. Febr.), when Duke Jörg of Saxony was at Leuteromicz (Leitmeritz ?) with Kunige Ferdinands, burned abe at the Slosse the baking house, that at Getreit and tins 2c. trefflichen damage. And in the same year on the eighth day *ascensionus Domini* (June 2) burned at 40 houses abe behind the Badestobe na bei der Brucken."

3) Enceladus and Typhoeus, giants who wanted to push Jupiter out of the sky, but were hurled down by lightning and buried under the Aetna, but there they still breathe and spit out fire.

4) Luther means the church of the canons in Altenburg.

5) The reading *pias* is very striking to us; it can only refer to *turres*. One would expect *pia* [*loca*], not: *pias* [*turres*]. - Sagittarius reads *pios* == godly people.

I would believe that this was done by Satan because of his hatred of the Word and baptism; but by these signs (although they followed) the death of the dean was to be blamed (*oompulsari*). Christ keep us the prince, amen. I am extraordinarily troubled by the displeasure of not being able to be with you in body, and if it had not been a temptation against God to subject me to so many dangers of the journey, you would certainly have seen me present long ago. The grace of GOD be with you, Amen. From Grubok, 1530, the 15th day of July. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1629 .

July 15, 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 890, no. 971.

No. 1630

July 15, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 944, no. 998.

No. 1631 .15.⁶⁾ July 1530.**To Justus Jonas.**

Luther suspects that restitution will be demanded of the Protestants and that, if they do not comply, an edict of the emperor will be issued in the name of Duke George. He exhorts his friends to be quite confident in the face of this, if they only obtain the confession from the opponents that no article of faith has been violated.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 55; in Copenhagen, Dls. 1893, fol. 301 (dated July 13); in *Cod. Rostoch*; in Berlin, königl. Bibliothek, Als. Sorm. fol. 15 and in *Cod. Jen. d.*, fol. 19. Printed by *Coelostin*, tom. II, 230d; in Buddeus, p. 154; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 98 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII? German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1206 f.

6) De Wette has correctly resolved the date designation at the end of this letter: the *tertia post Margarethae*, by "July 15", because, to count according to Latin, both the *tertiluus* u, quo and the *terminus ad quem* are included; therefore, the resolution of the Erl. Briefw.: "16. ? July" is not correct. The reasons, which he also gives for the 16th, are not conclusive.

Grace and peace in the Lord! So I suppose, best Jonas, that you have already received the answer of the adversaries and are urged to the restitution; if you do not admit this, then a commandment of the emperor will go out, which will be enforced by the wisdom of the peasant 1) and will be full of it. And why should we not let these water bubbles blossom with equanimity? If they did not do such a thing, what disgrace would they not carry away from this imperial day? Therefore, let us grant them these threats and water bubbles. What do they harm? They cannot think anything else or higher than that their threats are terrible, since they know that they will achieve nothing by force and by deed. I would say that we would be quite ungrateful if we did not indulge them in these boasts, especially if they admitted to us that we had not violated any article of faith. Would that God would make this word quite firm and certain, and that you would receive certain confessions and testimonies. "Let us make use of them, what is the point?" For when this word becomes certain, it will be a divine voice that has escaped from these fools, who have been overcome by the truth, quite unawares. He who has admitted this upper sentence (*maiores*) must also admit the lower sentence (*minores*) and such a conclusion (*sillogismum*) as those people do not see now. Only be strong and stand firm manfully until they realize that their threats are not omnipotent. Then it will be different; so I think. Greetings M. Eisleben, Spalatin and all. For I make use of your permission (dono) that I do not need to write a letter to every single one. From Peter Weller you will hear everything that is going on in Wittenberg. From the desert of Grubok, on the third day after Margaret [July 15] 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1632 .

Feste Coburg.

July 19, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VI, 924, no. 988.

1) *sapientia rustica*, that is, by Duke George.

No. 1633

Feste Coburg.

July 20, 1530.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1761, no. 1182.

No. 1634

Feste Coburg.

July 20, 1530.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther expresses his satisfaction that his letter to the Cardinal at Mainz (No. 1612) has been approved for printing in Nuremberg. Von der Widersacher Wüthen. His "Revocation from Purgatory" is in print; the writing "Von den Schlüsseln" is in his hands.

Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 152; by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 104 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 124.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. D. Wenceslaus Link, the faithful and 'righteous servant of Christ at Nuremberg.

Grace and peace! I am pleased, my dear Wenceslaus, that my letter 2) has been approved for printing by you. For I sent it somewhat timidly, fearing that, in view of the dubiousness (*religio*) of this city, they would not allow mine to be printed. In the meantime, I hope, those inciting sentences of the adversaries 3) will also have arrived, because it is firmly decided that, since they continue to rage in this way, I too will again put on my horns,⁴⁾ and confront these papers in the fury of my anger, so that they have something they are looking for, namely, causes to rage and make noise. For that they now cry out in this way, they do so because they are idle and lack causes. Their lies about purgatory 5) are now printed here in Wittenberg. I now have their lies about the keys under my hands. You pray for me

2) The letter to Cardinal Albrecht, St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 916. - At Nuremberg, censorship was exercised on the part of the council.

3) This will mean the writings listed in our edition, Vol. XVI, 944, No. 997. Cf. *id. id.* No. 998.

4) The explanation of *cornua sumere* by: "gain courage", which the Erl. Briefw. after *Ovid. ars amat.*, I, 239, does not fit here.

5) "Luther's Revocation of Purgatory," St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 874. "Luther's Writing of the Keys," *id. id.* Vol. XIX, 902.

and the whole church of God, and be at ease in the Lord. But greet me thy flesh, the vine itself with its exceedingly dear grapes. From the desert Grubok, which you, great prophet, have so quickly turned back. July 20, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1635.

Augsburg.

July 20, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Privately, a demand has been made to the Protestant princes that they abandon their cause; they have responded to this. The confutation has not yet been announced. Question about the vows and about human statutes. Report that Oekolampad has written a dialogue against him.

The original is in Munich, *Cod.* I, 275. Printed in the *Epp. Mel. ed. Pezel, lib.* III, p. 141; in the *ed. Lond. lib.* III, ep. 68; in the *ed. Lugd. Bat.* 1697, lib. VI, p. 309; in the *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 217; and in the *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 125.

To D. Martin Luther, his extremely dear father.

Hail! I hope that you have received the bundle of our letters in which we have written what is going on here. In the meantime, nothing new has happened that would be worth reporting. Nothing has been decided about our matter, and the opinions seem to me to be extraordinarily diverse. Sometimes some are willing to be fair, but these are soon reversed by the calumnies of ungodly people.

Privately, the princes have been asked to abandon our cause. ¹⁾ Our people answer today, and explain to the emperor that they are prevented by their conscience (*religione*) from betraying this cause. The refutation of the opponents has not yet been presented to us.

To the questions I ask you to answer me. Because also for the sake of vows it is dangerous in this trade. If one may do a work of thanksgiving, one may also do a vow in the same opinion. Therefore it will follow that the vows are services or latrien (xxxxxxx), as they are called in the schools, and noth

must be held in the appropriate manner. I sometimes argue about this matter with my comrades, so you will do us all a pleasant service if you answer this.

Oekolampad has written a dialogue against me, as it seems to me, more carefully than he usually writes; I will bring it with me when God leads us back there one day. I beg you, write again about the statutes of men. I have indeed learned that, as Paul says [2 Tim. 3, 5], they have the appearance of wisdom, and yet, when one looks into them, they are vain, and at the same time they plague the consciences through this appearance. Fare well. At Augsburg, July 20.

xxxxxxx.

No. 1636

Feste Coburg.

July 21, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1013, no. 1009,

No. 1637.

Feste Coburg.

July 21, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2323, annex, no. 15.

No. 1638.

(Coburg Fortress.)

July 27, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1454, no. 1073.

No. 1639.

Feste Coburg.

July 27, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther testifies to his good courage regarding the outcome of the matter, and gives vent to his displeasure with the enemies.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 70. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 156; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 110 f. and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 138.

Grace and peace in Christ! With joy I read your letter, my dear Jonas, in which you show that you have no doubt about this matter, and it is clearly God's gift who testifies that he is still with you. Indeed, we now learn what it is for the righteous to live by faith, and by faith alone.

¹⁾ See Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. II, p. 93 ff. As far as the Elector of Saxony is concerned, see St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, 932 ff, No. 994 and No. 995. Melanchthon says that the answer will be given "today", while Spalatin places it on July 21. The delivery will be postponed by one day.

Faith. For what is left to us by which we can stand and live but this very faith, since all our works and words are so miserably destroyed and beaten to the ground that we not only do not deserve thanks for such great good deeds, by which we have helped the whole world, but also receive all evil for all good. If we were to live by works, where would our life be? But faith will not be beaten to the ground like this, nor will it be suppressed; if it reigns, we will surely live and not die, because the Word we believe lives forever and says to us (John 14:19): "I live, and you also shall live," because "the life is in Him, and the life is the light of men" (John 1:4). I believe, in fact, that in the meantime, as I write this, this matter has come to a conclusion (*epitassin*), and the emperor has threatened all horrible things, (that is) that you, too, have survived the battle with the highest danger. And yet God wanted me to be there, although in fact I am not absent. Yes, Satan himself sometimes gives me such a good in the morning that I would rather suffer the whole nights. "Well, God has laid a great matter before us," even though he knew that we are nothing but earthen vessels [2 Cor. 4:7]; "he also help us," that his power may be glorified in our weakness. He began it, may he also complete it, so go to the heavenly bodies. Hail to thee, O boy, for thy valor! 1) "Who else would know what is world or devil?" They have denied God against the first commandment, they have blasphemed the name of God against the second, they have corrupted His word against the third, they have trampled underfoot the reputation of parents and authorities against the fourth, they kill and wage war against the fifth. What shall I say about the sixth? In the seventh they are thieves, in the eighth false accusers. And what do they not do and speak in the most shameful way? Above all these they condemn us as heretics to hell, and demand from us the right of possession over all these things, namely, that we should worship all these things, justify them, praise them, and do the

We condemn ours, which is contrary to it, so that they have not even given us a hair's breadth, we have conceded everything to them: "Aren't they fine fellows?" who would like us to take part in such things and be overwhelmed with the terrible horrors of the murders, which have already been committed and are still to be committed on innumerable souls, bodies and things, which have been bought by Christ's blood. It seems to me that Satan clearly sees his end, and out of unbelievable rage shows us his utmost and perfect foolishness in this last spectacle. For who should not gladly stake his life on it, who should not be hopeful in this matter, who should not boast and be happy for such a glorious and in many ways exceedingly clear display of godliness and innocence? To be sure, we must expect a more. "If thou shalt believe (he says [John 14:40.]), thou shalt see the glory of GOD." But we already see a great part in the so great judgment and vengeance of God, and it does not take place that we pity those Amalekites with a foolish devotion like Saul [1 Sam. 15]. Without God's will and man's will they want to perish, they ridicule our pity, condemn our pleas, exhortations, enticements, even persecute us with death and hell: they do not want the blessing, let it stay away from them; they want the curse, let it come to them, and they must be before the Lord always [Ps. 109, 17, 15]. If they are worthy of mercy, much more Christ, whom they pursue with such great rage that, if they themselves did not perish, Christ would necessarily perish. But I would rather that Christ reign than those people, if one of the two must be desired at all, and both cannot be preserved. Let Pharaoh perish, if Israel cannot be redeemed in another way. But here the pig teaches the Minerva. May the Lord, for whom you labor and work, look upon your sacrifice as He looked upon Abel's sacrifice, and may your burnt offering be fat [Ps. 20:4.], that you may see Cain inerrant and fugitive [Gen. 4:12.], Amen. Respectfully greet my lords Andreas Osiander, Johann Brenz, and those.

1) Virg. Aen. lib. v. 641.

which Augsburg honors for their faithful works with banishment and all evil (as much as there is in them), D. Urban Rhegius, Johann Frosch and Stephan Agricola. "So shall the world do", otherwise it would not be world, nor of its God 1) enough faithful people. From the desert, Wednesday after Jacobi [July 27] 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1640.

Feste Coburg.

July 27, 1530.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VI, 1006, no. 1005 b.

No. 1641.

Feste Coburg

. July 27, 1530.

To Johann Agricola.

Luther expresses his displeasure at the nonsensical behavior of the adversaries.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 68; *ibid.* Aug. 11.10, fol. 154 (undated) and

Aug. 19. 15, fol. 296b (undated). Printed in *Litar. Wochenblatt*, Nürnberg 1770, vol. 2, 301; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 154; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 182; in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 114 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 143.

Grace and peace in the Lord! That our adversaries turn to invective and seek to provoke the emperor is a sign that they realize that they have no right cause, and this is something old but long known with Satan, that when he has overcome the truth, he turns the minds away to other things, so that in the meantime the cause is neglected. This is what his tool, Eck, did to Carlstadt in Leipzig, and often elsewhere. It is incumbent upon us to push against this on the matter itself and not to suffer that this cunning spirit distracts us. For only now do they say that I said "muzzlers," but they do not say how highly I exalted the emperor and all the authorities, while they did nothing but revile, thunder down, and curse the rulers, the majesties themselves, as Peter did [2 Ep. 2:10].

1) namely of the devil. In the editions is: *voi*, capitalized.

2) In the first translation of Isaiah Luther had given Is. 3, 4. like this: "Maulaffen shall be their masters", where he later put: "Kindische shall rule over them."

has predicted. But also this foolishness of theirs wants to be revealed. It is God who makes them fools. My father said: "Whom God wants to afflict, he first closes his eyes. I mean, he has closed their eyes!" They already seem to me to be clearly no longer human, but even inveterate devils; "they want to go too sharp, they like to get sharp. I do not believe that since the beginning of the world a more unreasonable and nonsensical demand has been heard than this, that they desire that all should be restored and all theirs accepted and all ours condemned, after they themselves have confessed that much of ours is true. For what would that be but to demand that it should be said throughout the world that even the apology of our confession,³⁾ which is commended by them, has been utterly denied by us? Truly, I am not a little comforted by this vengeance of God, who helps us, on His enemies. He has begun to repay them and will not cease until he consumes them, since they are incorrigible and insolently tempt God, beaten with unbelievable fury and nonsense. Our Lord Christ uphold and rule you by His Holy Spirit, Amen. From the desert, Wednesday after Jacobi [July 27] 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1642.

Augsburg.

July 27, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1018, no. 1010.

No. 1643.

(Coburg fortress.)
1530.

Around the same time

Luther's Concerns of the Angular Mass.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1004, no. 1005a.

No. 1644.

(Augsburg.)

July 28, 1530.

Melanchthon au Luther.

Melanchthon returns to his question about the human statutes. He sends questions, the enjoyment of the

3) "Apology of the Confession" still stands here for the Confession itself.

The first part of the book is a list of the questions concerning the Lord's Supper under One Form, which were put to him by the court preacher of Queen Mary of Hungary, in order to have Luther answer them

Manuscript at Gotha in *Cod. Bav.* I, 968; in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in Hamburg, Ms. 46, quarto, 15th. Printed in *Manlii farrago*, p. 118; in *Mel. epp.*, lib. III, p. 141; *ed. Lond.* III, ep. 67; in *Corp. ref.*, vol. II, 233; in Schirnnacher, p. 368 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 150.

To Doctor Martin Luther, the theologian.

Hail! Yesterday we left Wellern, well laden with letters, who, however, if I calculate correctly, will not precede this messenger. I have not written to you about the cause of the statutes, but about the final cause: whether such customs, or works chosen by the saints without God's certain command, can be services of God or, as the schools say, latrieen (xxxxxxx). As if Bernard, who is already right, chooses a certain fast or order in this opinion, that he gives thanks to God through this work, if he judges rightly. I think that he is mistaken. Therefore, the fifth cause of the statutes 1) that I put in the note written to you does not apply.

I am sending you the questions that today the confessor (xxxxxxxxx) 2) of the sister of self The queen has presented the documents to the queen with the stipulation that they be transferred to you, and your judgment on them is expected. He has appeared to us as a man of the greatest sincerity, and the queen seems to be very God-fearing to all. Therefore, you will answer, and I ask you to take the letter for the best, in which the questions are continued and continued. For what other things can I write to you about? We have nothing new here. Farewell. July 28.

Enclosure.

Queen Mary's Questions [July 28]. Anno 1530. Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2228, before Luther's reply to the above letter.

This supplement is found in *Cod. Rostoch.* Schirmmacher and Erl. Briefw. with Melanchthon's letter, is missing in the *Corp. ref.*

1) St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 1012, No. V.

2) D. Johann Henkel von Commerstadt, court preacher of Queen Mary of Hungary. She had to dismiss him from her service, as well as her other Protestant officials, when she became governor of the Netherlands at the beginning of 1531, after the death of her aunt Margaretha.

permanent piece before Luther's reply in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 159 (perhaps in August) and in Schütze, vol. II, p. 208. Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, koi. 42 b; same *Cod. Aug.* 20, 2, koi. 124 and in Munich, *Cod. Clm.* 944, koi. 130. In, German Uebersetzung vor der Antwort Luther handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, koi. 73; in Nuremberg, *Cod. Solger.* 70, koi. 51 b; in Dresden, *Cod. Solger.* 0 351, koi. 70 and in Copenhagen, Als. 1393, koi. 299. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 437b; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 262b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 397; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 265; in Walch, vol. XXI, 2742; in "Etliche Trostschriften," Jen. 1554, p. 108 and in *Bindseil, colloquia*, tom. III, p. 27. A different Latin text for the questions, which, however, corresponds exactly in content to the one we have given, is given by *Coelestin*, whom the Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 153. We leave it with the one.

No. 1645.

(Augsburg.)

July 28, 1530.

Johann Agricola to Luther.

Agricola reported that the Diet was dragging on because the opponents could not find anything in the Confession that went against the faith. The emperor, too, dragged everything out in long discussions and always expected an answer from Rome about the writings of the evangelicals. Bucer and Capito tried to win people over to their opinion.

Printed in Kapp, kl. Nachlese, vol. III, p. 361 (of July 27) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 153 f.

To D. Martin Luther, his most beloved father.

Peace from God! I rejoice that the God of this world has nothing in this matter of the Gospel that he can blaspheme through his sophists, the swine and dogs. And this one thing, namely, that they find nothing in the confession (*Apologia*) of our faith that disputes any article of the faith, seems to me to drag out the business of the Diet, for the opponents have not yet answered. The emperor drags everything into long and serious deliberation. Now the answer of the Roman pope about the assertion of the confession and several other articles, which we recently handed over to the emperor, is expected again. For they are moved in many ways by the word which the Lord speaks through our mouth.

Capito and Bucer, with whimsical arts and wiles, seek to draw all whom they can to their opinion, so much so that they have also invited Henkel, the preacher of Queen Mary, that they might boast of him for a time. Brenz suffered to be summoned to a new parley, and

See, they immediately start the rumor that Brenz is with them. Thus they seize everything they can in every way to strengthen their doctrine, which is based on weak and powerless grounds of proof. Fare well, dearest father. On the day of Pantaleon [July 28] 1530.

Your Eisleben.

No. 1646.

(Augsburg.)

July 30, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 992, no. 1001.

No. 1647.

Coburg Fortress.

July 31, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 899, no. 978.

No. 1648.

(Coburg fortress.)

(July 1530.)

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 416.

No. 1649.

(Feste Coburg.)

July? 1) 1530.

To Hieronymus Weller in Wittenberg.

Luther again consoles him for his melancholy.

Manuscript in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 105; in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in Gotha, *Cod.* 432. Printed in Vollern opp., x. 208 (from 1546); in *Annales litterarii Helmstadiens.* 1784, tom. I, p. 481; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 19; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 186 and in Erl, Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 158 f.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dearest Jerome, you must firmly believe that this challenge of yours is from the devil, and that you are so afflicted because you believe in Christ. For you see how safe and happy

1) The Wolfenbüttel manuscript and De Wette put this letter on November 6. Already Köstlin, M. Luther, vol. II, p. 654 ad p. 214, remarks: "The letter cannot be from Nov. 6, but comes from a time, when Weller was with Luther's wife in Wittenberg, but Luther was absent." Kolde, M. Luther, Vol. II, p. 592 ad p. 339, says that it is "from your summer"; in any case it is to be put a considerable time before August 15.

He has made the most ferocious enemies of the gospel, such as Eck, Zwingli and others. We must have the devil as our adversary and enemy, all of us who are Christians, as Peter says [1 Peter 5:8]: "Your adversary, the devil, goes about" 2c. Best Jerome, you must rejoice over this challenge of the devil, because it is a certain sign that you are holding a gracious and merciful God. You will say: this challenge is heavier than you can bear, and you are afraid that it will overcome and oppress you so much that you will fall into blasphemy and despair. I know this trick of Satan: if he cannot overcome someone by the first attack of the temptation, he tries to tire and weaken him by constantly stopping him, so that he falls and confesses that he is defeated. Therefore, as often as this temptation befalls you, beware that you do not engage in disputation with the devil 2) or indulge in these deadly thoughts. For this is nothing other than giving in to the devil and succumbing, but you must take care that you most strongly despise these thoughts given to you by the devil. In this kind of challenge and struggle, contempt is the best and easiest way to defeat the devil, and make an effort to laugh at the adversary and seek out someone to talk to. You must flee loneliness in every way, because then he seeks to suck you in particular, and stalks you when you

2) Köstlin, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 115, correctly states this rule of Luther, that man should not get involved in the accusations and disputations of the devil, but despise them. The same canon is taught by Cordatus No. 467, St. Louis edition, Vol. XXII, 813, K 51. Wrong in Preger, *Tischreden Schlaginhaufens*, p. 23, No. 67 and, due to the wrong reading offered there: "more (mer) skillful", also in the argument p. XVII. The other codices offer: "nit skillful", an erroneous translation of *non aptus in* Cordatus. This should have been given, as it is in our edition, by : "not laid on", not inclined. Following in Preger's footsteps, Lösche, *Analecta Lutherana* etc., p. 242 f., No. 372, has even changed the correct reading "nit" to "mer." If Preger and Lösche were right, then in the example given of the bishop's sister, she would not have said: "I have forgotten her [the thoughts]", but would have had to say: "Now I have been clever enough to dispute with the devil. This, however, would have completely overturned Luther's rule.

alone. The devil is overcome here by mocking and despising, not by resisting and disputing. Therefore, you must play jokes and games with my wife and the others, so that you destroy these devilish thoughts, and be careful that you are of good cheer, my dear Jerome. This challenge is more necessary to you than food and drink. I will tell you what happened to me once when I was about the age you are now. When I first entered the monastery, it happened that I was always sad and afflicted and could not get rid of this sadness. Therefore, I sought advice and confessed to Doctor Staupitz (I like to mention this man) and told him how terrible and frightening thoughts I had. He said: "You do not know, Martin, how useful and necessary this challenge is for you, because God does not train you like this for nothing; you will see that he will use you as a servant to accomplish great things. And so it happened. For I have become (for this I may rightly say of myself) a great doctor, which, of course, I would never have believed would happen at the time when I suffered this challenge. This will undoubtedly happen to you as well: you will become a great man; just see to it that you are of good and strong courage in the meantime, and be sure to remember that such sayings, which especially occur to such learned and great people, are not without prophecy and foreshadowing. For I remember that once a certain man, whom I comforted over the loss of his son, said to me: "You will see, Martin, that you will become a great man. I have often remembered this saying, for such words, as I have said, have a foreshadowing and prophecy in them. Therefore, be of good and strong courage and throw away these extremely terrible thoughts completely. And as often as the devil plagues you with these thoughts, immediately seek conversation with people, or drink a little more copiously, or engage in jokes and antics, or do something else cheerful. Sometimes you have to drink more, play, joke, and even do some little sin out of hatred and contempt for the devil, so that we don't give him an opportunity to

We must not become conscience-stricken over the smallest things, otherwise we will be defeated if we are too anxious to sin in something. Therefore, if the devil should ever say, "Do not drink," you should answer him thus: "But I will drink primarily for this reason, because you forbid it, and even drink abundantly. Thus one must always do the opposite of what Satan forbids. What other reason do you think I have for drinking [wine] so freely, chatting quite freely, eating more often, than to taunt and torment the devil who had set out to torment and taunt me? Would God that I could commit some excellent sin just to taunt the devil, so that he would see that I acknowledge no sin and am not aware of any sin. We must completely put the whole law (*decalogus*) out of our eyes and hearts, we, I say, whom the devil so attacks and torments. If then the devil once holds our sins against us and makes us guilty of death and hell, then we must say thus: I confess indeed that I am guilty of death and hell; what then follows from this? So you will also be eternally damned! Not at all, for I know someone who has suffered and done enough for me, and his name is Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Where he will remain, there I will also remain.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 165 0.

Feste Coburg.

1 [August] 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther complains about weakness of the main that keeps him from working.

Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 205 (without date); by Veessenmeyer, *kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte des Reichstags zu Augsburg*, 1830, p.38; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 120; in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 119 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VIII, p. 161.

Grace and peace in our Christ! I have not been able to write at length, my dear Philip, so the weakness of the head holds me captive, so that I can neither read letters with certainty, nor endure the light. It is nothing that you invent, I do not care for my health, as you have me in

1537

the letters that Peter Weller has brought with him,¹⁾ Have time, so that when the stone comes as an avenger, accused. I am quite idle here, only that the battles of the you will not be able to do so afterwards. I also have plenty thoughts give me something to create, through which I of leisure and time now, but the weakness of my head think, however, rather to find recreation. It is the angel of does not allow me to use them; perhaps I have also Satan who beats me so with fists. But since I have earned this through a previous fault. So far, I would like suffered so many deaths for Christ, I will also bear this to have borne this negligence and carelessness of yours sickness of the head for him, or rather a day of rest by acknowledging your diligence in writing me so many (*sabbathum*). About the statutes and the questions letters, for which I thank you. But I also demand the about the final purpose 2) at another time, if I can. In the promised interpretation, so that you do not return home meantime, greet everyone and hope in the Lord. From the empty from Augsburg; otherwise I will interpret it myself, desert, on the first of August] 3) 1530.

No. 1651.

Feste Coburg.

August 3, 1530,

To Justus Jonas in Augsburg.

Luther recommends his nephew Cyriacus Kaufmann to him, asks him to interpret the 128th Psalm, and reports his own work 2c.

Printed by . Schütze, vol. II, p. 160; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 121 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 162.

Grace and peace in Christ! Here comes on my order my nephew Cyriacus, best Jonas, who wants to look for Hans von Jena⁴⁾ in this play. You will take pains to see if he might find him. I did not want it to be my fault that the young man, who is in such a neighboring place, should return home without having made this splendor, so that there would be something he could tell to posterity, since the Germans are sloppy in writing histories. Peter Weller has told us in how great idleness you live. Hem! (I say) does he not interpret the [128th] Psalm, *Beati omnes*? I do not know, he said. See, my dear Jonas, what you do. I admonish you that you use your head while you can and that you do not use your head.

1) On July 27, Peter Weller had left Augsburg, as we can see from letter No. 1644. Therefore, our letter cannot be from July 1. On July 31, Weller had not yet returned to Coburg. See No. 1647.

2) Instead of *fici sectionibus* we have adopted Knaake's Conjectur: *finis quaestionibus*.

3) In Veesenmeyer and De Wette in the text: prima *Julii*, but the latter has dated the letter "August 1 or 2".

4) About "Hans von Jena" see St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1079, note 2.

but not without harm to your name. I have the 117th Psalm 5) under my hands, "Praise the Lord, all nations", and I will try my word richness (*verbositatem*) on it. For I have had to lay down the work of translating the prophets. I have only finished the Hosea, by stealing the hours for it and seizing the bright moments, and have been forced by the same complaint to interrupt also the Ezekiel. Greetings from me to all of us in the Lord. That I like Bucer's and his artifices, I have also written before; 6) that they may be disgraced who disgrace and blaspheme the Son of God! About Campanus I have heard with pleasure what Philip has written. 7) What you also hear about Carlstadt, 8) tell me also. The Lord be with you, amen. From the desert, where the Diet of the Jackdaws has long since ended, and the wars that have been waged have largely ended, much more quickly than your Diet, which has not yet begun. Given on the 3rd day of August, 1530, your Martin Luther.

No. 1552.

Coburg Fortress.

August 3, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1019, no. 1011.

5) St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1136.

6) In No. 1637, St. Louis edition, Vol. XVI, 2325, § 6.

7) To Veit Dietrich, July 28 (not 26), *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 228: Campanus had been imprisoned by the Fiscal at Lüttig; whether he would suffer the death penalty was still uncertain. Campanus did not die until 1574.

8) Carlstadt was then in Zurich, where he was employed as Diaconus at the hospital.

No. 1653.

Coburg Fortress.

August 4, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1082, no. 1012.

No. 1644.

(Coburg Fortress.)

(August 4, 1530.) 1)

Luther's answer to the five questions presented to him about Holy Communion.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2228.

No. 1655.

Coburg Fortress.

August 5, 1530.

To Chancellor Brück in Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1764, no. 1185.

No. 1656.

Augsburg.

August 6, 1630.

Justus Jonas to Luther.

Report on the reading of the papal confutation and the fears attached to it. About the death of the Imperial Prince and the illness of Duke George of Saxony.

The original is in Hamburg, Ms. I, fol. 102. Handwritten in Dresden, C. 342, fol. 6. Printed in the *Fortgesetzten Sammlung der Unschuld. Nachr.*, Jahrgang 1745, p. 7; in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 144; in Kawerau, *Jonas' Briefw.*, vol. I, p. 173 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 176.

To the highly famous man, D. Martin Luther, his very dear father in Christ.

"D. Martino Luther zu eigen Handen."

Grace and peace of God in Christ! Now, my dearest father, after six full weeks of deliberation by the adversaries, they finally delivered the refutation (*confutationem*) of our confession to the Emperor last Saturday [July 30]. For from so great

Doctors and such great men the eternal truth and wisdom of God can be refuted and captured exceedingly easily, as the Pharisees are an example of, who were sent away ashamed, confused and dumb, because they had asked whether one may give interest [to the emperor] 2c. [Matth. 22,16.ff.] This answer of Eck, Faber's 2c. was now read out last Wednesday [Aug. 3] before the emperor and the estates of the empire, 2) with a preface and postscript added in the name of the imperial majesty, as you will see from the German note inserted here. This reading also lasted two whole hours, but with an unbelievable reluctance, weariness and disgust of some of the more sensible listeners, who complained that they had almost been driven out by this quite cold, hackneyed little song (*cantilena*), and were extraordinarily annoyed that the ears of the emperor had been bothered with such a large pile of useless things under the title of Catholic doctrines. The Queen Mary's Chaplain 3) told us that they had improved theirs five times, cast and recast, embossed and recast, and yet at last a shapeless and confused mixture had arisen, and a mixture as when a cook pours several soups together. At the beginning, they put together a tremendously large book,⁴⁾ as Faber is a wordy compiler; the book grew by the amount of invectives and lies. But the emperor eliminated the third part of the book during the first improvement, so that hardly twelve or sixteen leaves remained, which were read. Our people asked for a copy or a duplicate; the emperor took it into consideration for the following day. Yesterday many expected nothing but condemnation by edicts, but the Mainz and some others advocated that a kind of truce be made, or some semblance of peace, until a future concilium. And yesterday the younger prince returned from a certain great one quite cheerful and serene. There is hope that at least for this time this postponement will be obtained,

2) By the imperial secretary Alexander Schweiß, in the same room of the Palatinate in which the Confession had been read out, the so-called Capellen-Stube, in which the emperor usually had church services held.

3) Johann Henkel.

4) Spalatin, *Annalen*, p. 148, reports: "There were probably two hundred and eighty leaves in the first one, but the Emperor is said to have shredded and rolled it so that no more than twelve leaves remained. Maj. is said to have so shredded and rolled it that no more than twelve leaves remained."

1) The preceding letter is the reply to letter No. 1644, to which the questions are enclosed, therefore this letter, which answers the enclosure, will have gone out at the same time as the reply to the letter.

Lest our doctrine be condemned, or our other things. In the meantime, God, who in many ways and graciously hears the prayers of the godly, will perhaps guide the emperor's heart differently, and cause him to consider more carefully many things of which he has heard here, so that they are neither contrary to godliness nor to respectability. God and our Father in Heaven shows daily that the success of the counsels lies in the prayers. "I hope that the children's leetania and the praying at table of many poor orphans" in the Lutheran Church "will come closer" to the throne of majesty and mercy, than from the beginning of the world all the roaring and the *horae canonicae* of the canons 2c. You, my dearest father, continue to pray and to ask, to knock, and we will receive more than we can now think or ask.

The Emperor received the news at this Imperial Diet by mail that his son, the Infant in the Cradle, who had the name Triumphoherdandus, had died in infancy. When the letter was read, which brought the news of this sad case, the good emperor said: The Lord has given it, the Lord has taken it, the name of the Lord be praised.

Duke George is ill, I don't know what kind of illness, they say he is suffering from the dysentery that is raging here now. But they say he will get well again; may God the Lord convert him or improve him by some such cross! By the next messenger we will be able to inform you whether the Diet will last beyond the month or not 2c. Farewell, my dearest father, and let us and all our people be commended to your prayers, especially the common cause. For we see and grasp almost with our hands the fruit and effect of your prayer and the presence of your Spirit. Again, farewell. Give my best regards to Veit, and by letter to your wife and all yours. Given in haste at Augsburg, on the Saturday after Peter's chain celebration [Aug. 6] in the year of the Lord 2c. 30.

From the bottom of your heart,
your J. Jonas.

[J. Sturm (Storm), our herald and leader to the Diet of Worms, holds and speaks of you here with us in the most honorable way.

No. 1657.

(Augsburg.)

August 6, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1079, no. 1024.

No. 165 8.

(Augsburg.)

(August 6, 1530.) 1)

Joachim Camerarius to Luther.

(Regest.)

Camerarius reports that he came to Augsburg mainly to see Melanchthon. He was able to tell him many things about the events at the Imperial Diet that were unknown to him, because in Nuremberg they talked about them much more than in Augsburg. He praised Melanchthon very much for his bravery and steadfastness.

Handwritten in Dresden, C. 342, fol. 11. Printed in the Fortges. Sammlung, Jahrg. 1746, p. 165 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 183.

No. 1659.

(Augsburg.)

August 8, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1080, no. 1025.

No. 1660 .

(Coburg Fortress.)

August 14, 1530.

To his wife.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1084, no. 1028.

No. 1661.

Coburg Fortress.

August 15, 1530.

To his wife.

Since letters from Augsburg have arrived in the meantime, he adds this letter to the previous one. In the postscript, he complains about the laxity of the book printers.

From the original in *Cod. chart.* 379 at the library in Gotha, fol. 13 in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 132 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 187.

To my dear Lord, Mrs. Katherin Lutherin zu Wittenberg, to hand.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Käthe! When I had closed the letter, I received these letters from Augsburg.

1) Burkhardt, p. 174, places this letter in his registry in "April?", which cannot be correct, since the Imperial Diet only began in June. When Camerarius came to Augsburg cannot be determined. The last letter that Melanchthon wrote to him in Nuremberg is dated July 10 (not July 26, as *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 228, No. 803). On August 13, he was back in Nuremberg (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 275). That our letter is from August 6 is clear from the mention of the letter carrier in the previous number.

I would endure the messenger to take her with him. From this you will probably hear how things stand in Augsburg with our cause, almost as I wrote in the other letter. Let Peter Weller read it to you, or he Johann Pomer. May God continue to help as He has graciously begun, amen. Now I cannot write any more, because the messenger is sitting there ready to go and hardly waiting. Give my regards to our dear sack. I read your letter to the Kastnerin 1) and she thanks you very much. I have ordered Peter Wellern to see to it that Hans Polner 2) is obedient. Greetings to Hansen Luthern and his schoolmaster, 3) I will write to him soon. Greetings to M[uhme] Lehnen and all. We are eating ripe grapes here, although it has been very wet this moon outside. God be with you all, amen. *Ex Eremo, die Assumptionis Mariae* [Aug. 15] MDXXX. *Mart. Luther.*

How distressed I am that our printers are so shamefully negligent with the copies. I send such copies in so that they should soon be ready, because they make me a storage fruit out of them. If I wanted to have them like this, I would have to know how to keep them here with me. I have written to you that you should take the sermon 4) (where it has not been started) from Schirlenz and give it to Georgen Rau. I can well think that Schirlenz hardly has to lay his large copy with paper. If this has not happened, then make it happen soon, and the sermon will be produced in the most beneficial way.

No. 1662.

Coburg Fortress.

August 15, 1530.

To Hieronymus Weller in Wittenberg.

Repeated comfort against the spirit of sadness.

P. 380. Printed in *Welleri opp.*, p. 205; in *Coelestin.*, torn. III, p. 28; in *Buddeus*, p. 182; in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 130 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 188.
German bei Walch, vol. XXI, 1211.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although I have forgotten, my dear Jerome, what I wrote to you in the previous letter 5) about the spirit of sadness, and perhaps now write the same, so that I always play on the same string, 6) I will nevertheless, since all our temptations must be common to all, and without doubt, as I suffer for you, so also you in turn suffer for me, also repeat the same. As there is one and the same adversary, who hates and persecutes each individual brother of Christ for the sake of the individual, so we are also one and the same body, in which each individual suffers for each individual, and this only because I worship Christ; so it comes about that in this way one is compelled to bear the other's burden. Therefore see to it that you learn to despise him. For you have not yet sufficiently learned this spirit, the enemy of spiritual happiness. And be sure that you do not bear this alone, nor do you suffer alone. We all bear with you, and all suffer in you. God, who commanded, "Thou shalt not kill," certainly testifies by this commandment that he does not want these sad and death-bringing thoughts, but living and exceedingly joyful thoughts, as also the Psalm declares [Ps. 30, 6.], saying, "He delighteth to live," and Ezekiel [Cap. 33, 11.], "I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but rather that he should repent and live." Whereas 2c. Since it is therefore certain that God is displeased with such sadness, we have a firm consolation that if we cannot be free of this evil spirit (*daemonio*), we will suffer it more easily, strengthened by the powers of God. I know that it is not in our power to remove these thoughts if we want to, but I know again that they will not get the upper hand, because it says [Ps. 55, 23.]: "He will give the righteous

5) No. 1649.

6) *Horat, ars poetica*, v. 284 (not 356, which the *Erl. Briefw.* offers).

7) Instead of *illius* in the editions, we have assumed *illis* with the Wolfenbüttel and Rostock manuscripts.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, 606th Sslmst. 108, fol. 80 d; in Gotha, 606th 402; in Cod. Rostoch, cf. Schirmmacher, p. 215, and again, cf.

1) The wife of the Schösser Paul Bader "zu Coburg, a Hiltener by birth.

2) Hans Polner from Mansfeld is the son of Luther's sister, who came to Wittmberg to study theology.

3) Hieronymus Weller. Luther fulfilled his promise to write to him on the same day with the next letter.

4) "Sermon on keeping children for protection." St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 416.

not leave you in trouble forever", if only we learn to cast our concern on him. But the Lord Jesus will stand by you, the strong fighter and unconquerable victor, amen. From the desert, August 15,¹⁾ 1530.

Martin Luther.

No. 1663.

(Feste Coburg.)

August 15, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1082, no. 1027.

No. 1664.

(Coburg fortress.)

First half of August 1530.

Concerns about how the Protestant estates should behave.

This document is found only in *Coelestin*, tom. III, p. 42, without indication of its source, and printed from it in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 191. - The determination of the time results from the following considerations: It is, as can be seen from the V. Stück, written after the reading of the Confutation on August 3. On August 15, the Select Committee of the Fourteen was formed, in which the negotiations were conducted that were to serve as a basis for a settlement. The Emperor had thus abandoned the intention of deciding on the matter alone. Therefore, the order to raise this concern can only fall in the period from August 3 to 14.

Luther's opinion on the question of what the Protestant estates should do when the imperial majesty again demands that the judgment on the matter of religion be left to him.

I. Let the speech begin immediately with the first beginning of the purified doctrine, and by the careful repetition of all circumstances let it be recalled to the Emperor's memory by what necessity and occasion the Protestant estates were driven and moved to it, that they, after having renounced papal idolatry, and having eradicated and rejected from the church the ineffectual foundations of godless superstitious customs and human statutes, have accepted and taken upon themselves to defend this doctrine, which they knew to be

1) Cölestin, Buddeus and De Wette date this letter from August 10, but as the previous letter shows, our letter cannot have been written already on Aug. 10.

According to the writings of the prophets and apostles, based on them and confirmed by them.

II. the opinion and sum of the letter [to this Imperial Diet] 2) may be diligently insisted upon, namely that the Imperial Majesty has promised in the same that he will hear and recognize the cause of both parts and will make an effort that the discords of the church will be settled, the disputes will be settled in kindness and love, and just as all fight under the one banner of Christ, so also all unanimously confess one faith. If the opinion of this letter were not enough, there would be many who would put the cause of it and all the blame on the emperor; the Protestant princes would rather prevent this than allow it in a foolish way.

Thirdly. Let it be added that the Estates have good hope that the Imperial Majesty will not make any presumptuous pronouncements about the state of religion before the matter is decided, nor will he arrogate to himself such a prestige that he will raise himself to the position of judge and arbitrator over God and his word.

IV. However much the emperor may claim for himself the judgment of religion, the Protestant estates cannot in any way consent to this demand, since there would be danger that the emperor would determine something of this kind, which would be quite unlike and inappropriate to the word of God, while it is written [Gal. 1:8] that even if an angel came from heaven and taught a different gospel, one should not believe him. Since we are forbidden by God's command to believe the words of an angel, it behooves us even less to grant or favor the emperor than a man who strays from the path of the divine word.

V. Since the Confutation had been read to the Protestant estates in the name and by authority of the Emperor, one could easily assume that the Emperor was not alone on the side of the adversaries,

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 622 ff., No. 890. The passage referred to by Luther is found there Col. 627.

but he is also the party himself. Therefore, even according to the rule of his ancestors, His Majesty is by no means free, or permitted, to take the judgment into his own hands on matters that he publicly presents as his own.

No. 1665.

(Feste Coburg.)

August 20, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther recommends Matthias Auner to him and complains that his letters written to Augsburg are being distributed. In the postscript, the report that the 118th Psalm had come out, but that he had received only two copies of it, which he sent immediately.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 82d; in *Cod. Rostoch.* cf. Schirmacher, p. 240, and *ibid.* again, cf. Schirmacher, p. 361. Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1734, 162 and *ibid.* 1737, 378; in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 134f. and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 104. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1212.

To his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord, Philip Melanchthon, the faithful servant and disciple of Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I had nothing to write, my dear Philip, only had to serve this man who is going to Augsburg, I don't know because of what old affair with the Dukes of Mecklenburg 2c. He has persistently asked me to recommend him to the Lord Chancellor. But I, who know that this time is inopportune for such things, do it unwillingly. And therefore I recommend him to you, that you assist him, as the matter and opportunity give, or rather advise him away. He is a citizen of Schmiedeberg, Matthias Auner, the father of the wife of the poet Sibutius, 1) whom you know, a completely blameless man.

It is a quite extraordinary complaint of all from Wittenberg that my letters, which I wrote to you, have been made known 2). The whole blame is put on Magister Veit. He is indignant and suffers injustice; but others accuse Caspar Müller, who took everything away from Magister Eisleben.

and sends them to Leipzig to all D. Stromer. Thus the communication of letters continues, and one orders the other to keep it secret until they are in enemy hands everywhere.

which are carried here about our cause.

Hold victory dances (*tripudiant*, as you would

The church is called the "Wittenbeer" because it is in bad shape, and because of Philip's sadness and sorrow. The people of Wittenberg are sorry and annoyed about this. I am writing this so that you may want to improve this somewhat. I have no interest in my letters being circulated or published. Then I gladly allow the adversaries to rejoice before the victory, as they have always done up to now, by rejoicing when they have done evil, and being glad in the case of foreign evil, so that they perish from the bottom and forever.

I had no time to write to the others. This night I have been tormented by toothache and bothered with it. I await your return with pain, then I wish to know what Christ has done with your devils in the meantime. I hope for worldly peace, but only faintly. About the departure of the landgrave verbally. Greetings to all of us. I had also forgotten this: it is thought that some of you are writing to your house in Wittenberg and to their comrades or good friends things that they do not have from our letters; this increases this excitement. Whether George or Erasmus does this, I do not know. God be with you, amen. August 20, 1530, your Martin Luther.

Finally, my Psalm Confitemini⁴⁾ is printed and published, and ours have sent me two whole copies with a part of the book of Justus Menius 5) and my Sermon of the Schools. "They would have been out of line to send me so many copies; that they may honor God!" I myself have none, nor have I had time to read it over,

3) "Georg" is probably Rörer, and "Erasmus" Reinhold from Saalfeld, who was in Wittenberg in 1529 and had a number of students under his supervision. Later he became professor of mathematics.

4) St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1174.

5) Luther's preface to this book is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 306. - The "Luther's sermon that one should keep the children to school," *ibid.* vol. X, 416.

1) So xootissao Kikntlnao is to be translated. Sibutius Wax posta iauroatous. About him see No. 562.

A) Probably not in print, as De Wette thinks.

since one was promised to the abbot, 1) the other to Eoban Hesse, and have sent it to them with this hurried messenger. Perhaps you will have it sooner than I. 2)

No. 1666.

Coburg Fortress.

August 20, 1580.

To the Abbot Friedrich Pistorius at Nuremberg.

Luther sends him the 118th Psalm, which he dedicated to him.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 836 and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed by *Coelestin*, tom. III, p. 406; in *Buddeus*, p. 185; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 136 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 106. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1214.

To the venerable and highly venerable man, Mr.

Friedrich, right abbot of St. Aegidien in Nuremberg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Venerable abbot, highly venerable in Christ! I send you, dear father, this Psalm Confitemini, which is published under your name. For I have no other service with which to earn your favor or to give thanks for your kindness. But I have begun to secretly fear that perhaps, with your danger, your name will be carried around together with my damned and cursed name, as I have written before, and in this way, as much prestige as I have under your name, as much dishonor and hatred will be in store for you under my name. If this should be so, I ask forgiveness and beg off my imprudence, which may be easily excused for the sake that I have done whatever it may be, not in the desire to do harm, but in the simple and pure mind, however it may be, to show myself grateful. And I know, by the exceeding goodness of your heart, you will gladly forgive me.

1) Friedrich Pistorius at Nuremberg, to whom the psalm is dedicated.

2) De Wette dates this postscript: "Probably from Aug. 22. But because of the 'hurried messenger', Matthias Auner, who delivered this letter to Melancthon, and no doubt also took the two following letters together with the copies to Nuremberg, this date cannot have taken place.

show. They have not sent more copies from Wittenberg now 3) than these two, one of which I have sent to Eoban Hesse, the other one to you, dear father, not both to send something great, but to keep my word. Otherwise, I would also have been very happy to send [copies] to the Syndicus Spengler and all Link, quite excellent men. But I sent them by this hurried messenger, so that I myself have not even read them over, nor do I have a copy for the time being, until several are sent. May the Lord Jesus, our light and salvation, enlighten you and keep you with us until that day, amen. From the desert, 20.⁴⁾ August 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1667.

Coburg Fortress.

August 20, 1530.

To Eoban Hesse in Nuremberg.

Luther sends him a copy of the 118th Psalm and speaks highly of Hesse's arrangement of the same Psalm.

Printed in *Eob. Hessi opp. famil.*, p. 269; in Schütze, vol. III, p. 169; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 137 (of Aug. 22) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 197 f.

Martin Luther sends his greetings to Hel[ius] Eoban Hesse.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I send my psalm, best Eoban, which I promised, stained with my slobber. For I have also received yours 5) with your exceedingly sweet letter, have also read it with joy and thanksgiving, and read it over again daily. I do not demand, nor do I wish, that you like mine as I like yours, even though it is the same psalm. For I do not want to be compared to a poet in any way, as I neither should nor can. For you are the king 6) of poets and a poet of kings, or, to put it more correctly, a royal poet and a poetical king, you who have written that royal psalm.

3) Already on Aug. 14, Röser sent a copy to Roth in Zwickau.

4) The manuscripts have this correct date, while the editions (except for the Erl. Briefw.) offer Aug. 22.

5) Compare No. 1486.

6) See No. 1532.

poet so beautifully in a language foreign to him. I thank you that you make me happy with such pleasure and comfort. And God would that it were in my power that I could again do something to please you. I have become a lean and unprepossessing (*sordidulus*) theologian from a brilliant and fat sophist. Besides this meager and bad (*sordidam*) theology, I have nothing. This you will accept instead of a gift and service, and in my name greet the queen with the princes (*regulis*) kindly from me. Greet Wenceslaus in my place. At another time I will write to him, now I could not, because the messenger hurried, and I had all night I do not know what kind of pain in a tooth, so that I am also a little sluggish to write. May the Lord rule and keep you all with us to His glory, Amen. From the desert, 1530. ¹⁾

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1668.

(Augsburg.)

August 22, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VI, 1401, no. 1057.

No. 1669 .

(Augsburg.)

(August 23, 1530.)

Spalatin to Luther.

Urgent request for an answer. Spalatin hopes that they will not have to stay in Augsburg much longer, since the Elector has already sent some of their luggage home. In Italy, someone is writing vehemently against the pope. Rumor has it that the pope is under siege in Engelsburg. Melanchthon seems to want to give in too much to the opponents, therefore Luther's quick answer is necessary. From a letter of Erasmus to Melanchthon (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 288). The Confitemini has not yet arrived.

Printed in *Verpoorten, sacra sup. aevi analecta*, Coburg. 1708, p. 65 (erroneously as addressed to Wenc. Link) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 201. - The date results from the report of the Nuremberg envoys to the Council, August 23 (*Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, no. 855, col. 302): "The Elector of Saxony dispatched his troop of chests and others on four wagons yesterday [i.e., Aug. 22]." Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 152, places our letter on August 25.

1) There can be no doubt that this letter was written on the same day as the previous two.

Through your Cyriacus 2) and Martin, the servant (*clientem*) of the Fuggers, perhaps a more. Now we very much desire your answer. We hope that we will not stay here very long, for yesterday several carts were sent ahead with boxes and sacks of coats, perhaps so that we could travel home all the more quickly. God willing that everything, whatever it may concern, be settled in such a way that both the word of God and the common peace of all Germany may remain with us. Today I heard from the mayor of Esslingen 3) that someone has risen in Italy who is writing very sharply against the Roman pope. There is also a rumor that the Roman pope is besieged and locked up in Engelsburg by the Orsinians and Columnesians, which gives us all great pleasure. Philip Melanchthon, tired of the incredible malice and impiety of the adversaries, seems to want to concede them something too much. Only you answer us immediately what we can safely and without injury to the honor of God and His word and our blessedness indulge in, and whether, if they insist, we should ask the legate and the emperor for permission 4). Today Philip has received a letter from Erasmus, given at Freiburg on August 17,⁵⁾ in which he writes immediately at the beginning: "if his letters had any influence, nothing less would happen than that a war would be undertaken. He had not been ordered by anyone in the name of the Emperor 6) to be present at this Imperial Diet. He had written neither to the Emperor nor to Ferdinand in this Imperial Diet, so that he would not of his own free will interfere in such a dangerous trade. It was also not hidden from him that there were certain people at whose discretion this matter was being handled, who did not want him very well. Certainly, Eck placed some of his sentences among the heretical ones, 7) only that instead of 'Erasmus' he says: Instead of 'Erasmus' he says: 'a certain one', which he would never have expected from him". He also uses these words: "However, no private insult will drive me to be the instigator of a war.

2) Cyriacus Kaufmann, Luther's nephew.

3) Holdermann.

4) This refers to the *moderamen Catholicorum* of August 19. See St. Louis, Vol. XVI, No. 1046, Col. 1386.

5) The *Corp. Ref.* sets this letter for August 18.

6) Instead of *ut nomine Caesaris*, we have assumed *nomine Caesaris*, *ut*, in agreement with the letter of Erasmus.

7) in Eck's 404 theses. See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 651, note 5.

should. I have long since demanded to leave Germany, and now necessity is forcing me to do so. Here we hardly have anything to eat or drink. ¹⁾ What would happen in the war?"

All of us greet you with love and reverence. I have not yet been able to see or read your beautiful Confitemini.

No. 1670.

Coburg Fortress.

August 24, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VI, 2317, annex, no. 11.

No. 1671.

Coburg Fortress.

August 24, 1530.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1400, no. 1056.

No. 1672.

(Augsburg.)

August 25, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1451, na. 1070.

No. 1673.

Augsburg.

August 25, 1530.

Martin Bucer to Luther.

Bucer wrote that after reading Oecolampad's dialogue, he had come to the conclusion that there was no real opposition between them and Luther, which he tried to justify. Melanchthon had put Bucer's opinion into articles that he sent him. But he, too, had summarized his opinion in articles, through which Luther would hopefully become more inclined to restore unity, especially since the progress of the Gospel was also being hindered in France by the existing discord. - Luther did not answer this letter.

Printed in *Buceri scripta anglicana etc.. Basileae* 1577, fol., p. 692, with the supplement, also in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 209. Without the supplement in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 149. The supplement alone with very different text and datir: *ferè 25. Jul.* in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 224. German in Neudecker, Urk., p. 156 and in Schirrmacher, p. 351.

1) Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 152, gives this sentence in his regest: "In Augsburg there is a lack of food." He has overlooked that these words belong to the letter of Erasmus, and therefore refer to Freiburg.

To the most distinguished proponent 2) of the pure doctrine, Mr. Martin Luther, his teacher, who is to be revered very highly in the Lord.

The grace of the Lord be upon you, most reverend teacher! Although it has always seemed to me that there is not so great a difference between the opinion of ours about the reality of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper and yours as is commonly believed, after having recently read the Dialogue of Oecolampad 3) in which he sets forth the opinions of the ancients about this matter, I believe I have become certain that there is absolutely no difference among you. For since you do not maintain that Christ is in the bread spatially (*localiter*), and acknowledge that, although Christ is in one place in heaven according to the body (*corporis modo existat*), he can nevertheless be truly present in the Lord's Supper by words and signs, I do not indeed see what is contrary to your opinion, that ours maintain that the bread is a sign and figure of the body of Christ, and that he is in some place in heaven. For they acknowledge that the bread is a sign and figure of the present Christ, not of the absent one, and that through the sacred emblems (*symbolis*) not only the memory of him but also Christ himself is truly made present (*sisti*). I have discussed this with the highly learned man, Mr. Philippus, who has put my opinion into articles,⁴⁾ which he sends to you.

I also send you the articles in which I have understood the same opinion, adding, however, the way in which Christ is perceived as present in the Lord's Supper, namely, with the eyes of the mind (*mentis*). Likewise, that it is primarily the work of Christ himself that he presents his body and blood to us in the Lord's Supper, although he makes use of our ministry for this purpose. For I know that those of us to whom I had to send these articles were not deterred by anything else in your way of speaking.

2) Kolde offers *assertori*, which we have assumed, the Erl. Briefw.: *amatori*.

3) *quid de Eucharistia veteres tum Graeci, tum Latini senserint, Dialogus etc.. Autore Ioanne Oeco lampadio, Anno M.D.XXX.* 14 sheets in 8.

4) The articles written down by Melanchthon, according to Bucer (*ex ipsius ore*), can be found in *Corp. Keim, Schw. Refgesch.*, p. 232, says about them: "Hardly at home from the conversation with Melanchthon, Bucer found that he had spoken too Lutheran and had touched on the doctrine of ubiquity. So he himself now put article" 2c.

They think that it 1) ascribes to the work of the servant and to the signs (*symbolis*) that which is Christ's alone, then also unites Christ's body with the bread either naturally or spatially, which Oecolampad has abundantly testified in his dialogue. In order that this addition may not be offensive to you, I have made use of the words of Cyril and Chrysostom, which make all this understandable. 2) Since you are fighting primarily for the true presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, which we admit, I implore you, for the sake of the glory of Christ, which is too much obscured by this unfortunate discord between us, to allow the holy harmony between us to be restored. We say (and this is the matter at issue) that ours have not contested anything else than that Christ's body is said to be either naturally united with the bread or spatially enclosed in it. You, however, have never asserted this, but have only disapproved that in the Lord's Supper nothing but bread and wine is offered, and that it is denied that Christ's body and blood are truly present through the words and sacraments. Then, in order that the words in which we may agree may have all the greater prestige, let us publicly confess on both sides that our faith and our doctrine of this mystery is and should henceforth be that which the Canon of the Council of Nicaea 3) teaches, and which all the ancients follow.

We have recently received letters from the brethren in France, who write that the Gospel is beginning happily among them, but that this unfortunate discord of ours is so opposed to its progress that if it is not settled, they cannot hope that it will ever happen that France will hear the Gospel publicly. But if they should succeed in dampening it, they have good hope that it will happen in a short time that Christ will appear in public among them. For the king is not averse to the truth, and now that he has brought his children to France, he is not averse to the truth.

of⁴⁾, he will not be very dependent on the pope and the emperor, at least in this matter. Then the extremely Christian heroine, the king's sister,⁵⁾ never lacks her service. Yes, also a great number of the great ones have already joined the truth. In a certain region of Normandy, so many already profess the gospel that the enemies have begun to call it Little Germany. In the meantime, however, since, as it is wont to happen, because we are divided, some follow our opinion of the Lord's Supper, while others follow yours, which in truth is one and the same, even though it has hitherto been presented in different words, many who might otherwise be won over are alienated from the gospel, and a weapon is put into the hands of the enemies with which they can contest the truth that has only recently arisen. They say: "These people are not united among themselves, which does not happen with those whom the spirit of Christ drives.

For this cause, therefore, the brethren who are there waiting for the redemption of Israel have very sacredly exhorted us, by order of the Queen of Navarre, to use diligence and effort, as far as it is possible, so that at last this discord may be subdued, by which they have added a spur to those who were certainly already running of their own free will. It is also hoped that when you have read the articles I am sending, you will also be inclined to do so, especially since you know very well how much our native enemies mock us for this cause and annoy the weak in faith. I seek only the honor of Christ and the edification of the churches, he knows this who is hidden from nothing; I will ask him to give you and ours such a mind that we do not, for the sake of words, since we have the same opinion in the matter, by our disagreement cause the churches to be troubled longer.

May the Lord be with your spirit, you most valiant defender of Christianity. Would that God were here to guide the cause of Christ against the enemies of whom we have learned that they are armed with no other power than that of flesh and blood. Fare well. At Augsburg from the Imperial Diet, Anno 1530, on the 25th day of August.

Your devoted

Martin Bucer.

1) Instead of *eam* in the editions will read *eum*, referring to *modo*.

2) The expression Bucer uses here: *xxxxx faciunt*, is ambiguous, and could also be translated as: "which make all this something that lies only in the imagination". Bucer's fifth thesis would also allow this translation. Melanchthon says about the view of Bucer and his comrades (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 223): *Dicunt, corpus Christi vere adesse, sed contemplatiue fidei, id est, imaginatione*.

3) See the end of the supplement.

4) The two sons who were in Spain as scourges.

5) The Queen of Navarre, Margaret of Alençon.

Enclosure.

Nine sentences on the Holy Communion, presented for evaluation by Martin Bucer in 1530 to several distinguished theologians who disagreed among themselves.

1st sentence. We deny the transubstantiation.

2nd clause. Likewise, we deny that the body of Christ is spatially contained in the bread, as if someone imagined that the body is contained in the bread as wine is contained in a vessel or fire is contained in red-hot iron.

3rd clause. But we claim that the body of Christ is truly present in the Lord's Supper, and that Christ is present in fact (*re ipsa*) with his true body and with his true body.

Blood and feed us, using His words, which the servants recite, and the holy signs, the bread and the wine.

4th clause. For we confess that as through baptism the power of regeneration is administered (*exhiberi*), so through the signs of the Lord's Supper the actual (*ipsum*) body and blood of Christ.

5th sentence. But we say that this is perceived only through simple and unsearchable faith, as St. Cyril says. But we do not shrink from these words of St. Chrysostom: "O tremendous wonder, O great benevolence of God toward us! He who sits above with the Father, is at that hour held by the hands of all, and gives himself to be passed about and touched by those who will," and similar things found in this or others. "But this (as the same here teaches) we understand to say, that this proceedeth with the putting away of all carnal thoughts in heaven (*in coelestibus*), and is seen with the soul only, and with the mind only."

6th proposition. We admit with St. Augustine that Christ is in some place of heaven, because of the nature of a true body, but we nevertheless recognize that he is also truly and actually present in the Lord's Supper, not spatially, but in a way peculiar to this sacrament, which comes about through the words, which are believed, and through the signs, which are seen in faith. For we confess that both are sacraments only when they are in use.

1) Here Bucer, as he says in his letter to the landgrave, has deliberately shredded *vere et re ipsa*, "because perhaps ours would also like to complain about the little words *essentialiter et realiter*, that is essential," and he translates those words: "wahrlich und selbstlich."

7th clause. For the words of the evangelists testify that it is a covenant by which we believe that through the bread and wine presented, the body and blood of Christ are brought to us, are present, and are offered, which was made for this purpose only with those for whom they [the body and blood of Christ] were offered.

Sentence 8. Nevertheless, we also confess that those who are endowed with faith cannot behave in such a way against (*circa*) these holy things in faith, that they nevertheless become guilty of the body and blood, which are not absent but present, which happened to the Corinthians.

9th sentence. For the sacraments of the Christians are signs and testimonies of the present Christ, not of the absent Christ.

That one should speak of this Sacrament in this way, as the attached Canon of the Council of Nicaea prescribes, they [the Swiss] also approved in Marburg and still approve today. The Canon reads: "Again, at the divine table, we are not to fix our thoughts in a lowly way on the bread and the chalice presented, but to contemplate with an elevated mind in faith that on this holy table lies the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world, who is not offered by the priests in the manner of sacrifices, and we who truly take His precious body and blood are to believe that these are the emblems (*symbola*) of our resurrection. For this cause we take not much, but little, that we may know that this is not for satiety, but for holiness (*sanctimoniae*)." All the holy fathers agree with this decree.

No. 1674.

(Feste Coburg.)

August 26, 1530.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1414, no. 1062.

No. 1675.

Coburg Fortress.

August 26, 1530.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1406, no. 1060.

No. 1676.

(Coburg Fortress.)

August 26, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1402, no. 1058.

1559

No. 1677.

Coburg Fortress. August 26, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1405, no. 1059.

No. 1678.

Coburg Fortress. August 26, 1530.

To Johann Brenz in Augsburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 166.

No. 1679.

(Augsburg.) August 26, 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, Vol. X VI, 1452, No.1071.

No. 1680.

(Coburg Fortress.) Towards the end of August 1530.

Concerns about quite a few disputed articles.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1407, no. 1061.

No. 1681.

Coburg Fortress. August 27, 1530.

To Hans von Sternberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1132.

No. 1682.

Coburg Fortress. August 28, 1530.

To Spalatin.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1457, no. 1076.

No. 1683.

Coburg Fortress. August 28, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1455, no. 1075.

No. 1684.

Coburg Fortress. August 28, 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2321, annex, no. 13.

No. 1685.

(Coburg Fortress.) August 28, 1530.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1478, no. 1081.

No.1686.

(Augsburg.) August 29, 1530.

Melanchthon au Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1453, no. 1072.

No. 1687.

Friedwalde. August 29, 1530.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

The landgrave sends the copies of the "indiscriminate means" proposed by the papists and the "Protestants' answer to them" (St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, no. 1046 and no. 1047), complains that Melanchthon's pusillanimity has left too much to the opponents, and asks for Luther's concern. In the postscript, he offers Luther an asylum with him if he should need one.

Printed in Neudecker, Urkunden, ,p. 153 (from the Cassel archive) and in Erl. Philips von GOtts Gnaden Landgraf zu Hessen 2c.

Dear, dear special! We are sending you copies of what has been done and sent to us by our council since our parting in Augsburg in the matter concerning the 1) Holy Gospel, and we believe that Philippi Melanchthoni's pusillanimity is to blame for the fact that things have happened so strangely. They have also committed too much in their submitted articles. For since the opposite does not want to allow the Word of God to be proclaimed in their lands, nor to receive the Sacrament in either form, nor to allow religious and priests to marry in any other way than at a concilium, and tolerate us immediately [as if] we were wrong, and we should accept their commandments in fasting, eating fish and meat, and keeping holidays, and tolerate them as if they were right in their thing, and let them, the bishops, be judges of our preachers, who would no doubt not suffer them long: the gospel would thereby be depressed and the old abuses would be reestablished, which we by no means mean or are willing to accept. Because it is a worthy cause, in which mighty and much

1) In our prelims: "des".

is: We graciously request that you inform us of your advice and good intentions in this matter, and that you know how to judge us accordingly; For we are of the opinion that, although we create peace for our countries and benefit ourselves by approving these articles, 1) where we want to be Christians, the common benefit should take precedence, 2) and the poor communities, which are burdened here and there with the infallible burdens under the popes and bishops, and which daily hope in God's grace and His word, are more to be regarded and considered than special benefits. It would not only cause us evil reproach, but would also give the Gospel trouble, if we were to allow ourselves to be entangled again with such human statutes and commandments by those who do not want to be corrected, because they do not want to accept God's word, from which they are to be corrected, nor allow it to be preached. We would not do this to you in your gracious opinion; do us a special favor and we will recognize it justly. Dat. Friedwalt, Monday after Bartholomew [Aug. 29] Anno 30.

To Martinus Lutherus.

Zedula.

We also desire that you now remain steadfast in these dangers and not retreat when we provide for you, and if you cannot remain in the country, we may suffer you to join us. We would also defend you with God's help as far as our body and goods extend. That we did not want to leave you undisclosed in our gracious opinion. *Dat. ut in literis.*

No. 1688.

(Augsburg.)

1. September 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1484, no. 1084.

No. 16 89.

(Augsburg.)

4. September 1530.

Melanchthon to Luther.

Melanchthon complained that messengers to Luther could not be obtained more frequently from the court. He reports that the conditions demanded by the opponents had not been accepted, and the matter had been returned to the emperor, who had demanded that everything be restored to its previous state.

He offered his assistance in reaching a settlement, however. The Protestants replied that they could not give in any more than had already been given in. The Elector would not decide anything without first having turned to Luther. One must not let the opportunity pass to make an honorable peace 2c.

Manuscript in *Ms. Manlii*, p. 47. Printed in *Mel. app., lib. I*, p. 28; in the London edition of the same, lib. I, sp. 19; in *Coelestin. tom. III*, p. 66; in *Corp. ref.*, vol. II, 340, no. 884 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 243.

Hail! I know that this prolonged silence is very burdensome for you, especially at this time when we should be talking to each other the most. But you may believe me that nothing annoys me more at the court than this negligence, that they do not send messengers to you more often. We cannot get them to send the same. I have sent this letter to Joachim 4). We have not accepted the conditions set by the adversaries, of both forms, of marriage, of the mass. Therefore, the matter has again been referred to the Emperor for consultation. Three days ago, he requested that everything be restored to its former state, but if we believed that we would be adversely affected by his ruling, he promised to help us reach a settlement. Our people reply that they know of nothing that can be given to the opponents except what has already been given. Thus the matter is pending, and yet today we have discussed several conditions of peace; if the adversaries insist on these, the prince will send them to you before he decides anything. Our comrades 5) seem to be completely Swiss-minded (xxxxxxxxxx == helvetisiren), in order to avoid the I think that we should make peace all the more for the sake of peace. The Nuremberg envoys and the Hessians do not give a moderate answer, and the Lüneburgers agree with them. Our people think that we should not lose the opportunity to make peace, if this could be done in an honorable way. For a terrible change of the entire empire and of all things is imminent if the matter should turn into war. Today I have learned from a princely man and friend of the Emperor that the Swiss are making whimsical attempts to disturb the common peace, and that the Turk is preparing a certain and terrifying campaign. Be well. September 4, 1530.

1) Neudecker: "yr".

2) This is the Conjecture of the *Erl. Briefw.* In the original, "vorziehen" should be found. But Neudecker often reads incorrectly.

3) Maybe: "towards"?

4) Camerarius.

5) The landgrave and his followers.

No. 16 90.

Augsburg.

September 6, 1530.

Justus Jonas to Luther.

Of the repeated vain requests of the Elector to the Emperor to give him permission to leave Augsburg; of the festivities on the occasion of the enfeoffment of King Ferdinand and the misfortunes that occurred; of the various fears regarding the outcome of the Imperial Diet.

The original is in Hamburg, Vol I, 108. Printed in Kolde, *Analecta* p. 152; in Kawerau, *Jonasbr.*, Vol. I, p. 175 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 244.

Grace and peace of God in Christ! Two days ago, my dearest father, our Elector was ready to leave here, and everything had already been arranged for the start of the journey, after the Emperor had been asked for his release. ¹⁾ But on the next day, Monday [Sept. 5], King Ferdinand received the Archduchy of Austria as a fief and at the same time the Duchy of Württemberg, and knightly games were arranged, at which the Emperor himself was present, so that you shall know and not doubt that it was an exceedingly great pageant, as great as can ever be arranged only by the kings of this world, and with the fullest and most brilliant equipment in all things, as we shall tell you orally. On the same day, in the evening, the king invited all the princes and the others, the cardinals and princes, to the banquet of Ahasuerus 2). There our prince (for there is easier access to obtain something) again turned to the emperor for his dismissal. The emperor (as he [in German] cannot hold a conversation, which proves to be quite inconvenient with regard to many things) answered the princes through an interpreter that our prince should remain for several days for the sake of his majesty. Today, however, we await the Emperor's answer in the common matter; how it will turn out, we only hear speeches and conjectures from people who do not belong to the most limited, and we ourselves assume something from the earlier actions 2c.

The bishops seem to desire unanimity, and say that we differ in nothing in the articles of faith or in the summa of doctrine, confessing that they also teach in the same way as we do, that justification is through the

Faith in Christ, without merits; and yet, if they have not suddenly become other people, they have never thought or think in their schools and churches for eternity of ever teaching Christ purely, but merits, but works 2c. That is, admittedly, deceiving GOD and sending themselves into time and circumstance (*uti foro*), but who else are they deceiving but themselves? Meanwhile, we leave them to God's judgment and, God willing, continue to teach and confess Christ with heart and mouth. [As an aside, I will finish the Psalm "Blessed is He Who Feels the Lord" (Ps. 128) with God's help (unless the disturbances cease), and, if I can, I will avenge the exceedingly poisonous, sharp and cruel blasphemies against our marriage]. Some, this is the other opinion, also think that they will not put up with anything concerning our Confession, but will only give a respite by granting a certain peaceful truce until a future Concilium, but in such a way that the Emperor condemns the Zwinglians. But I do not know what they meanwhile threaten us so often condemned Lutherans under this truce. The third opinion agrees exceedingly well with them that they will condemn us, which would perhaps be more desirable than a union entered into with danger. We believe that the Cardinal Campegius is armed for Christ's sake and also for your sake, dearest father, with wicked artifices, rather with satanic deceptions and wiles, but the Lord will repay this wicked wisdom and wickedness according to their works, and in the midst of their plots will strike these [ungodly] on the cheeks and shatter their teeth and all their strength [Ps. 3, 8.]. [As an aside, He will oppose them with His unsearchable wisdom, who has so often said to the world (1 Cor. 1:20.), Where is wisdom now with the wise? "and try who is wiser"]. Never has anything been said against the wickedness of the Romanists so sharply, vehemently, and bitterly, that they did not righteously deserve it. If the Lord gives it, they will one day hear from others what they have judged here about both forms, about marriage, about the mass.

At the knights' games of King Ferdinand, as it is wont to happen in such a great tumult, especially when things turn out unfortunate and unhappy for someone, six people were killed in one day: two perished because a gun burst and greeted all the bystanders very well; one of the soldiers was killed by someone who was wearing the shoe of a

1) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1526 ff, no. 1110 and no. 1111.

2) Esther 1, 1-4. "Ahasuerus" is called Emperor. Carl V. because of his many countries and his splendor love.

Another was stabbed by an enraged Spaniard whom he did not want to avoid; the sixth, if I am not mistaken, as a large crowd was crossing a small bridge, was pushed into the water and died. The Margrave of Baden 1) was struck by a horse's hoof and suffered a broken leg from this spectacle. King Ferdinand himself was knocked down three times in this fight and in this chivalrous exercise, the third time, as they say, not without injury, I do not know on which side, but he is said to have bravely fought it out so that the queen, who was a spectator at the time, would not be upset by the bad omen 2c.

Pray for the common cause, my dear Father. Those play, we are meanwhile with the damned and outcast Christ the mockery of the rich, and we mourn. But the Lord will comfort us one day. Farewell in Christ. In haste. Augsburg, Tuesday after Aegidii [Sept. 6] Anno 2c. 30.

Dem J. Jonas.

I ask you for Christ's sake to take care of your health.

[I hope that we will see you shortly. You will have the goodness to greet Veit and to send this enclosed letter to my extremely dear and now especially dear wife.

No. 1591 .

Feste Coburg.

September 8, 1530.

To his housewife.

News of the imminent end of the Imperial Diet and the intransigence of the papists. From his literary works.

From Karrer's *Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche im Fürstenthum Oettingen*, in *Zeitschrift von Rudelbach-Guericke*, 1853, 4th quarter, p. 706; supplement XX a (with many reading errors) ; in *Erlanger Ausgabe*, vol. 56, pp. 181 f. and in *De Wette-Seidemann*, vol. VI, p. 121.

My beloved housewife, Katherin Lutherin zu Wittenberg, for your attention.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Käthe! This messenger passed by in such a hurry that I was not able to write much, but I hope that we will

1) Margrave Ernst already suffered this accident on his way out to the festivities. *Förstemann, Urkundb.*, Vol. II, p. 378.

This messenger brings us letters from Augsburg that the action in our matter has come to an end, and they are now waiting to see what the Emperor will conclude and judge. It is thought that everything will be postponed until a future concilium; for the Bishop of Mainz and Augsburg are still holding firm, and the Count Palatine, Trier and Cologne do not want to go to war. The others would like to rage, and provide that the Emperor will command in earnest. Let it be done what God wills, that only the Diet will come to an end. We have done and offered enough. The papists will not yield a hair's breadth, so that one will come who shall teach them to yield and vacate. I am surprised why Hans Weiß did not accept Psalm 2). I would not have thought that it would be so disgusting, it is nevertheless a delicious copy. Send the same herewith completely, and grant it to Georgen Rau well. If you like the copy of the keys 3) He Johann Pommern and Creutzigern, then let it be printed. It is nothing to celebrate the devil. Whoever told you that I was ill, I am almost surprised, and you see the books that I write before your eyes. I have finished all the prophets, without Ezekiel, in which I am now, and in the Sermon of the Sacrament,⁴⁾ without what else is of writing with letters and other things. I could not write now because of hurry. Greetings to all and everything. I have a big beautiful book full of sugar [for] Hansen Luther, which Cyriacus of Nuremberg brought from the beautiful garden. Herewith God commands and prays. With Polner do it according to the advice of the Pomeranian and Weller. *Ex eremo*, on VIII *Septembris* 1530.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1692 .

Coburg Fortress.

September 8, 1530.

To Hieronymus Weller in Wittenberg.

Luther advised him to accept a job he had received from Dresden.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 93 d; there, *Aug.* 11. 10. fol. 236 b; in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in *Cod. Gothan.* Printed in Welleri

2) Ps. 117 in second edition. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. V, 1132, note.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 902.

4) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2170.

opp., p. 205; in Schelhorn, *Ergötzlichkeiten*, vol. I, p. 624; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 183; in *De Wette*, vol. I V, p. 161; in *Schirmmacher*, p. 268 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 248.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am writing in the greatest haste so that I do not leave you without an answer and make you sad. I would indeed advise you to accept the offer of the Dresden vocation. If now, finally, some danger to your conscience threatens or presses you, then it is easy to leave the position again. For what is not done right there is neither done by your command nor with your approval. Joseph served the idolaters in Egypt, and Jacob among the idols of Laban in Mesopotamia, and Naaman in the temple of Rimmon 1) in Syria [2 Kings 5:18.]. Who knows with what fruit you could fill the Dresden youth in Christ there. Be content with this little, be well, and may the Lord bless and strengthen you, amen. From the desert, September 8, 1530, your Martin Luther.

No. 1693 .

Feste Coburg.

September 8, 1530.

Letter of interpretation and intercession of the saints.

Although this is not actually a letter, but a polemical writing in letter form, we have not been able to avoid elaborating on it here, because Walch has included the first, larger part in the 21st volume of his edition, Col. 309 ff, but assigned the second to the 19th volume. We have now united both parts and placed them where they belong, namely in the 19th volume.

No. 169 4.

(Augsburg.)

(September 8, 1530.)

Melanchthon to Luther.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1513, no. 1102.

No. 1695.

Coburg Fortress.

II September 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VI, 1514, no. 1103.

1) Only Aurifaber (*Cod. Helmst.* 108) has this reading; in all other manuscripts and editions: *Nisroch*.

No. 1696.

Coburg Fortress.

September 11, 1530.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Answer to Letter No. 1687: The concern that the opponents had been granted too much during the settlement negotiations no longer existed, because the negotiations had been broken off. Luther thanks the Landgrave for the offer of an asylum; at first he was frightened because of the Landgrave's departure from Augsburg, now he is happy about it.

The original is in the Kassel government archives. Printed in Neudecker's *Urkunden aus der Reformationzeit*. Kassel. 1836. p. 158; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. XXVII and in *De Wette-Seidemann*, vol. VI, p. 123 f.

To the illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, of Ziegenhain, Dietz and Nidda, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime Highborn Prince, gracious Lord! I have received E. F. G.'s writing 2) together with the copy sent to me, and at E. F. G.'s request I hereby give my opinion to E. F. G.. E. F. G. I hereby give my opinion humbly to E. F. G. that I have now written three times to Augsburg to ask them for it, since they also demanded my advice. They finally wrote me the answer that the action had come to an end, but that these indicated pieces had been proposed, but not accepted by our people and that they wanted to have that part even more. And, since God was in favor of them being accepted by us, the dispute would have begun anew, for I would not have liked to concede so far to the devil that we should praise that part and condemn ourselves. Therefore, let E. F. G. not worry. For my sake (God's will) nothing shall be forgiven me in this matter. So now the matter stands in the Emperor's judgment, that 3) one waits, how I will make up my mind, that this will ever be attributed to E. F. G. as well. But I thank God that He has preserved E. F. G. so steadily, and I pray that He will preserve and strengthen E. F. G. until his day, amen. And I also sincerely thank E. F. G. for his gracious and comforting prayers, that they are so willing to accept me.

2) No. 1687.

3) It should be read "deß" instead of "that".

It scared me first E. F. G. Farewell to Augsburg, but I am immediately glad from the bottom of my heart that E. F. G. got away. I have also sent the message that E. F. G. sent me in the next letter before this one. ¹⁾ The messenger had to hurry and could not come before me, otherwise I would have answered E. F. G. as well. The Father of all grace and mercy keep and preserve E. F. G. in Christ our Lord, 2) Amen. *Ex Eremito*, XI Septembris 1530.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 1697.

(Augsburg.)

September 10 and 11, 1530.

Bergleichsmittel, proposed by Georg Truchsess and D. Behus.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1509, no. 1099.

No. 1698 .

Coburg Fortress.

September 12, 1530.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther sends the manuscript of his writing "Vom Dolmetschen" 2c. so that Link can have it printed.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 95 and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed by *Coelstin*, tom. III, p. 80; in *Buddeus*, p. 203; in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 163 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 257. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1216.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am sending a copy for your Georg Rotmaier, 3) my dear Wenceslaus, which you will give to him when he is here, but if he is absent, you should keep it for him until he comes, and not give it to anyone else. You may, however, publish it under your name as a letter from me, which has been sent to you by a friend and handed over to you. For I would like this to be, as it were, a home.

1) The letter of the landgrave mentioned in Luther's letter to Jonas of August 28 is meant, see St. Louis edition vol. XVI, appendix, no. 13; not, as the *Erl. Ausg.* states, the letter No. 1687.

2) This word is missing in the manuscript, apparently forgotten by Luther in the haste of writing (*Erl. Ausg.*).

3) A bookseller and printer who is already mentioned in Letter No. 1620.

I have written and sent ahead as a prelude, as if I cared for nothing and dealt with other things. I have written more extensively in this matter, whether perhaps some could be received in this hope. Therefore, you can put such a title in front: "Ein Sendbrief D. Mart. Luthers vom Dolmetschen", or as you like.

We are sitting here, as it were, transported into another world, so completely have we not received anything full of Augsburg for a long time; everyone is stubbornly silent, as if they were defeated, imprisoned and dead. You are quite at ease in the Lord. But listen to one more thing: If this copy does not seem worthy to you to be printed, because the subject is too insignificant, then it shall stand and fall according to your judgment. Greetings to your flesh together with its fruits. From the desert, September 12, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1699.

Coburg Fortress.

September 15, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2318, annex, no. 12.

No. 1700.

(Feste Coburg.)

(Sept. 17 or 18, 1530.)

Luther's comments on the remedies proposed by Truchsess and Behus.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1510, no. 1100.

No. 1701.

Feste Coburg.

September 20, 1530.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1525, no. 1109.

No. 1702.

Feste Coburg.

September 20, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther wrote that he had to hear many complaints about his Augsburg friends and tried to reject them, and was also convinced that they forgave nothing of the Gospel; he asked him to write in detail about the last events so that he could shut up the accusers.

Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 186; by Strobel, Miscell. vol. III, p. 86; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 19; by De Wette, vol. IV, D. 168 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 264.

To his extremely dear brother, M. Philipp Melanchthon, the servant of the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! You do not believe, my dear Philip, with how great clouds of speeches and letters, full of complaints about you, especially about you, I have been showered, according to your letters. ¹⁾ I write this unwillingly, since I am so minded that I fear to make you grieved even in a small matter, since you should have nothing but comfort from me in the so great burden of this matter, which I have hitherto faithfully endeavored to carry out in this matter. But now I also have to struggle with ours and their letters. I defend myself like this: First, I say: The Augsburgers write to me differently about these things and not about such things. However, I am firmly of the opinion that I believe you rather than them, and I do not hope that you are hiding something from me when it concerns the matter. Then I am sure in my conviction that you will not admit anything unless the confession remains intact and the gospel is excluded. But what this is, that the gospel and our confession have been delivered, is it necessary that this should be made clear to you? For this is what we have freely pledged ourselves to from of old, that we will suffer and do everything, even toward our enemies, that we can do without violating conscience and the gospel. Therefore I have been calm and have not feared anything for the cause, but have been concerned about violence and deceit on your part. Therefore, for the sake of Christ, I ask you to write to me as soon as you can, perhaps through the Nuremberg mail, about what has been done in the meantime, since your last letters. For

1) Meant are the letters of Melanchthon and Jonas, which are also mentioned in the next number. They are not available. - Luther sent our letter and the following letter to Jonas to Spengler in Nuremberg for further order. But because it had become known in the meantime that the Elector would leave Augsburg on September 23 at the latest and that the farewell to the Reichstag was imminent, Spengler did not send the letters, but sent them back to Luther.

The letters of ours, which cause great concern (*tragicissimae*), force me to think whether some danger for the cause has not occurred in the meantime. Someone rumored something like that the other day at the meal in the presence of the younger prince, 2) but I denied it and said: "They have not written to me, I will wait for the letters; therefore, get to work on it so that I have something to shut them up with. For what I have answered them hitherto by letters and words, they have esteemed little, and have had no power. May the Lord Jesus uphold and guide you in his grace and mercy, amen. From the desert, on Tuesday after Lambert [Sept. 20] 1530. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1 703.

Feste Coburg.

September 20, 1830.

To Justus Jonas.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1479, no. 1082.

No. 1 704.

Feste Coburg.

September 23, 1530.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1522, no. 1107.

No. 1 705.

Feste Coburg.

September 23, 1530.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 2322, annex, no. 14.

No. 1 706.

(Coburg Fortress.)

September 24, 1530.

To his wife.

Luther expresses the hope of returning home soon. Some news from the Imperial Diet.

The original is in the Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg. From it, mutilated, in Lilienthal, Erläut. Preußen, vol. IV, p. 152 f. Ganz, in Faber's collection of letters, p. 90; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 173 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 194.

2) The Churprinz had arrived in Coburg on Sept. 14.

For the attention of Ms. Katherin D. Luthern at Wittenberg.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Käthe! Yesterday I wrote to you and sent along a letter from my most gracious Lord, from which you can hear how our people want to be at Augsburg. Accordingly, I hope, if God has mercy, we will be at home with you in two weeks, although I fear that our cause will not remain undamned. There is no power in it. They badly want to have the monks and nuns back in the monasteries. However, the Rietesel has written here that he hopes that they will leave Augsburg in peace in all respects. God would grant this and it would be a great mercy. So we all need it, because the Turk wants so much for us. You will probably hear about the weather from Hornungen 2). Hereby all of you are commanded by God, amen. Saturday after Matthew [Sept. 24] 1530.

Martinus LuthR.

No. 1 707.

(Feste) Coburg.

September 28, 1530.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1555, no. 1124.

No 1708.

(Coburg.

October 1, 1530.

To Martin Glaser in Hilpoltstein.

Luther admonishes him for exchanging the spiritual office for a secular trade.

The original is in Munich, Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, *Collect. Camerariana*, Vol. VII. Printed in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 175 and in Erl. Briefw., Vol. VIII, p. 273.

To his extremely dear brother Martin Glaser, the faithful and loud servant of the Word in Hilpoltstein.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Do not, my dear Martin, exchange the ministry of the word for a trade; be confident and undaunted and wait on the Lord [Ps. 27:14]. You will see that in a short time there will be a great shortage of ministers of the Word; then there are

1) In the editions: "in", read from "m". (Erl. Briefw.)

2) Wolf Hornung traveled back from Augsburg via Coburg and will probably have delivered this letter.

all trades are already so full and occupied that it would be difficult, especially for a new and unskilled apprentice, to find a livelihood in them. I have diligently ordered your matter to Wenceslaus and the tinsmith 3). Then I have also instructed M. Veit to seek the same orally and personally; if he takes others with him (I hope), he will achieve something. You only be strong; he who has given you life until now will not leave you in the future either, not to mention other innumerable gifts of life, which he continues to pour out on you and all of us in many ways. Fare well in the Lord with your vine and its grapes, amen. From Coburg, the first of October 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1 709.

Coburg Fortress.

October 1, 1530.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1556, no. 1125. - The original is at the fortress of Coburg, which (strangely enough) quite clearly has the year 1539; therefore Burkhardt, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, p. 331, has assigned it to this year. According to the original (which is not exactly reproduced by Burkhardt, but corrected in the Erlanger Briefw.) find the following improvements: St. Louiser Ausgabe, Bd. XVI, 1556, Z. 7 read: mein gnädiger, Herr Herzog Ernst von Lüneburg; Z. 9 read: greift; Z. 11 read: Wasser; Z. 12 read: regnen lassen; Z. 15 read "dass" statt "da", and "spotten" statt "verspotten"; Z. 23 read "Er" statt "Herr". Col. 1557, line 5 read: I ever not.

No. 1710.

Coburg Fortress.

October 2, 1530.

To Hans Honold, citizen in Augsburg.

Luther thanks him for a gift of Confect, writes of his sickness last summer, and complains that God's Word is being suppressed at Augsburg.

The original is at Ulm in the Gymnasialbibliothek. Printed in Veesenmeyer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literatur und Reform*, p. 155; in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 178 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54, p. 196.

To the honorable, prudent Mr. Hans Honold of Augsburg, my favorable good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable and prudent, dear Lord and friend! I am

3) In the next letter. The letter to Link is missing.

For your sake, I delivered the confect in two boxes, which I diligently thanked you for. And is it ever true 1) that this summer I have had to celebrate more than half of the whirring and rustling in my head. From what it has come to me, I cannot know, since I have kept myself almost moderate in all things. I think it was the black 2) angry (zerecht) companion from hell, who does not like me in his kingdom on earth; and perhaps God will help me out soon, amen; with grace, amen. I am sorry that God's word to Augsburg has to be so silent and clear. It is not a very good sign. God help you 3) and all of us, amen. From Coburg, on the other day of October 1530.

Martinus LuthR.

No. 1711.

Feste Coburg, October 3, 1530.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1557, no. 1126.

No. 1712.

Coburg Fortress. October 4, 1530.

To Ludwig Senfel, court musician in Munich.

Luther asks him to send him a polyphonic composition of the antiphon: "Ich liege und schlafe ganz mit Frieden" (Ps. 4, 9.) and praises the value of music.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 103 b; in *Cod. Nede!*; in Zwickau, Rathsschulbibliothek XXXVI; in *Cod. Rostoch*; in *Cod. Dorpat.*, no. 44, koi. 1; in *Cod. Goth.* 185; in *Cod. Goth.* 402; in *Cod. Goth.* 451 and in Berlin, Cordatus-Handschr. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 213; by *Schlegel, vit. Langeri*, p. 140; by *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 180f.; by *Kieffhaber, Sendschreiben D. M. Luthers an L. Senff* 2c. Munich 1817. 8. and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 276. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1218.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although my name is hated, so much so that I am forced to fear that my letter will not be received and read by you with complete certainty, which I am sending, best Ludwig, nevertheless the

1) "ever true" put by us instead of: "in true".

2) In *De Wette* and in the *Erlangen* edition: "der Schmerze".

3) "you" put by us instead of "me" in the issues.

Love for music, with which I see you adorned and gifted by my god, overcame this fear. This love has also given me hope that my letter will not bring you any danger, for who, even in Turkey, would blame him who loves art and praises the artist? I, at least, praise even your Dukes of Bavaria very much, however little they may be inclined to me, and still honor them above others because they so favor and honor music. And there is no doubt that many seeds of good virtues are in such minds that are moved by music; but of those that are not moved by it, I consider them to be quite similar to blocks and stones. For we know that music is also abhorrent and unbearable to evil spirits. And I judge freely, and do not hesitate to assert that, according to theology, there is no art that could be equated with music, since, according to theology, it alone can bring about what otherwise only theology can bring about, namely, a calm and happy mind. A clear proof of this is that the devil, the author of sad worries and frightening restlessness, flees at the voice of music almost as much as he flees at the words of theology. Therefore it happened that the prophets did not use any art like music, because they did not put their theology into geometry, not into arithmetic, not into astronomy, but into music, so that they had theology and music exceedingly closely connected and proclaimed the truth in psalms and songs. But what do I praise music now by trying to paint or rather deface so great a thing on so small a piece of paper? But my inclination towards it, which has often refreshed me and freed me from great troubles, is beyond measure and bursts forth so overflowing.

I come back to you and ask: if you have a copy of this song [Ps. 4, 9], "I lie down and sleep completely with peace", would you have it copied and sent to me. For this melody has delighted me from my youth, and even more now that I understand the words. For I have never seen this antiphon set in multiple voices. I

But I do not want to burden you with the work of composing it, but assume that you have composed it elsewhere. Indeed, I hope that the end of my life is near, and the world hates me and cannot stand me; I, in turn, am disgusted with the world and detest it; therefore, may the best and most faithful shepherd take my soul. Therefore, I have already begun to sing these antiphons and wish to hear them componit. ¹⁾ If you do not have them or do not know them, I send them here with their right notes written, which you can compose, if you want, after my death. May the Lord Jesus be with you forever, Amen. Forgive my boldness and my prolixity. Greetings from only your entire music choir respectfully. From Coburg, October 4, 1530.

Martin Luther.

No 1713.

(Feste Coburg.)

(October 4, 1530.)

To Hans von Sternberg on Callenberg.

Luther recommends to him the case of the pastor Johann Weybringer at Hildburghausen. - Luther gave this small letter to Weybringer when he was with Luther in Coburg to get advice from him in the various difficulties he was having with his preachers and pastors. "This little letter" (as Weybringer calls it) he was supposed to insert into one written by himself to Sternberg. The Erl. Briefw. brings Weybringer's letter, vol. VIII, p. 279, from which the time determination for ours results.

From the Cyprian collection in Gotha in Schütze, vol. I, p. 408; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 412 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 57, everywhere with the erroneous time determination: "without date 1528".

To the attention of Mr. Hans von Sternberg, Knight.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Lord and friend! If it should happen that my dear Lord would order your strictness to handle the visitation, because I have driven this piece hard: I kindly ask you to let the pastor of Helpurghausen handle his! things be commanded. Hereby commanded by God. Amen.

¹⁾ Senfel first sent Luther a motet on the saying: "I will not die, but live" 2c. [Ps. 118,17.] and only later the requested composition.

No. 1714 .

Coburg Fortress. 2)
1530.

October 5,

To Hieronymus Baumgartner in Augsburg.

Luther sends him his letter to Senfel (No. 1712) with the request to forward it.

The original is in Munich (with the inscription by the recipient's hand: 1530. *Augustae 21. Octobris*). Printed in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 176 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 282.

To the extremely dear man, Mr. Hieronymus Baumgärtner, Nuremberg city councilor, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! That I have not answered your letter, best Jerome, has happened partly because there was nothing available that should have been answered, partly because I wanted to postpone it until this day, on which I would leave this desert, so that I, since I would have such an occasion to write, said goodbye to you. But it is this occasion, namely that you would see to it that this letter is handed over to the musician Ludwig Senfel, because he has asked me that, if I wanted to send something to him, I would send it through you, because in this way, he thought, it would reach him reliably and comfortably. Therefore, I also ask you to fulfill and strengthen the good confidence he has in you, and to send the enclosed here to him when the opportunity presents itself. For I

2) From Luther's words at the beginning of this letter: "I wanted to postpone [the answer] until this day, on which I set out from this desert", two things can be inferred with certainty], first, that Luther wrote the letter on the day of his departure, that is October 5; second, that this happened at the fortress Coburg. From this follows that the alleged date at the end of the letter: prima Octobris is wrong, and that Altoburgo must not be dissolved by "Altenburg". It will have been read (which could easily happen) prima from quinta, and Altoburgo is to be taken as an appellative, and must be translated by: "from the high castle". The attempt of Köstlin, M. Luther (3.), vol. II, p. 659 ad p. 250: "Luther may have really sent this letter from Altenburg, because he did not find the opportunity to do so in Coburg on the day of his departure", is invalidated by the fact that: Ex Altoburgo is written in the letter itself, which Luther dispatched ex hac eremo. Furthermore it is to be noted that Luther "Altenburg" never by Altobur

gum has given. Only once can be found Aldenburgi (Erl. Briefw., VI, p. 68), also only once Aldenburgii (Erl. Briefw., VIII, p. 54); otherwise always Aldenburga (Erl. Briefw., VI, pp. II. 28. 56. 57. 62. 88" 247.; VII, p. 148).

would not like to burden the very good man with the hatred of my name or with danger, as long as he lives under these circumstances. I hear that you are becoming a "great" arborist, and hasten to the verse of Moses [Deut. 32:15.], "He became fat and thick and strong." But the Lord bless thee, that thou mayest grow much fatter, fatter, and stronger in spirit, where it follows not: "and he forsook the God who made him," but it follows, "and he clung to God his Lord with all his heart. So I chat with you, because there was nothing else that I could write. For what is happening in the whole world, you will know first and most certainly. The papists are pressing their doom, 1) and already Pharaoh is pale and hardened, and the exodus is imminent for Israel. What is left for him but the Red Sea? The Lord will deliver us, as we believe and pray. Greet from me your rib and your children. I greet you in the name of my mistress, your former flame; 2) I will also tell her this when I have returned. So I also tease her with you from time to time. Christ be with you, amen. From the high castle, on the fifth 3) October 1530. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1 715.

Wittenberg.

October 16, 1530.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Luther thanks the landgrave for his admonition that he should stand firm and not give way to the papists. He indicates that "ours" are of the same mind and that he wants to do everything to keep it that way.

The original is in the archive at Marburg. Printed in Hassenkamp, *Hessische Reformationgesch.*, vol. I, p. 297; in De Wette - Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 125 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 284.

Grace and peace from Christ. Sublime, Highborn Prince, Gracious Sir I have gladly and cheerfully received E. F. G.'s writing and the Christian exhortation therein, I also thank E. F. G. for such faithful and diligent exhortations, and will, if God wills, after I see that the widow's remedy, ver

1) *fatum. Virg. Aen. lib. VIII, v. 334.*

2) Compare Luther's letter to Baumgärtner of Oct. 12, 1524, No. 769.

3) See the first note to these" letters.

I find the others (praise God!) still so minded that they are not inclined to yield much, even though I have not yet dealt with them in all respects. I also find our people (praise God!) still so minded that they are not inclined to yield much, even though I have not yet dealt with them in all matters. But I will do what I can to help them, because I hope that God will help them out completely, as He has begun. May E. F. G. keep them strong and pure in His grace, amen. At Wittenberg, Saturday after Calixti [Oct. 15] 1530.

E. F. G.

willing

Martinus Luther.

No. 1 716.

Wittenberg.

October 18, 1530.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

Luther wrote that the same complaints that Cordatus had voiced against him, namely that the gospel was despised and preachers were starved, reached him from all over the Duchy of Saxony. He advises him either to persevere or to resign from his office in Zwickau.

Printed in Strobel, *Miscell.* vol. III, p. 88; i Lei Strobel-Ranner, p. 184; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 182 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 285.

Grace and peace in Christ! I neither know nor have anything, my dear Cordatus, that could answer your letter, so much do such complaints overwhelm me in the whole duchy of our prince. It is a kind of secret and exceedingly harmful persecution that our preaching ministry is thus despised, hated and attacked, then also exterminated by hunger. Of course, this is the fate of the word, that when it comes into his possession, his own do not receive it [John 1:11]. The neighboring Gentiles could not suppress the worship in Jerusalem, but they themselves suppressed it. Christ Himself would never have been crucified if He had remained outside Jerusalem. "It does not do for a prophet to perish outside Jerusalem" [Luc. 13, 33.], and: "A prophet is nowhere less valid than in his own country." So it is also happening now with ours. From the outside, the enemies would not achieve anything with their raging, therefore, from

Inwardly among our people, while there is peace, the word will be destroyed by contempt, hatred and hunger. Therefore, the punishment of this wickedness will soon follow, and more will follow, namely famine, which has already begun, and pestilence, perhaps even the sword, if they continue in this way. "If God is pleased to be merciful to the German land, we will not let it happen." Therefore I ask you, my dear Cordatus, either to persevere, comforted by these examples of Christ and His, or to recite the service to these hard Zwickauers of yours. For I see neither hope nor any way in which they can be changed. If we approach the prince with petitions, and he also honestly issues commandments, yet no one carries them out. I speak this as one who has experienced it, and to whom it grieves. It will soon happen that these great ones will empty the duchy of servants of the word, whom they will drive away by hunger alone, to say nothing of insults. More at another time, for I am weak and ill in body. Give my best regards to Nicolaus, your bishop, and be well in Christ, amen. From Wittenberg, on the day of Lucas [Oct. 18] 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1 717.

21, October 1630.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Luther.

The landgrave asks Luther to send out a letter to all believers admonishing them not to follow the Diet's decision at Augsburg, and he justifies that the emperor does not have the right to punish for the sake of the gospel, nor to command that the devil's doctrine be taught again.

The original concept is in the archive at Marburg. Printed by Romme, Philipp the Great, Urkundenb., p. 42 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 286.

Dear Doctor Martinus! My request is still, you want to do an admonition to all believers for the sake of this Diet,¹⁾ and if you do not have a sufficient report, write to me and I will send you all the actions that have taken place. It

¹⁾ Luther replied on October 28, 1530, "that without that he would be disposed to issue a little book to comfort the weak," and fulfilled this promise by the "Warning to his dear Germans," St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1616.

It is necessary to comfort and admonish the weak in faith.

I also cannot leave it undisclosed to you, as I have a particularly good opinion of him, that there are some who think that if the emperor and his followers want to punish us, who are in authority, for the sake of the gospel, and if his majesty wants to reestablish the doctrine of the devil, we should allow it and have no power to oppose it.

Now I can remember that you presented the Elector [at] the time when the pack was dealing with the bishops, a counsel 2) in which you indicate that one should not attack, but if one wants to attack us, one would have to defend oneself, and does not know otherwise. You write further: 3) The Elector has to defend himself, if the Emperor wants to attack him, because his love would be a noble member 2c., with further appendix. Hereupon is my desire, you want to show me your opinion in this case. But I cannot refrain from reminding you, as one who has much business, of some of the causes of this case, so that you may consider it all the more carefully.

First, the case is not described in the New Testament, nor, to the best of my knowledge, did it exist in the time of the apostles, namely, that a superior who had hereditary possession of a country accepted the faith and was subsequently persecuted by a greater superior.

On the other hand, it is much different with the German princes than with those of old, who were bad governors and not hereditary lords. The French princes did not have such freedom, nor did they have such a tradition as we Germans.

And that this is true, no emperor has ever had the power to see or take away a subject of a prince by force, otherwise the subject may have suffered such a prince's right, and whether he has already acted against the emperor's own person, body and people. Majesty's own person, body and people. Because to prove this with many examples, it is also fair, in my opinion, that our preachers may suffer justice, that we protect and handle them with justice.

It is also obviously true that no emperor has ever had the power in German lands to demand one florin from some prince by force, and even if he had already demanded it, it would not have been given in that form. But if an emperor

2) Das Bedenken, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 987, No. 834.

3) The following words are not found in the concern just cited.

If a person obtains something with the consent of the commonwealth, he is obliged to give it.

Thirdly, it is true that the emperor has pledged and sworn to us just as we to him, and we are not sworn to him alone, but to him and to the empire at the same time. If then the emperor does not keep us, he has made himself a common person ¹⁾ and can no longer be regarded as a true emperor, but as a peacebreaker, first of all because he is not a hereditary emperor, but an elected emperor.

Fourth, the emperor has said at all imperial congresses and written from Hispania that he does not consider himself a judge in these two-split matters, but that it is due to a *Cœncilio* to discuss and settle such matters. Since he, the emperor, now confesses this himself and once threw away such a judge's office (if he had already had the right, as he was not to judge at home, but only over body and goods, but also with a measure), how can such a thing be allowed to him now? first of all, because he acts so partial that he is plaintiff, judge and answerer, and again neither wants to see, hear nor accept our answer, which is too much according to pagan laws.

I will not indicate this time how the election with this emperor and [the] future king has proceeded and [will proceed]. ²⁾

Fifth, if it be said that the emperor had no power, but that because the emperor and the estates unanimously compared themselves with him, we had all the less power to defend ourselves, I say to this: First of all, it is not true that all the estates have compared themselves to him, the emperor. For I know of some of them, who had to do it for the fear of the Jews, ³⁾ as one speaks, namely Margrave Philip and Ernst of Baden, Duke Erich of Brunswick, the Bishop of Augsburg, Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, Count of Veldenz;⁴⁾ there are Protestants among them. Now there are still many who do not want to have such an extermination of the truth, as namely Mainz, Palatinate, Trier, Saxony, Margrave Jörg of Brandenburg, Heinrich Duke of Mecklenburg, Duke of Holstein, Philipps, Ernst, Otto, Franciscus, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Landgrave of Hesse, Anhalt, Duke in Prussia, Jülich; and then cities: Strasbourg, Lübeck, Frankfurt, Memmingen, Schwäbisch

1) This is: private person.

2) Compare the documents on the election of Ferdinand as Roman king, St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1773 ff, no. 1188 to no. 1193.

3) That is, out of fear of man. Cf. Joh. 13, 38.

4) Duke Ludwig of Palatinate-Zweibrücken, to whom Veldenz belonged.

Hall, Nuremberg, Hamburg, Lindau, Kempten, Reutlingen, Ulm, Magdeburg, Constanz, Heilbronn and others.

From the above princes and cities (not to mention some many counts) it is clear that the noble princes and estates did not consent to such a thing; therefore, the claim that the emperor decided unanimously with the common estates cannot stand either *2c*. Even if there were more of the other estates, they are still the least, and come into this matter through finances *5)* and for their own benefit. And therefore they should be rejected, the bishops, who are so bloodthirsty, because they themselves are the ones who are most hostile to this evangelical cause for the sake of their avarice. The angry princes are also rightly rejected, who for the sake of their hatred, which they have for some persons, because their vices have been pointed out to them,⁶⁾ have such a thing as the gospel, *7)* which they find so clear that they themselves do not oppose it with truth, and yet persecute and hasten it to the utmost. If then such fierce and selfish people are put aside, and their voices are not valid, as it should be in truth, then the emperor stands alone.

This I want to have indicated to you therefore after my simplicity, which after your reason, since you are highly gifted by God, to think further, *8)* and ask your advice and concern. Date Friday after Galli [Oct. 21], Anno Dom. 30.

God did not abandon His own in the Old Testament, nor did He let a country perish that trusted in Him.

Likewise, he also helped the Bohemians, and yet we must all confess that the Bohemians are under the emperor, and that a king of Bohemia (Beheim) is one of the noblest princes. They still refused against the emperor and the empire, and God gave them victory and overcoming. So I also hope in God, if we only trust in Him undauntedly.

God has also helped several emperors and others who have acted with violence against their subjects without justice. Example: See how a small number of Swiss have beaten the lords of Austria and several emperors; although this example does not apply to this matter. *Date ut supra*.

Philips L. z. Hesse.

5) Finances - intrigues.

6) For example, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg.

7) Inserted by us.

8) Here, to make sense, we have deleted "have". We have split the preceding "therefore" into two words.

No. 1 718.

(Strasbourg.)

October 21, 1530.

Nicolaus Gerbet to Luther.

(Regest.)

Gerbet reports that Luther's steadfastness and the feeling of isolation have softened his opponents in Strasbourg and made them wish for a union with him. He hopes that this will come true and that they mean it sincerely. At the same time, he asks for information about the negotiations between Luther and Bucer, the contents of which are being concealed from him.

Handwritten in Strasbourg in *The*s. Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 155 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 290.

No. 1 719.

Torgau.

October 26, 1530.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

About a marriage affair and the annoyances of the Zwickau clergy with their congregation.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbr., No. 66. Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 38b; in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 4 (of 12 Feb.); there again fol. 461 (with your wrong date: 29 July 1545); there again fol. 461 (with your wrong date: 29 July 1545).

Il. 10, fol. 233b; *ibid.* Aug. 20. 2, fol. 149; in *Cod. Rostoch.* and in Gotha, *Cod.* 402 (with the year 1520). Printed in the *Collectanea LL. communium Lutheri, Francof.* 1566, fol. 12b; in *Buddeus*, p. 216 (without date, with wrong address); in *Ericeus, Sylvula*, p. 13b; in Schütze, vol. I, p. 358 (datirt 29 July 1545); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 183; in Schirmacher, p. 27 (datirt: 12 January) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 293.

To Nicolaus Hausmann, Bishop of Zwickau, his superior and brother in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Dearest householder, I read your letter about Petzold's marriage case and promised that I would write to you about this matter, which I do, and which you can tell him. First of all, since he is in such a place where the authorities either cannot force his wife to him or do not want to do so, or at least expel her, but the clergy defend her (as he tells), it cannot happen that he marries another in the same place, nor will they suffer this, therefore he would undertake this in vain. Therefore one of these two things must be done, that he either changes the place and 1) marries another one.

1) Here we have assumed *et* with Aurifaber. In the original *vel* should be found. The latter is in any case erroneous.

I do not see either of these two things as being in the middle. I do not see either of these two things as being in the middle. Among these two things I see no middle one. That is my opinion.

May you greet the prince's preacher 2) many times in my name and tell him that he does not in any way undertake to administer the sacrament secretly, since he is not called as a servant to this work, so that no occasion is given to the adversaries, or (as Paul says [Col. 4, 5.]) to those who are outside, a cause for blasphemy. Meanwhile, they may suffer what they suffer on both sides. GOD will finally put an end to these things as well. Cordatus wrote to me, and I answered. Through such cases, my thoughts certainly come to the point that I would almost like to wish a day of rest (*sabbatum*) for your spandrels, that is, that they would have to be completely deprived of the service of the Word for a time, and of both a pastor and a preacher, whether these sated and unruly sows might perhaps be cured by hunger and lack of the Word, which become so insolent through satiety and abundance. May you therefore also go away! If I can, I will take the cordatus away. If I am asked for it, I will see to it that they have none. For they think that the world is full of idle servants of the word, that they can easily get such as they want. But more at another time. Greetings to your brother and all our brothers in Christ. From Torgau, 3) Wednesday after the eleven thousand virgins [Oct. 26].

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1720.

Torgau.

28 October 1530.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Luther informs him that he would have intended to write about the Augsburg Treaty even without the Landgrave's request; he has already expressed his concern to the Elector about the question of resistance, and he hopes that it will pass off without bloodshed 2c.

2) The castle preacher in Zwickau was Lorenz Soranus.

3) Luther was in Torgau because of the negotiations about the counter-defense, which took place there between the theologians and jurists.

The original is in the archive at Marburg. Printed in F. W. Hafsenscamp, Hessische Kirchengeschichte, vol. I, p. 294 (with the wrong date: Oct. 25); in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 126 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII,

p. 294f.

Grace and peace, from Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have received E. F. G.'s writing and several instructions 1) in the present matters. And first of all, that E. F. G. desires to issue a booklet for the consolation of the weak, I will not refrain E. F. G. from issuing a booklet shortly, 2) in which I want to touch the farewell and clumsy behavior of the princes, with admonition of every (j)der's conscience that no subject is guilty where Imperial Majesty would insist on it. Maj. would insist on obeying, but will (as much as my pen can) deter from such obedience, that no one should engage in such blasphemous, murderous and diabolical plots, God grant that I create much fruit with it, amen. Nevertheless, it shall be kept safe, so that it may not be reproached seditiously.

On the other hand, I hope that God will find a means that no bloodshed will occur for the sake of these things. Thus I have also (if it ever comes to that, since God is for it!) indicated to my most gracious lord, the Elector, my opinion as to what should be done about the counter-revolution, which will undoubtedly be hidden from E. F. G., because I see and realize that one will have a common counsel about it, and it is dangerous for me, as a spiritual person, to present such in writing, for many reasons.

And please, let E. F. G. not be alienated that we offered ourselves several times in some pieces, than to accept with fasting, celebrations, food and songs, because we know that they can not accept it with such measure, and serves us that we raise our glimpses the higher, and I may drive their glimpses in my booklet the more violent. So it is not a mistake for us, where it would already be accepted in such a way. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. From Torgau, on the day of Simonis and Judä [Oct. 28] 1530.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus

Luther.

1) The objection raised by the Hessian theologians. 2) See No. 1717.

3) "none" is our conjecture instead of: "one".

No. 1721.

End of October 1530.

(Torgau.)

Luther's, Jonas's, and Melanchthon's concerns of the opposition.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 562.-Without time determination. In the old editions and in De Wette-Seidemann with the year 1539. We have followed the Erlangen correspondence.

No. 1722.

October 31, 1530.

Wittenberg.

To Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther jokingly reproaches him for his continued silence.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 194; in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 184 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 300.

Grace and peace in Christ! That you quarrel with me about my silence, my best Amsdorf, you are doing nothing else than giving me cause to quarrel with you with the greatest justification about your so persistent and constant silence. For since you knew that I was in solitude, you not only did not take pity on me by comforting me with your letters, but also added pain upon pain by distressing me with your constant silence. And now you are already increasing your sin again by accusing and scolding me on top of it because of a guilt that is not mine but yours. You have forced me to assume that you might have become Archbishop of Magdeburg in the meantime, Primate of Germany, that you so easily forget me, who am so poor, and peel me so arrogantly. How else can I assume that this is because you reproach me for calling the bishop of Mainz "Most Reverend Father",⁴⁾ than because you think that this title is perhaps taken away from you, although I have used this word not differently than according to the usage of the courts, according to which those are called gracious (*gratiosi*) lords who are even *furious* (*furiosi*) devils. But with one thing you have made me happy, that you have published the booklets that have come out this summer.

4) In letter No. 1612.

are given. I could not publish several because of my health, and also on the published ones I could not work more [than I did], almost half the time or more, since I was in solitude,¹⁾ so that I wrote everything I wrote there, as it were, as a thief (*furtim*) and against the will of the illness. With the same sluggishness the printers go ahead, because they still have two little books under the press, 2) which have long since been written. Another thing, when you come to greet us, which I hope you will finally do, so that we may refresh ourselves by an exceedingly sweet conversation before we are separated. For I feel that I am getting very old or at least am losing strength. Satan's angel has made me very weary. May the Lord be with you in grace and steadfastness, amen. Wittenberg, the last day of October 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1723.

Wittenberg.

November 1, 1530.

To the City Council of Herzberg.

Luther had interceded for a woman to whom he had received an unfavorable response, so he repeats his request in this letter.

The original is at Eisleben in Luther's house. Printed in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 185 f.; in Aenger, Merkwürdigkeiten, p. 49 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54, p. 199. - Under the address is the note by a later hand: "Fürbiet kurzen elen halben. Koffirt."

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of Herzberg, my favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace. Honorable, wise, dear lords! I have received your answer to my

1) This passage has been a *crux interpretum*. De Wette remarks: "Something seems to be missing here." Förstemann, in the Hall. Allg. Literaturzeitung, 1829, Sp. 14, translates thus: "My sickness did not allow me to publish several (sc. books), after all, I could hardly spend half or a little more of the time spent in the wasteland (sc. at Koburg) on the ones I did publish!" This translation seems to us to be mistaken. The addition we made in square brackets is justified by the fact that the *infinitivus perfecti* (*laborasse*), and not the *inf. praesentis* (*laborare*) is used.

2) The "Admonition to the Sacrament," St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2170, and the "Interpretation of the 111th Psalm," *ibid.* vol.V, 1056.

I have received the Scriptures, and I feel so much sorrow that I deserve half my wrath, yet my opinion has not been different, except to help settle and put things to rest. What else should I seek in other people's affairs, and what business would it be of mine to create unhappiness for myself or others in another's affairs? Therefore, my friendly request is once again, do not regard my writing as your letter suggests. If I cannot create good things, I would not like to create painful things. And because you might otherwise judge me according to your writing, I ask you once again to drop the matter and, if it pleases you, send the cubits to me, considering that you are not helped by it, where you inflict such a disgrace on the women, because it is in your free power to let up, and perhaps afterwards you would regret and bite in your conscience, since you would not be able to help it nor to improve it, and it would be seen as if you had no regard for intercession, but as if you had straightway atoned for vengeance according to a conceived displeasure, and for such a small matter had caused so much unpleasantness, and had saddened many hearts without such need, just as if you had not had to daily let go and tolerate many more and greater cases than the beams against this splinter. Please give us your correct answer. At Wittenberg, on Tuesday after Simon and Jude [Nov. 1] 1530,

Martin Luther.

No. 1724.

Nuremberg.

November 1, 1530.

Stephan Agricola to Luther.

(Regest.)

Agricola and Frosch had been in exile for months and did not know where they could finally find a home with their wives and children. For the time being, they were living in Nuremberg in the St. Aegidien monastery, still receiving a salary from the Augsburgs, but were uncertain whether they would be called back there. The council there is said to have declared that it does not consent to the Emperor's decrees insofar as they concern the faith, but God alone knows whether this was done out of fear of the common people or out of love for the word. The Sacramentarians there boast that Luther has given way to them; the papists cry from all pulpits that they (Agricola and Frosch) have seduced Augsburg and infected it [with heretical doctrine]. Now he asks that, if they cannot return to Augsburg, an appointment be worked out for them with the Elector, for which the Chancellor Brück has also made a prospect. Luther may intercede for them with the prince.

The original is in Hamburg, Ms. Vol. I, fol. 300. .handwritten in
Dresden, Cod. C 342, fol. 12^b. Printed in Kolde, p. 149
and in Erl. Briefw.,
Vol. VIII, p. 302.

No. 1725.

Lübeck. (Beginning of November)
1530.

Johann Bugenhagen to Luther, Jonas, Melanchthon

2c.

(Regest.)

Bugenhagen reports that he arrived in Lübeck on October 28, and that soon after his arrival the devil began to rage against him through a possessed virgin into whom the devil had entered. She had cursed and blasphemed horribly in her fits, but knew nothing more about it when she came to herself again.

Printed in "Zwo wunderbarlich Hysterien, zu bestetigung der lere des Evangelii. Johann Pomer. Philipp Melanchthon." Without place and year. Quarto; in Vogt, Bugenhagens Briefwechsel, p. 101 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 304.

No. 1 726.

Schwäbisch-Hall. November 4, 1530.

Johann Brenz to Luther.

Brenz reports that he has received his (Brenz's) interpretation of the prophet Amos, but rejects the praise given to him by Luther in the preface (St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 166) as undeserved. By not accepting the means of comparison granted by the evangelicals, the adversaries at the Diet of Augsburg revealed themselves as people like Pharaoh and as antichrists.

The original is in Hamburg, Vol. I, fol. 105. Manuscript in Dresden, Cod. C 342, fol. 1 (dated October 4). Printed in the Fortgesetzten Sammlung der Unsich. Nachr., 1743, p. 643 (dated: Oct. 4; also in the regest in Burkhardt, p. 185) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 308.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Martin Luther, his father, always to be revered in Christ.

Hail in Christ! I have received my Amos, most reverend Father, but what you ascribe to me in the preface I neither accept nor acknowledge. I would gladly allow and sincerely wish that the spirit of Christ dwells in me, the most unworthy shepherd, but that you ascribe to my impassivity I don't know what kind of arts and loveliness (*nitorem*) in speech, - when I read this, I become completely ashamed, since I know very well that I have never received such gifts,

not even in a dream. But you show yourself

so much the more admirable in that thou art exceedingly humble in lowering thyself under my and my like's immodesty, and in truth fulfillst Christ's word [Luc. 22:26.], "He that is greatest shall be least."

By the way, I believe that you now know exactly how things stand (*rationem*) with the Diet of Augsburg, and perhaps you laugh that in so long a time nothing has been accomplished through so many attempts, through so much action. But I have this opinion about it, that there has never been any imperial diet in which more was done and accomplished by much action than in this one by accomplishing nothing. You ask: What are these accomplished things? I will tell you in a few words. Our adversaries have been declared and made manifest as true Pharaohs and Antichrists in this Kingdom Day. For before it was still hoped that there was a heart of flesh in the adversaries, it was hoped that they would repent of some kind; but now, although everything has been tried, all means of comparison have been conceded, that we have often suffered the worst calumny from our own even for this cause, and yet the adversaries neither acknowledge this nor repent, but on the contrary condemn and rage: do they not declare by obvious evidence that they are Pharaohs and antichrists? If there were even a trace of godliness in the whole papist body, it would certainly have broken out through these means by which those people have been tempted.

In addition, they often freely confessed at earlier imperial congresses that there were many errors and abuses in their church, but now they do not even admit this. The emperor's presence makes them such pure and holy people. For so they write in the article about holding a council: "Because there may be some errors in the church, therefore we want to hold a council" 2c. ¹⁾ Do you hear? They no longer say, as at the earlier imperial congresses: There are errors in our church, but: "There may perhaps be [errors]." O about the impudence! Therefore, not only from the Holy Scriptures, but also according to obvious evidence from experience, it is now proclaimed with certainty and preached publicly that the Papists are, first, Pharaohs who neither enter the Promised Land themselves, nor let even the people of God enter. Secondly, that

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1534, § 7, no. 1113.

they are antichrists who forbid the doctrine of godliness and command godlessness. And this was accomplished and revealed at the Diet of Augsburg, of which you will certainly not say that it is "nothing". For he whom the Holy Scriptures describe as the Antichrist in so many words, in so many sentences, in so many chapters, in so many books, the Diet of Augsburg revealed him in not very many days. But the Lord will bring this child of destruction to ruin, but will deliver us in Christ Jesus, amen. Fare well in the Lord, and I most earnestly commend myself to the prayers of your love. From Schwäbisch-Hall, on November 4, Anno 30,

yours, Joh.

No. 1 727.

Wittenberg.

November 7, 1530.

To Johann Apel in Königsberg.

Luther wished him luck on his arrival in Königsberg and on taking up his office. Peter Weller, who was present there, would report to him about the events at the Reichstag. About Luther's state of health.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 107 k and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 199; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 189 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 310.

To the highly famous man, Mr. Johann Apel, Chancellor of Prussia, Doctor of Laws, his very good friend and superior.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I wish you happiness, dear man, on your safe arrival in Prussia, but even more that it is granted to you to live there adequately, even honorably. For this is how Peter Weller wrote to me when I was still in Coburg. May the Lord finally comfort you and make you a Manasseh, that is, a man who forgets all former trials and troubles, amen. There is nothing I can write about the Diet and the state of our affairs; the eye and ear witness of all things, Peter Weller, is himself present with you. ¹⁾ The bishops and the monks are working fatally on their undoing, in that the duke, who is the

2) who is completely possessed by devils, is their advisor. All of our people are still bravely ready to suffer the utmost for the Word. God preserve and protect them, amen. I am reasonably healthy according to your body, except that this summer I have suffered from a new kind of effervescence in my head and have been much prevented from writing, and even now I am not yet free of it. Thus Satan beats me with fists and intends to make a corpse out of my body. Christ Jesus keep me. Greetings to the Lord Poliander 3) and to all our people. May the Lord Jesus be with you. Wittenberg, November 7, 1530,
Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1 728.

Wittenberg.

November 7, 1530.

To Johann Brismann in Riga.

Luther shortly informs him about the success of the Diet and some news, namely that there is hope to establish an agreement with the "Strasbourgers".

The original is at Königsberg in the Wallenrodt Library. Printed by Vogler, No. 8; in Erläut. Preußen, vol. III, p. 204k (incomplete and without date); in *Act. Boruss.* vol. I, p. 806; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 126; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 190; in Ripke, *Einführung der Reformation in den baltischen Provinzen*. 1883, p. 63, Bäll. VI (incomplete) and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VIII, p. 311.

To his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord, Johann Brismann, the faithful and very loud servant of Christ in Liefland.

Grace and peace in the Lord! For a long series of years, neither you nor I have seen a letter from you, my dear Brismann; but since this Peter Weller, my housemate, had set out on his way there, it was only right that I should write to you at last. I hope that, through the power of Christ, the cause of the Gospel is well with you, for I have not heard anything before, although, if something evil were present, the rumor would have carried it to us long ago, even if you had not written anything. God be with you always, amen.

¹⁾ Peter Weller, the bearer of this letter, had been in Augsburg himself. Cf. no. 1631.

²⁾ Duke George.
³⁾ Graumann.

With us is the rumor and suspicion of evil things. For If what he says is not deceptive (for I have admonished what you may wish to know, the emperor and the bishops him not to pretend falsely), there is not little hope. One together with the other princes will condemn our princes must pray against the devil. The Lord be with you, Amen. by a public edict, by which they will arouse unrest, which Wittenberg, November 7, 1530, Yours, Martin God may avert. For after the confession of ours had been Luther.

heard, it was at first the common voice and opinion of all that we certainly do not teach anything against any article of faith nor against the Scriptures, but with us the conciliarities and the statutes of the fathers would not be kept. In this matter, a long effort was made to establish harmony; when this could not be achieved on both sides, namely, because they absolutely did not want to give way in any matter, nor could we approve of everything, then ours were ordered to bring everything back to the old state, nor were we allowed to change anything without the authority of the pope. Thus, our people left without having achieved anything, expecting cruel and terrifying threats, so that the danger of a great uprising will arise if God has not provided otherwise. This is the summa of the Diet. However, there are some good people on the opposing side who are favorable to us, especially the Bishop of Augsburg. Our people, however, are still strong by God's grace, and expect these threats and do not fear them, namely, by trusting in their good conscience and their good cause. Christ will stand by and deal with these raging ones in due measure, who have the Turks sitting on their necks and before their faces, and yet still seek wars and disunity among themselves. Summa, the whole devil is raging in the worst way; therefore pray for us. Weller will tell all the rest, for who could write the details of all things?

Greetings to all of us, and also to your wife and children. My house is quite healthy, except that I am losing strength, especially in my head. Pommer has traveled to Lübeck and teaches the Word. There is hope that the Sacramentarians, at least those in Strasbourg, will get along with us again. For Bucer has been sent to meet with me in confidential conversation at Coburg.

No. 1 729.

Wittenberg.

November 7, 1530.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther shares some news with him.

Handwritten in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 231 (incomplete); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 191 (incomplete); in Schirrmacher, p. 379 and in Erl. Briefw.- Bd. VIII, p. 313.

Grace and peace in Christ! By Ciring one more thing, my dear Amsdorf, now the lack of time does not allow more than that I inform you that I will shortly write to you as well as to our Otto 1) whose petition I will send back. For that raging peasant 2) has been irrevocably handed over to Satan for destruction. Now there is no news, except what I believe you know, that Florence has surrendered to the Emperor and has been handed over by the Emperor to the Pabst, and they will install a new duke there, namely Alexander, the son of the Pabst, who will marry the illegitimate daughter of the Emperor 3). And the bridegroom has already been received in Augsburg with great pomp. What do you think, won't the pope now give the priests a public example to take a wife, or rather to fornicate? But enough of this for another time. Now farewell, and in the meantime greetings

1) Otto von Pack.

2) Duke George.

3) Margaretha, created by Charles V with Johanna von der Ghaenst, born in 1522, was promised as wife to his natural son, Alexander de Medici, at the meeting of the emperor with the pope at Bologna, but the marriage was not consummated until 1536. On Jan. 7, 1537, Alexander was murdered by his cousin Lorenzo. In 1538 Margaret was married to the thirteen-year-old grandson of Pope Paul III, Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma. In 1559 she became governor of the Netherlands; she was succeeded by Duke Alba, after which she returned to her husband, returned and died in 1586 at Ortonna in Italy.

all yours, especially the banished Mr. Otto. God comfort him, amen. On Monday after Leonhard [Nov. 7], Wittenberg 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1 730.

Wittenberg.

November 8, 1530.

Luther, Jonas and Melanchthon to the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for the pastor Egidius Hofer for care in the distress into which he has fallen through no fault of his own.

The original is in the archives at Weimar, *Reg. O.* p. 148. FFF. 3 Printed in Burkhardt, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, p. 186 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 314.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! Your churf. graces are our submissive obedient service always with will before, most gracious Lord. In the visitation at Grimma (Grym) we took a good fief from Ern Egidio Hofer, out of necessity we put it into the common box there, and because we found him not unskilled in teaching, we provided him with the parish of Seiferthain, where before there was a whole papist, against it. Now we are informed that your ch. Grace, at the request of Andresen Pflug, bailiff of Leipzig, has granted that the said Hofer be removed from the parish, and that another be assigned to it, but with this gracious consolation, that the said Hofer may be assigned by your ch. Grace in other ways, as he recently complained to us, Martin Luther, Just Jonam Probst, Doktores, and Philipp Melanchton, when we were on our way home from Augsburg to Grimma, with an account of his great need. G. gnädigen Vertröstung now with further complaint, asking to be helpful to him in his distress. However, since we know nothing at present so that he may be provided for again, and yet it would be difficult for the poor man together with his family to wait thus completely unrelieved, especially since according to his report he is already coming to ruinous harm, we ask 1) therefore E. ch. Gn. in subservience, [they] 1) want to help the poor man in his

1) Added by us.

If a fief is forfeited, we shall provide it again. For the sake of the same E. ch. G. in humble obedience. Date Wittenberg, Tuesday after Leonardi [Nov. 8] Anno XV^c XXX^o.

E. ch. G. subservient obedient

Just Jonas- Rector and Provost, Mart. Luther, Doctores, and Philippus Melancton.

No. 1 731.

Wittenberg.

November 13, 1530.

To Veit Dietrich in Nuremberg.

Luther instructs him to turn to his friends there in the matter he has presented; he reports on the amount of his business, which has been increased by Bugenhagen's absence, and on his state of health.

Printed in Strobel's *Miscell.* vol. I, p. 165; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 188; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 192 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 316.

To the worthy young man, Magister Veit Dietrich of Nuremberg, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! This is the third time I have received letters from you, my dear Veit, and I thank you for your diligence and faithfulness in informing me of all these things. We, on the other hand, have no news, because you know everything more reliably about the flooding of the Tiber.

I cannot give advice on your matter, since I am absent and have no insight into the circumstances. You would do best to follow the advice of present friends who see everything before your eyes and know how to advise. The messenger was in such a hurry and I have been too busy to write in detail; I have not been able to write to our host in Coburg or to anyone else. I have joined Pomer's work, I preach, I read, I am taken up with various things, I am occupied with letter writing, so that I could not write now. You send greetings to all in my name. I have to steal my time by force and cunning, if I want to do anything except the current business.

I want to do. My head is still buzzing, sometimes quite strongly, especially in the morning hours. Otherwise, thank God, we are all quite well. You are also greeted by our entire community and my mistress Käthe (which she expressly instructed me to do), so that you do not think that she is angry with you. More and more detailed at another time. Wittenberg, on the Sunday after 1) Martini [Nov. 13] 1530.

Martin Luther.

No. 1732.

Wittenberg. November 13, 1530.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

About the disturbing rumors that the papists are spreading and about Otto von Pack's affair.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 201; in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 192 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 317.

Grace and peace in the Lord! What have we sinned against you, I beg you, my dear Amsdorf, that you do not want to tell us how your life is, and that you worry us so much by your silence? We have learned from your mother that she was summoned by you with these words: that she should come when she wants to see you for the last time. I do not know whether you wanted to indicate with these words that you were sick to death or that you wanted to go away somewhere else. I ask you for Christ's sake not to think of leaving in haste, nor to let yourself be discouraged by the hopes of the glorified papists. They do not yet have what they hope to have, and their boasting is quite futile and will soon be disgraced, which, to use your words, you will know by the month of May. The bishop of Mainz may be whoever he wants, so he will not be able to do anything humanly that I say so. But behold, while I am writing this word "say," a letter comes to my Käthe in which you enumerate the monstrosities which, as your papists say, the emperor will undertake. "O! let them boast for God's sake! they will know."

1) Here the Erlanger Briefw. has the wrong note: "The post after usual way set, although the Sunday itself fell on Martini. Martini, November II, fell on a Friday in 1530.

From this I now begin to understand what you had written to your mother: "if she wants to see you", namely you speak like this in mocking irony. Käthe thanks you for your kindness and will write to you briefly at another time.

I have nothing about Otto Pack, only that the matter is impossible with Duke George, as with a quite obviously obsessed and raging person. At another time, I will write to Otto and send him whatever he wants. For now I am still so afflicted by a buzzing in my head that I cannot read and write much; Satan has made me so dull in the desert. Oh, if only you were present in person! Christ be with thee, and thou exhort thine own to be strong, and to laugh at these glorious priests. Wittenberg, on the day of Briccius [Nov. 13] 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1733.

(Wittenberg.) 13. November 1530.

To Friedrich Mykonius in Gotha.

About the disdainful treatment of the pastor Bernhard Dölen by a magistrate. He asks for the exact communication of the history of the twice deceased.

The original is in Wolfenbüttel, 6öa. Uslmst. 285 Printed in Schütze, vol. I, p. 388 ; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 193 f. and in Erl. Ausg., vol. 54, p. 200.

Optimo Viro, D. Friderico Myconio, Gothensi Episcopo fidei, suo in Dno. fratri [To the worthy man, Mr. Friedrich Myconius, the faithful bishop of Gotha, his brother in the Lord].

Grace and peace in Christo, *Aberat Ber- nardus Dolen, mi Friderice, cum venirent literae tuae. Sed etsi reversus ad me fuerit, non sinam eum redire sub praefecti istius tyranni-* dem (Bernhard Dölen was absent, my dear Frederick, when your letter came. But when he will have returned, I will not let him return under the tyranny of this bailiff].

If the officials are so much more learned and powerful than the sovereign himself that they dare to judge and change what their sovereign sends them, then I will let them create preachers themselves from now on, and no one else.

send. One must cheat the Scharrhansen, and Pfarrherren send theirs favor. Therefore I will keep quiet and let the people cry out about the shackles and courtiers up to heaven. *Idem consulo, ut tu facias* [I advise you to do the same]. I cannot send vain Luther and Pomer, so it is not necessary. Bernhard is so learned that he is preacher enough for ten years. Well, they shall have to worship lesser preachers by and by.

Oro, ut historiam adolescentis bis mortui, quam Philippo significasti, nobis nominatim diligenter perscribas, expressis nominibus, temporibus et aliis circumstantiis. Digna est, quae aliquando a nobis celebretur. Saluta Justum Menium, et patienter fertote nequitiam praefectorum et nobilium. Nam idem vel amplius ab ipsis nos quoque ferre cogimur.

It is called patience. *Breviter scribo obrutus negotiis. Vale cum carne tua tota, et ora pro me. Dominica post Martini,*¹⁾ MDXXX [I ask that you describe to us the history of the young man who died twice, 2) which you reported to Philip, with particular care, stating the names, times and other circumstances. It is worthy of being published by us one day. Give my best regards to Justus Menius, and patiently bear the unworthy

1) The Erl. Briefw. refers here to the wrong note which has been made to the date in No. 1731.

2) This history, which forms the second part of the print mentioned in No. 1725: "Zwo wunderbarlich Hysterien" 2c. is told by Melanchthon in two simultaneous letters (*Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 438 f. and Col. 450) as follows: "In Gotha, in days gone by, a young man became ill with vomiting or pestilence, and lay for several hours, as if he had died, so that everyone thought he had died; then he came to himself again and came to life, and with joy told quite happily how he had seen Christ, and felt such joy from heaven that no one could express in words. He also said, "Now I am quite sure and know for certain that after this life there will be another life in the future," and exhorted the people to godliness, saying constantly that believers will attain these unspeakably great goods. But lest it should be supposed that he spoke such words out of sickness or a defect of reason, he gave them for a sign that with good reason he had prophesied and signified his death beforehand, saying that he would pass away from this present life before the clock struck three, which was done.

of the bailiffs and nobles. Because also Ivir must suffer the same or even more of them. "It is called patience." I write briefly, as I am overwhelmed with business. Fare well with all your relatives, and pray for me. On Sunday after Martinmas (Nov. 13) 1530].

T. Martinus Luther, D.

No. 1734.

November 14, 1530.

Elector John of Saxony to Jonas, Luther, and Melanchthon.

(Regest.)

Answer to No. 1730: The Elector's opinion is that they should issue an order that Egidius Hofer be granted the income of the fief taken from him again until something else happens that the Elector wants to send him on the addressee's notification.

The original concept is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. O 148. FFF 3. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 187 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 319.

No. 1735.

Nuremberg.

November 16, 1530.

Eoban Hesse to Luther.

(Regest.)

He testifies his joy that Luther is finally released from the so long prison in Coburg, regrets that he did not come to the so near Coburg, while he had traveled to Augsburg, where he had seen so many donkeys riding on donkeys, but hopes to welcome him once in Wittenberg. Veit Dietrich had come to him very seldom, and had excused himself with the fact that he had had to visit very many in his father's town, but especially to meet with some whom he loved particularly and from whose number he wished to take one as his wife. Finally, Hesse complained about his income, which had been reduced by a malicious person.

The original is in Hamburg, Ms. Vol. I, fol. 110. Handwritten in Dresden, C 342, fol. 19 and in Bremen at the Stadtbibliothek, Ms. a. 11. Printed in Krafft, Briefe und Documente, p. 68 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 319.

No. 1736.

Nuremberg.

November 20, 1530.

Veit Dietrich to Luther.

Dietrich reports all kinds of news: of the Emperor's departure from Augsburg and his anger at the Augsburgs; of Ferdinand's election as Roman king.

and the forthcoming coronation of the same at Aachen; of a letter from the Elector to the Nuremberg Council, in which he urges the latter to arm itself against violent intervention by the Emperor; of the state of his own affairs; of Brenz's marriage; of Billican's apostasy and the return of many priests in Nördlingen to the Papacy; of the faithfulness of the Senate in Reutlingen.

The original is in Hamburg, Ms. Vol. I, fol. 317. Handwritten in Dresden, C 342, fol. 4 b. Printed in the Fortgesetzten Sammlung der Unschuld. Nachr., 1744, p. 465 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 322.

To D. Martin Luther, his most revered father.

Hail in Christ Jesus! The letters which this messenger brings to you, most reverend Father in Christ, I requested from your friends, since I wanted to leave here, and would have delivered them myself, if the rainy weather had not deterred me. Therefore, I will stay here until the weather improves. It is said that the Emperor will leave Augsburg tomorrow; 1) he is very upset about the steadfastness of the Augsburgers, who did not want to sign the extremely ungodly decree; therefore, the poor citizens are in danger in many ways, both from the enraged Emperor and from the people (if they agree with the Emperor's opinion). There are certain rumors about the election of Ferdinand; the coronation is scheduled for Aachen, and the emperor will put it into effect in the first place. 2) I have no doubt, however, that if these rumors continue, a certain doom will befall our Germany. For not only the fate of Ferdinand, but also that terrible flood by which a good part of Lower Germany perished, has given a certain indication of very great misfortunes. About this matter, I am sending you a printed note. 3)

A letter sent by the Elector to our council has brought a new cause for dispute, in which he admonishes our people to prepare themselves to drive back the unjust power of the emperor. For this opinion had been approved by his councilors and doctors (he did not add anything about the theologians). Jns

This was secretly entrusted to me by Spengler, and he himself may have written to you about this matter. Our people are not very moved by this strange thing, especially those who are more intelligent. For they suspect Albrecht 4) of whom it is said that he has all the advice in common with Macedonia 5). I must not say more about this. My dear father, make sure that through your prayers the extremely sad evils that we fear are either completely averted or at least alleviated. Our sins do not allow us to expect anything milder. But there may be five righteous ones in the holy Church of God, by whose supplications and tears we may be preserved, amen. Fare well in Christ with your wife Catharina and the children and the whole household.

My cause has not yet reached the goal I desired. 6) Partly the threatening horrors and dangers stand in my way, partly the stupidity of my mind. Brenz in Hall has taken a widow as his wife and celebrated the wedding without pomp.

Billicanus, 7) the Nördlinger, has asked Cardinal Campegius for dispensation from the ordination of priests and from the office of preacher, and now walks around splendidly dressed and engages in merchandising. Also a good part of the priests, who followed his reputation in Nördlingen, have returned to the old benefices and defend the pope stubbornly and perform papist official acts.

The council of Reutlingen has recently written a letter to our council which testifies to an extremely great confidence in faith: they would follow the word even in the most extreme dangers; it makes no difference whether they are destroyed by the enemies of the word or whether they are delivered, and death and life are in the hand of the Lord 2c. I will see to it that I bring a copy of this letter with me, for as soon as the weather improves I will return. Now farewell, my dear Father in Christ. On Sunday 8) [after] Elizabeth [Nov. 20], at Nuremberg.

Your Veit Dietrich.

1) The emperor left Augsburg on Nov. 23.

2) Ferdinand was elected in Cologne on January 5, 1531, and crowned in Aachen on January 11. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1781 ff.

3) "Newe zeytung des erschrecklichen großen Wassers, So sich auff den fünfften tag Novembris im Nederland erhaben, vnd was es für schaden gethon hat" 2c. 1530. two quarto leaves.

4) from Mansfeld?

5) Philip of Hesse.

6) Perhaps the intended marriage of Dietrich, of which Eoban Liefst writes in No. 1735.

7) On Billicanus, see St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 651, note 6.

8) Elizabeth is Nov. 19, so post must be added.

No. 1737.

Wittenberg.

November 28, 1530.

To Caspar von Köckeritz zum Sees.

See St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1056.

No. 1738.

(Wittenberg.)

1. December 1530.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

About the floods in Rome and the Netherlands. About his condition. Greetings. His many affairs. News about Bugenhagen.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 111. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 202; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 199 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 325.

To the worthy man, Mr. Wenceslaus Link, the extremely faithful servant of the Word at Nuremberg, his superior in the Lord and Benefactor.

Grace and peace in Christ! There is nothing new with us, my dear Wenceslaus, but with you, I believe, you know everything. We have heard of the floods in Antwerp and Flanders, but the matter is still uncertain; but if both should be true, the flood in Rome and in Flanders, then these are terrible signs against both majesties, both of the pope and of the emperor. But this also belongs to the other signs with which Christ prepares his coming to judgment. "Let there be" the end of the wicked, and let the kingdom of the godly begin, amen. Pray for me that I may be strong in faith; in body I am reasonably well, only that I am troubled by a kind of flux in my tooth and throat. Greet all of ours, the Osiander and the Dominicus, 1) the Abbot, Spengler, our Veit, because I did not have time to write to all of them, since I am now not only Luther, but Pommer, but Official, but Moses, but Jethro, and what not? all in all, *Pluribus intentus minor est an singula Luther* 2) [Luther has a lot to do, so do not forget about him.

1) Dominicus Schleupner, parish priest at St. Sebald's Church. - "The abbot" is Friedrich Pistorius; "Veit" is Veit Dietrich.

2) The common saying is: *Pluribus intentus minor est an singula sensus*, which Luther (in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1401, ?16) translates thus: "He who thinks many things thinks nothing, does also nothing good," and (ibid., vol. II, 1193, § 80) interprets thus: "If one

he does not do everything to the best of his ability]. Pommer has good success in Lübeck, but Satan troubles him a lot with the possessed girl. The cunning evil spirit is doing wondrous things; if you want to read them, you will find them in this letter, which you will send back to me in time. Fare well in Christo and greet your rib with your ribs. My lord (*meus domina*) Käthe greets you. December 1, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

I ask you to send this letter to Mr. Nicolaus Gerbel, if you are able to do so with the help and advice of friends, to Strasbourg and deliver it; be diligent about it.

No. 1739.

(Wittenberg.)

1. December 1530.

To Johann Fesel in Coburg.

Luther wished Fesel's wife a happy delivery. The matter of Rauschner had been approved by him, but had not been settled because there was too much to do at court. In the matter of a foreigner, he promises to use the time available. About Cyriacus Kaufmann's (?) love thoughts.

Handwritten in Munich, Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, *Reg. Closs.* 943, fol. 48. Printed in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VIII, p. 327.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Johann Fesel, the faithful servant of the Word at Coburg, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! May Christ keep and make your wife happy and may her birth go well, my dear Fesel. Meanwhile, be strong and comfort her, and greet her also in my name. If my prayer is able to do something, I shall not be lacking. In truth, I have faithfully pursued the matter of Rauschner, by letter to the Prince himself and orally to Riedesel, but I have not yet received an answer. I believe that the great amount of important business at the court is the reason that I am being deceived in this agitated time, as much as I am being deceived.

is eager for many diuge, he cannot wait for each one in particular. Aurifaber knew this proverb and had therefore written in *Cod. Helmst.* 108 (== *Aurifaber, tom. III*), but crossed it out and put *Luther* instead.

3) Luther sent the letter No. 1725 to Link, as you can see here.

the court is now occupied by great council discussions and movements. Therefore, I think that the Rauschner should be advised that he does not cease to press, but at another time, when the circumstances are a little calmer and the courtiers will be less busy. However, I have not forgotten about the picture (*figull*), but I am seizing a convenient opportunity so that I do not also 1) labor in vain here; for the little picture of my daughter which he has made reminds me enough of him, since it stands on the top of my stove and artistically represents the father at the same time as the pleasant face. Greetings to your wife and your little Fesel (*Feselios*). Greet all those who are far away, and pray for me.

Cyriacus is in mourning because I am opposed to his love and have expressed my opinion against him. "There is misery and distress before I will have extinguished this flame that burns on both sides. 2) Greet all yours many times. Christ be with you, Amen. December 1, 1530.

No. 1740.

(Wittenberg.)

December 5, 1530.

To Johann Heß in Breslau.

About the appointment of M. Ambrosius Berndt to Schweidnitz. Miscellaneous news.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 108 b and in *Cod. Rostoch.* Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 204; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 199 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 328.

To Johann Heß, pastor of the church at Breslau.

Grace and peace in Christ, my dear Heß. At first I myself did not approve of the appointment of M. Ambrosius to Schweidnitz, both because it seemed to me that he himself was not at all willing to accept this office,

1) Instead of: "ad hic [?]" in the Erl. Briefw. we have assumed ot kic. This seems to be an intercession for the *figulus* (potter?).

2) It seems that here we are talking about the same matter that is reported in the Table Talks, Cap. 43, ? 99. St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1176.

3) We have adopted here the correction made by Köstlin: *Ambrosium* instead of *Moibanum*, just as the Erl. Briefw. It is Ambrosius Berndt at Wittenberg.

then, because I do not know whether it is advisable or not. But since all of you there are so insistent that he should go there, he will see for himself whether he can free himself or bind himself in a suitable way.

About the Imperial Diet this is the certain opinion,⁴⁾ that the emperor commands par excellence that everything should be restored as it was before, and the empire of the pope must exist, and more firmly than before. This harshness will produce a movement in the empire (as I fear), to the ruin of the bishops and the clergy. For the more powerful cities, namely Nuremberg, Ulm, Augsburg, Strasbourg, Frankfort, with twelve others, publicly reject the Emperor's decree and do not want to carry it out, and, together with our princes, are constantly and bravely clinging to the word. It is also said, indeed it is certain, that Ferdinand should be elected Roman king, namely so that, having lost his kingdoms, he may still have one left to add to those he has lost, "and at last the misfortune of our country may be complete. I believe that you have heard about the flood in Rome, then also about the other one in Brabant and Flanders, both of which were extremely terrible. God shows great and many signs, but the wicked do not care about them. I believe that you have also heard of the *vision* of the Speier monks 5). But now, recently, another ghost has been seen near Baden, namely an army on foot in the air, and at its side a distinguished⁶⁾ soldier who carries a spear.

4) According to the wording, the imperial agreement became known to Luther only towards the end of 1530 or at the beginning of the next year. Köstlin, M. Luther (3.), Vol. II, p. 254.

5) This story is widely found in Schirmacher, p. 194 ff. in a letter addressed to the emperor. The essential content is this: Before St. Jacob's Day (July 25, 1530) two fishermen, who were busy with their work at Speier, were forced by a very large number of monks from all kinds of orders to put them across the Rhine. "The monks who crossed at Speier let themselves be heard that they were coming from Cologne and wanted to go to the Diet in Augsburg. But when they crossed, they all disappeared, so that one would think that they were all evil spirits.

6) *primarium*. Melancthon writes in his letter to Myconius: "one of more significant size than the others". *Corp. ref.* vol. II, 449.

The man, who was moving and shaking back and forth, and who showed himself as if in triumph through this gesture, had crossed the neighboring mountains and the Rhine. Brenz wrote this to me yesterday. Wonderful and frightening things are said here about the Turk. I am surprised that you do not write anything about this. We want to ask Christ to put an end to these monstrosities and come with glory and majesty to pull us out of these troubles. Greetings to all yours. On the day before Nicolai [Dec. 5] 1530, your Martin Luther.

No. 1741.

(Wittenberg.)

December 12, 1530.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X VI, 1777, no. 1191.

No. 1742.

Wittenberg.

December 16, 1530.

To Peter Hackenberg.

Luther encourages him to leave the monastery and promises him a preaching position.

Printed in Innocent News, 1710, p. 67; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 189; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 203 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 332.

To the highly venerable man, Mr. Peter Hackenberg, Christ's servant, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! It is not you alone, my dear brother in the Lord, Peter, whom this hope in the Diet has deceived. The whole world has looked there in vain and sighed for peace, and behold! instead of bread it receives a stone. I approve all the more of your intention to leave this torture chamber and the flesh-eating monastic state (*religione*). And if you need advice for your conscience, I will give you plenty of my support when you go out; I will gladly offer everything I can. And I approve of the fact that you have decided to take a little with you for your sustenance. This is owed to you, and Christ will gladly give it to you from the wealth of these Egyptian tyrants, thieves and robbers. Fer

ner, do not worry about any parish or any ministry of the Word. There is a great shortage of faithful shepherds everywhere, so that it is imminent that we will be forced to ordain or appoint preachers according to our own ceremonial, without plate shears, without ointments, without isles, without gloves, without [shepherd's] staff and without censers, even without these bishops. The LORD JESUS, who hath begun in thee the work of his grace, may he accomplish it unto the day of his glory, Amen. Wittenberg, Friday after Lucia [Dec. 16] 1530.

No. 1743.

Wittenberg.

December 18, 1530.

To the City Council of Göttingen.

Luther promises to send two preachers, but he demands a better salary for them than they receive in Brunswick. It pleases him that they want to keep to the Brunswick church order.

Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p.64, no. 104; in Walch, vol. XXI, 329 f.; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 204; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 205; in *Heumann, Sylloge dissertat. de lenitate Aug. Confess., App. II, p. 54* and in *Zeit- und Geschichtsbeschreibung der Stadt Göttingen*, vol. II, p. 388.

To the honorable and prudent mayors and council of the city of Göttingen, my favorable gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear sirs! At your request, I will send you two preachers in the most conducive manner, but kindly ask you to consider that poor journeymen may not arrive in these difficult times with such remuneration as in Brunswick. Otherwise, it pleases me from the bottom of my heart that an honorable council and community want to adhere to the same Brunswick order, and I ask God to give you grace and help in this, and especially that you do it with a united heart and mind, otherwise it would be much better left undone. As for the food, whether they would borrow it here, you will know how to keep yourselves. For it is burdensome for them to travel to your service on their own food. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Sunday after St. Lucius [Dec. 18] 1530.

Martin Luther.

No. 1743a.

(Wittenberg.)

Without date 1530? 1533?

To Wolfgang Wirbel, citizen in Jáchymov.

About false teachers, especially Egranus.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. 11, p. 16; in the Altenburger, vol. V, p. 6; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 556; in Walch, vol. XX I, 302; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 207 and in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 208. In all these editions set in the year 1530. Only the Erl. Briefw. says, vol. VIII, p. 334, that this letter belongs to the year 1533, but without giving reasons for this.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear friend! I have been told of your good will toward me, and I have especially enjoyed hearing Egranus preach; for the erroneous spirit, which I have known for a long time, once gives itself so roughly to day; for I see that they are full of the devil's poison. If one gives them neither syrup nor purgation, they must nevertheless spit out their poison from themselves, both below and above. In time, if they cannot spit nor throw, their belly, like Judas, will have to burst; for what they have stolen and eaten from Christ will not and cannot remain with them. Hereby be commanded to God.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1744.

Wittenberg.

January 1, 1531.

To Hieronymus Baumgärtner in Nuremberg.

Luther sends him a box containing a letter and a gift of books for Ludwig Senfel to forward.

The facsimile is found in the "Sammlung histor. berühmter Autographen" 2c. Stuttgart 1846, No. 77. Printed by v. Soden, Beitr. zur Gesch. der Ref. 2c. Nürnberg 1855, p. 130; in De Wette - Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 128 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 335.

To the highly honored man, Mr. Hieronymus Baumgärtner, Patrician and city councilor in Nuremberg, his special friend.

Grace and peace from Christ! There was nothing I could write to you, my dear Jerome, only I would like to ask you not to feel burdened to have this box sent to Mr. Ludwig Senfel. For so he has himself.

in case I wanted to write something to him, named you as the intermediary. ¹⁾ I am sending him a letter with some little books as a gift and as a sign of my gratitude. Everything that is news must be expected from you. Fare well in Christo with all yours. Wittenberg, on the day of the circumcision of the Lord [Jan. 1] 1531. Yours, Martin Luther.

Respectfully greets my Lord Käthe 2c.

No. 1745

Strasbourg.

January 1, 1531.

Nicolaus Gerbel to Luther.

(Regest.)

Gerbel urgently asks Luther to unite with the Strasburgers as far as the truth itself and the integrity of the Holy Scriptures are concerned. If this had happened at the Imperial Diet itself by a common confession of Christ, it would have been of great influence for the Protestant cause.

Handwritten in Strasbourg, *Thes. Baum.* IV, 1. Printed in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 399.

No. 1746.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early 1531?)

Bedeuken about the confiscation of the monastery estates.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 1829, No. 1204. - There this concern is dated, as in the previously published editions: "Perhaps in April 1532." But Burkhardt, Visit, p. 109, says: "After one had become conclusive about the necessity of sequestration at the state committee meetings in Torgau and Zwickau, and Luther had perhaps developed his views about the necessity and expediency of the same somewhat earlier, the instruction for the sequestrators elected at the same time appeared on June 1, 1531." Therefore, Burkhardt places this concern at the beginning of 1531, wherein the Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 336 follows him.

No. 1747.

Wittenberg.

January 11, 1531.

To the City Council of Göttingen.

Luther sends one of the preachers promised in No. 1743, Johann Birnstiel; the other will follow soon.

The original is in the parish registry of the Marienkirche in Göttingen. Handwritten in the Nachrichs- und Jnventarienbuch der Marienkirche in Göttingen. Printed in *Heumanni diss. de lenitate Aug. Conf., App. II,*

1) Compare the letter to Baumgärtner, No. 1714.

p. 55; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 65, No. 106; in Walch, vol. XXI, 332; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 209; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 209; in the Zeit- und Geschichtsbeschreibung der Stadt Göttingen, vol. II, p. 389 and in A. Tolle, in the Protocols of the Gesch.-Ver., Göttingen, 1892/3, p. 52.

To the honorable and wise mayors and council of Göttingen, my favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen and friends! Here comes a preacher, whom I recently announced to Your Worship, by the name of M. Johannes Birnstiel.¹⁾ And although he will not be entirely of Saxon language, I hope that he will be well heard, because preachers of Upper Saxon language are also pleasant in Brunswick. The other, Licentiate Basilius, 2) will soon follow; for he cannot sell his farmland and livestock in such a hurry, therefore he must also move, 3) and is difficult to raise. It will become thin here with pastors. The harvest is great, and the workers few; that is why they are being kept. I hope, however, that Ew. W. will have two learned, skilful men in them; so he Basilius knows both Saxon and Oberlandish well. Order them herewith to Ew. W. in all confidence. I also ask that you reimburse them for food on the way; 4) in the meantime, I have asked them to borrow. God grant that they may produce great fruit among you all, to the praise and glory of God and to the blessedness of you all, amen. At Wittenberg, January 11, 1531.

Martin Luther. 5)

No. 1748.

Wittenberg.

January 11, 1531.

To Johann Sutel, pastor in Göttingen.

Luther writes because of the same preachers and exhorts to unanimity in doctrine and toleration in regard to the Ceremonies.

1) Birnstiel became pastor at St. Mary's Church, but remained in Göttingen only until July 27, probably because of his "High Franconian language"; "he called out very loudly, soon he spoke lower, so that one could not hear [that is, understand] it too loudly. He was assessor of the consistory at Coburg in 1542 and died in 1559.

2) Basilius Schumann; he did not come to Göttingen. Cf. the letter to the council of Göttingen of March 1.

3) "must" only with Tolle.

4) Birnstiel received for himself and his wife in travel money January 29, 24-1/2 fl. 16-1/2 fl. and 31 Mk. 8 fl. On July 27, he received a parting gift of 1-1/2 Mk. 8 fl.

5) The signature only at Tolle.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 118. Printed in *Heumann, diss. etc.*, p. 51; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 214; in Zeit- und Gesch.-Besch. von Göttingen, vol. II, p. 389 (wrong: X.; in *StrobelRanner*, p. 190; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 210 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 337.

To the highly esteemed man, Magister Johann Sutel,⁶⁾ the faithful servant of God in Göttingen, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ JEsu! Behold, there comes one of the preachers, dear brother, whom I promised before, named Johann Birnstiel; the other will also follow in a short time. For he is hindered by his farming, with which he has fed himself until now. He could only be taken away from the place with great difficulty, and until he sells his things, he will only be able to get away slowly. But I ask you and all of you to carry on the cause of Christ with one accord, and not to raise any questions in the ceremonies that do not violate the faith. For you know that the rough rabble easily seizes an opportunity to despise the word. And even though ceremonies are not necessary for salvation, some of them are useful to the common people, so that their dull minds are moved. But I speak especially of the ceremonies of the masses, as there are the altars, vestments, lights and such minor things; if these are not done away with, they can be retained, as we do here in Wittenberg. But if they are removed, I would like to see them gradually reintroduced, but in such a way that the

Word governs, through which we can make consciences firm. For they benefit the children and the simple; they must be served. But the bond of perfection, love, must reign here and peace must triumph:

6) Sutel, born in 1504 at Altenmorsch near Melsungen in Hesse, studied in Erfurt, became Rector in Melsungen, came to Göttingen in 1530 on the recommendation of the preacher Jost Winter von Allendorf, who had been lent to Göttingen by the Landgrave of Hesse, as a preacher at the Nicolai Church, later at the Johanniskirche. In September 1535 he became superintendent. In 1542 he was called to Schweinfurt, whose reformer he became; returned to Göttingen because of the Schmalkaldic War at the beginning of 1547, where he works as a predicant for 21 months, but is already found as pastor in Allendorf at Easter of that year. Called back to Göttingen again in 1548, he became pastor of St. Albani's Church and in 1555 superintendent at Nordheim, where he died in August 1575.

give this to Christ who calls us, amen. In him be well and pray for me. Wittenberg, January 11, 1531.

Martin Luther.

You will cooperate that M. Philip will be reimbursed for the travel expenses, which is cheap.

No 1749.

(Wittenberg.) January 12, 1531.

To Heinrich Scholl, schoolmaster in Eisenach.

About the hostilities and annoyances that Scholl has to suffer from the citizens of Eisenach.

The original is at Wolfenbüttel, *Helmst.* 285 B. Handwritten at Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Reimst.* 108, fol. 116 and in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv, *Reg. R.*, p. 237. 2. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 211; by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 211 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 339.

To the learned and godly man Heinrich Scholl, teacher of the youth at Eisenach, his friend.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I, my dear Heinrich, recognize sufficiently that it is the envy of your citizens, or rather of the devil, which troubles you so. But I still believe that just as the matter has been postponed and protracted this year, so it will be protracted even further from now on. For they have not obtained anything from us by their request, 1) nor, if they should stop, will they do anything to make us send another. Nor does Philip think of putting another in your place, but of keeping you. Therefore, for the time being, stay as long as you can, and do your duty. Furthermore, with regard to the beer lottery, 2) which is a worldly matter, you may use your right. If they should now complain to you, you can complain to our prince and at the same time (if you want) add that in Philip's and my opinion you are a sufficiently skilled teacher for this school, and the other things you have written to me, whether in the meantime perhaps the envy can be appeased. If they really want to continue, then it must be thought of.

1) Thus *sollicitaverunt* must be translated here, as the next letter shows.

2) The justice to brew beer.

that you will soften and change the place. 3) We will help as much as we can. But let Christ grant that this may not be necessary; in him you are well. January 12, 1531
Martin Luther.

No. 1 750.

(Wittenberg.)

January 12, 1531.

To Johann Purgolt, mayor in Eisenach.

About the matter of his son-in-law, M. Heinrich Scholl, discussed in the previous letter.

Handwritten in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. Lk.*, p. 237, No. 2. Printed in *De Wette-Seidemann*, vol. VI, p. 707 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 340.

Grace and peace. Dear Lord and friend! I have written my and Philippi Melan's opinion to your son-in-law. I have written to your son my opinion and Philippi Melan's, that we have decided that he should stay with the school, because they have been looking for someone else from us, but so far we have postponed it, which we are willing to do. But as far as the Brauloos is concerned, you will probably recover the right from the authorities, because we do not deny it to him; but if the envy does not want to bleed to death with time, then your oath will be allowed to do otherwise, for which I will gladly help and advise as much as I can. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. January 12, 1531, Martin Luther.

No. 1 751.

(Wittenberg.)

(Around mid-January 1531.)

Concerns about Bucer's settlement proposals in Concerning Holy Communion.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1975, no. 41 - We have dated this concern there: "End of January or beginning of February" and noted in the introduction there that it is to be placed either at the same time as Luther's letter to Bucer of January 22 or shortly thereafter. Now we see from a detailed explanation in the *Erlanger Briefw.*, Vol. VIII, p. 341, that it is to be dated even further back by a few days, because the Elector writes to the Landgrave already on January 17 that he had had this concern collected by Luther.

3) Seidemann, in *De Wette*, Vol. VI, p. 706, reports: Scholl finally had to give way, asked in a petition to the Elector, dated June 21, 1532 from Torgau, for the completed school office at Ringleben near Artern, since he had to give up Eisenach after "six years of faithful office", and enclosed for his testimony in copy three letters, "the original of which had been executed by D. Martin Luther", among which is also this one.

No. 1752.

(Wittenberg.)

January 15, 1531.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

Request for a scholarship for Nuremberg student Lorenz Strauch.

Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 65, no. 107; in Walch, vol. XXI, 333; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 211 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 210.

Your honorable and careful Mr. Lazaro Spengler, the city of Nuremberg Syndico, my favorable master and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, careful, dear Lord and friend! Laurentius Strauch, who now has one of the small scholarships from the honorable council of Nuremberg, asks me to ask for him whether he would like to receive the larger one, which is now to be given away at Easter. However, since your person must otherwise leak all the puddles, I have good faith in you to pour these things out as well; I kindly ask you to represent my person, and, where it is to be done, to be helpful and supportive to the aforementioned shrub for such a scholarship, as you know how to do or not to do. Hereby commanded by God. Hurriedly and weakly, another time more at your request. On January 15, 1531. Luther.

No. 1753.Wittenberg.
1531.

January 15,

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

First, news from Friesland; then a concern about the question of whether the emperor should be resisted with arms; finally, about his condition and his work.

The original is in Munich in the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek. Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, koi. 109b (incomplete; dated: Dec. 1, 1530); *ibid.* there, *Aug.* 11. 10, fol. 157 (incomplete; dated: *mense Novembri* 1530); in Gotha, *Cod. X* 401 (Nov. 1530); *ibid.* there, *Cod. B* 28, fol. 62b (incomplete; dated: Nov. 1530); in Copenhagen, Ms. 1393, koi. 219 (incomplete; dated: I. Nazi 1530) and in *Cod. Class.* Printed in *Coelestin*, tom. IV, koi. 98b (incomplete; dated Nov. 1530); in *Buddeus*, p. 215 (incomplete; dated Nov. 1530); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 212 and in *Erlanger Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 343 f. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1220 (incomplete; dated: in the month of November 1530); in De Wette- Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 127 (incomplete; dated: in Nov.

1530) and in all editions of the *Tischreden*, Cap. 64, §11 (incomplete; datirt: Anno 1530 im Wintermonden), except the St. Louis edition, Vol. XXII, 1467, where this fragment is omitted and referred to our letter, which we have retranslated here according to De Wette.

Your esteemed husband, Mr. Wenceslaus Link, the faithful servant of Christ at Nuremberg, his superior.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have received two letters from you, my dear Wenceslaus, which announce news. But I have nothing new to repay you, except this evil news that in Friesland the false doctrine of the Sacramentirans reigns free. And the count, 1) who has so far bravely resisted, now, broken, allows that everything and anything is taught by everyone. It seems to me that God has begun to punish the ingratitude of the world, and that he will again [repay] 2) and let the ungrateful go astray. But he will have mercy on us, amen.

That you recently asked whether it was true that we had advised that one should resist the emperor, as you indicated was written to you, - we have indeed not advised this in any way. But since there were some who said publicly that one should not ask the theologians about this, or take care of them, but the jurists, who said that this was permitted, I said for my part: I advise as a theologian; but if the jurists could teach according to their laws that it is permitted, then I would allow them to use their laws; let them watch. For if the emperor has decreed in his laws that it is permissible in this case for him to be resisted, let him suffer the law he has given; only I do not want to advise or pass judgment on this very law, but want to remain in my theology.

I readily conceded that it is true that a prince as a prince is a worldly person, and by acting so, does not act as a Christian who is neither a prince,

1) Count Enno of Friesland, while remaining faithful to the Lutheran doctrine himself, tired of the opposition he found from all sides, gave free rein to the further development of Zwinglianism.

2) We have sought to fill the gap by *reddere*.

nor a man, nor anything that there is in the world of persons. Therefore, if a prince, being a prince, is free to resist the emperor, let that be left to the judgment and conscience of those. The Christian is certainly not free to do anything, since he has died to the world. So much has been done in this, and so much you can tell Mr. Lazarus about my opinion, although I see that, even if we cried out against it with all our might, they still have their minds so fixed that they want to resist, and do not want to be made to give way, as I preach in vain that God will help us, so that it is not necessary to resist; as indeed He does, since He has destroyed this Diet in such a way that they have done nothing to this day. God would do the same from now on. But faith is not everyone's thing. But I console myself with the fact that, if they absolutely do not accept our advice, they sin less or act more surely when they act according to civil law than when they act completely against conscience and with a determined will against the Scriptures. Meanwhile, they believe they are not acting contrary to Scripture if they are not acting contrary to civil law. "So I let them do," I am free.

Greetings to Mr. Spengler and your friends. The illness of the head, which I contracted in Coburg through the old wine, has not yet been conquered by the Wittenberg beer. Therefore, I work little, forced to allow the head its days of rest, a burdensome leisure for me and a very unpleasant one for the printers. I am finishing the explanations - - - 1)We are correcting the Psalter again and for the last time, because there were no copies left. We will try our best, not that David is better than the others.

1) Here is a larger gap, which we are not able to fill, since we cannot determine which *commentaries* Luther means, since he did not publish any interpretations of biblical writings in 1531. It is possible that Luther called his "Glosse auf das vermeinte kaiserliche Edict" (St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1665) so (as the Erl. Briefw. conjicirt), because already on February 3, Spengler was "eagerly awaiting Luther's translation of the Psalter, also his Büchlein de *Comitiis*".

but that it sounds purer German, by giving the slanderers many opportunities that they have something on which they can exercise and sharpen their raging hatred in our translation, but still shall not be satiated. Greetings to your treasures 2) - - My mistress greets you. Wittenberg, January 15, 1531. 3) Martin Luther.

No. 1754.

(Wittenberg.) January 16, 1531.

To Johann Weber, Superintendent at Neustadt an der Orla.

About a divorce.

The original is in Wittenberg in the Rathsarchiv. Printed by Schütze, Vol. II, p. 212; by De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 214; by *Theoph. Stier, Inclutae Academiae Jenensi. . . gratulatur* etc., p. 9; in Seidemann, Lutherbriefe, p. 38 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 347.

To the highly esteemed brother in Christ, Johann Weber, servant of the Word in Neustadt and faithful and loud superintendent.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have, dear man, advised Johann Nicolai 4) in his marriage case that he should do so: First, he should summon her to court according to divine example, that is, by posted notices on the doors of the churches in the neighboring towns, by which she would be admonished and summoned to answer within a month, or as it may be, either to you or to him, why she had run away, left her husband, broken faith, and committed robbery and theft.

2) The sense here is easy to determine: "your wife and your children"; on the other hand, we have not succeeded in finding a suitable word complement to the words that follow here: "*carnis - - bonae*".

3) According to De Wette, the original should have MDXXX by mistake. Such an oversight would have been possible, but don't the Roman numerals make the original suspicious, since Luther, as far as I can see, also in his Latin letters always uses the German numerals? (Erl. Briefw.)

4) Joh. Nicolai, pastor in Dreitzsch near Neustadt, was engaged to a widow Eva Erbes from Mellerstadt in Franconia in the spring of 1527 and married her in Schweinitz. In October 1530 the woman escaped. Her whereabouts near Würzburg were traced. She did not appear after several citations, so in October 1531 the divorce was granted by the court, and Nicolai was allowed to marry again.

2c. If she should not come, the same notes may threaten her, she will be condemned and separated by divorce, and the man will be given permission to marry another 2c. When this is done, let the whole matter be proclaimed by you and others in a sermon to the people. And after that one is condemned and released by divorce, you may proclaim that John is free to take another, as he himself will tell in more detail. The annoyance of Satau must be countered with public testimony and work. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. January 16, 1531.

Martin Luther.

No. 1755

(Wittenberg.)

January 21, 1531.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Some news. Of a parish post for Bernhard von Dölen and of the new display of the Psalter.

The original can be found in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv, Hausmannbriefe, No. 67 (with the inscription Hausmanns: "Hr. Bnhardt Dolen"). Handwritten at Zerbst in the *Franciscaneum*, Ms. 26, fol. 42b and in Wolfenbüttel, *Helmst.* 108, fol. 116b. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 213; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 191; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 215 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 348. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1377.

The man to be highly honored in the Lord, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the extremely faithful bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It would not have been necessary for me to write to you, my dear Nicolaus, since our Jonas, a living letter, went to you, from whom you can learn everything that is going on both with us and is reported from elsewhere here. The Sacramentarians are eagerly seeking our fellowship and in part are departing from their opinion and speaking more softly. Let us pray that it will be a perfect and pure harmony. Johann Pommer works bravely, but Satan resists him and has challenged him through a possessed girl; Jonas will give an ample and, as he is a Demosthenes, excellent account of all these things.

I wonder why Bernhard has not returned long ago. I ask you, if you can reach him by letters, may you order him to return. For the parish under Sebastian Kötteritz near Leisnig is waiting for him, where I hope he can stay comfortably. But if not, I will see to it that he is provided elsewhere. "Tell him that he cannot eat me poor in three or four weeks." Tell me this, I beg of you.

We are now reissuing the German Psalter to provoke the slanderers. But Christ, who has begun his work, will also accomplish it for his glory and our benefit. My mistress Kätke and the family and the whole house greet you respectfully. January 21, 1531.

From the heart, your Martin Luther.

Greetings from me to the Mühlport and all ours.

No. 1756.

Wittenberg.

January 22, 1531.

To Martin Bucer in Strasbourg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1973, no. 40.

No. 1757.

(Wittenberg.)

January 24, 1531.

To Catharina Zell in Strasbourg.

Luther testifies to his willingness to enter into good terms with the Strasbourians.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 134; in the Altenburger, vol. V, p. 567; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 558; in Walch, vol. XXI, 332 f.; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 218; in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 211 and in Röhrich, *Mittheilungen aus der Gesch. der evang. Kirche des Elsaß* 1855, vol. III, p. 164 (aps the autograph in the Strassb. Biblioth.).

The tugendsameu women of Matthes cells at Strasbourg, my friendly dear friend.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear wife, I have not been responsible for your writing, which has been coming to me for the 1) longest time, because

1) Thus with De Wette, who communicates the letter from a facsimile published in 1817 at Strasbourg in a Säcularschrift. Röhrich reads: "unlangest", which does not seem to fit us.

I thought it was still too early, because the matter was still so new; but because (praise God) now the cupping 1) has changed a little, I now want to hold your writing up to you again, so that you now also both help your lords and other friends, so that (if it pleases God) peace and unity may be preserved. For you know too well that love should be above all things and have the precedence, except for God, who is above all things, including love. Wherever he and his word prevail, love should certainly have the upper hand with us, next to God. Such a noble cause should not be attacked with our attempts or devotion, but with heartfelt prayer and spiritual sighing; for it is God's cause, not ours. God must do with it and to it, our doing is not. Pray, pray, pray, and let Him take care. Hereby commanded by God, amen. Greetings to your dear Lord. January 24, 1531.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1758.

(Wittenberg.)

1. February 1531.

To Duke Ernst of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVII, 2002, No. 53.

No. 1 759.

Strasbourg.

(9. ?) February 1531.

Martin Bucer to Luther.

Answer to Luther's Letter No. 1756. On the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper.

The original is in Hamburg, Vol. I, fol. 59. Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 163 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VIII, p. 355.

To the great defender of pure Christianity, D. Martin Luther, the extremely high theologian, his most esteemed teacher. ,

Grace and peace in Christ! I have read your letter, dear teacher, which was written to me on January 22, and thank the

1) Röhrich explains this word, which otherwise does not occur in Luther (as far as we know), by "Schroffheit". To this the Erl. Briefw.: "Perhaps read for: Schärpfe. Lexer, Middle High German dictionary: *schroffe*, has only the meaning: pointed stone, rock face." Walch really reads, "Schärfe."

Lord with my brothers and colleagues, who has granted that our confession 2) is sufficient for you even so far. You are surprised that I have made Zwingli and Oecolampad a part of this opinion or exposition. You would not be surprised if you had examined what they, especially Oecolampadius, have discussed with me about this matter according to my judgment, not to mention the scriptures. But you want to talk with me, and wonder again, since we confess that Christ's body is truly present here in the Lord's Supper and is offered through the words and sacraments, but for food of the soul, not of the belly, as these words "Take, eat" 2c. teach (for this is how our confession has it), why it troubles us to further confess that Christ's body is also offered with the bread by heart to the mouths of both the godly and the godless. But this, most esteemed Luther, does not complain us, nor have I added the word "for the food of the soul" not because I do not believe that the body of Christ can be present and presented in several things 3) at the same time, but because I wanted to satisfy those who wrongly think that you make the natural body of Christ the food of the body, which you deny in explicit words in your confession⁴⁾ in the Torment Sij. For these are your words from word to word: "So from now on it is rightly said, whoever attacks this bread attacks Christ's body, and whoever eats this bread eats Christ's body, whoever crushes this bread with teeth or tongue crushes Christ's body with teeth or tongue; and yet it remains true throughout that no one sees, grasps, eats or bites Christ's body, as one visibly sees and bites other flesh. For what is done to the bread is rightly and properly appropriated to the body of Christ for the sake of sacramental unity." In that you write, "For that which is done to bread," 2c., you recognize that it is taken with the hand, bitten with the teeth, and thus transferred to the stomach, digested, and that which otherwise belongs to natural food, all this is actually done to the bread, but it is added to the body of Christ for the sake of sacramental unity, and therefore it is not actually done.

2) The Eintrachtsschrift to Duke Ernst of Lüneburg. (Erl. Briefw.)

3) Instead of "in many places," as Luther said in his letter, Bucer puts here: *in pluribus rebus*.

4) "Luther's Confession of the Lord's Supper," in the St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1032, K 349.

Therefore, in the Lord's Supper, Christ's body is not given for the food of the belly, but of the soul, for food for the latter, not for the former, is sought here. And since we confess that Christ's body is presented through the words and sacraments, we certainly acknowledge that it is present with the bread, and therefore, for the sake of sacramental unity, it is also presented to the mouth, both of the ungodly and the godly. But the ungodly, as you write, 1) do not receive it, as the blind do not receive the light of the sun, though it strikes their eyes as well as those of the seeing. Yes, we confess that those who know that the body of the Lord is offered here also receive it, although their soul receives corruption from it, is not fed. For these do not relate to it as the blind do to the light of the sun, after they have received the words of the Lord. Of those who have absolutely nothing of faith, and think nothing else of this bread than of any other bread, I do not see how they differ from the mice that gnaw this bread. And since Christ has instituted this sanctuary [or sacrament] for his disciples, I do not know at all what I should ascribe to such people who know nothing of Christ. But I would rather say: They are none of our business who are outside, than quarrel with any Christian, let alone with you or any other preacher of Christ about these things. Since we hold and teach thus, for we never speak of this sacrament without expressly expressing our abhorrence of those who seek nothing but bread and wine, and not at the same time also the body and blood of the Lord, and that primarily, in the Lord's Supper, we hold that nothing of falsehood or blasphemy is committed when either ours take the Lord's Supper with you, or yours with us. On both sides the words of the Lord are presented in the best faith, simple faith in them is taught, the eating of Christ is recommended above all things. And even if some should misunderstand this, since the gifts of God do not depend on the faith or the merit of the church minister, or even on that of the communicants, those who receive Christ's promise with faith as well as with their ears can be sure that they will receive it.

1) In the letter of Jan. 22, St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1973.

2) In the original it is not clear whether *sacrum* or *sacramentum* is to be read, *sacru* or *sacram*.

They will not be deceived in their hope, and as much as they believe, as Leo says, so much they will receive. But the more I consider how it is now with the judgments of the people, the more I approve of your counsel that we gradually strengthen the doctrine of the true presence and eating of Christ in the Lord's Supper, in the churches where any possibility will present itself, but that you take care to nourish these beginnings of concord, which you freely offer, by kindness, and to promote them by prayers to Christ, since as yet no writing has gone out to the public concerning our concord. Certainly, I would have written our confession much shorter, and, if I am not mistaken, more completely to your satisfaction, if I had not feared the wrong judgments of many, and the annoyance of very many. Therefore, to please them, I have added the things by which I have expressed the truth of the human body in Christ, and that it is in heaven, not spatially in the bread, nor is it naturally mixed with the bread,³⁾ which I do not see to be contrary to your faith. For since among the wise men according to whom Christ's body is present both in heaven and in the Lord's Supper, you also list these:⁴⁾ "that he may sit in the midst of all creatures, in a certain place, and when a certain place or part of creatures is presented, as when bread and wine are presented by the word of God, then it may be said, Behold! there is Christ's body truly in the bread, as one may say when a certain part of a crystal is placed before one's eyes, in the midst of which is a little spark or flame: Behold! here in the foremost and in the rearmost part of the crystal is the little spark," you certainly do not suppose that Christ's body is localized in heaven, nor do you assert that it is localized in the bread: therefore, since we confess with the Fathers, for the sake of the true manner of a body, that Christ is in some place of heaven, and yet at the same time is truly present in the Sacrament, I cannot see what difference there is between us in the matter itself.

For I do not doubt that you will gladly give up those things for which you do not stand to fight, so that you may obtain those for which conscience does not permit you to fight. But we can easily see that these disgusting things, as with our churches there is rest, so with yours there is unrest.

3) Instead of *expresse* we have assumed *expressi*; in the former reading a predicate is missing.

4) See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 957, .] Bucer did not reproduce the passage accurately.

I therefore suffer with the greatest equanimity that my writing about our union be erased, and according to your advice you also gave at Coburg, we strive on both sides to promote these beginnings of peace, on the word which I sent before. As for Oecolampad and many ministers of other churches, and not even a few churches, you may not doubt that the real (*solida*) presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper will also be taught with the signs (*symbolis*). Zwingli, in my opinion, still fears too much that a natural eating of Christ, as a perishable food of the belly, imposes itself on the people, to the detriment of the faith in the truthfulness of a human body in Christ. But he could have suffered that my confession, the one I sent, would be published, so there was good hope, and still is, that from these beginnings a step would be taken toward firm unity. Let us diligently ask Christ to bring it about, and let us in all things put before one another that which is conducive to peace. I have long since acquitted you of all obstinacy in your mind, my dear teacher; I know that Christ's honor, not yours, fills you with anxiety here and in other things. And I do not doubt that you will duly consider how much this discord has hindered the course of the Gospel, although 1) in truth we do not recognize ourselves as the people whose fellowship you greatly need, except insofar as it helps the saints that each one should join Christ's army. Trust in Christ, for whose glory all things will finally come to pass. But I beg you, for the sake of Christ, not to be stubborn about what is written on this side: as you, when you had your mind fixed on these words: "Take, eat, this is my body" 2c., and even now cannot hold otherwise than that here the body of the Lord Himself is given in the bread, is also to be taken with the mouth, and is given to all who eat this bread of the Lord, so those, seeing their minds immovably fixed on the sayings describing Christ as true man, were afraid to say that this saying, "this bread is my body," was a simple one (*simplicem*), and that "is" was taken in it essentially (noun). For they saw that you do not deny that the bread cannot be what the body of the Lord is. From this are after,

1) Instead of *et si* we read *etsi*.

When the disputation had become heated, almost a thousand disputes arose, of which I could always have sworn that they consisted only in words. But to finally put an end to this letter, I want to remind you of the one thing that my conscience believes, that these words of the Lord: "Take" 2c. demand that we believe that the body of the Lord is truly offered with the bread. But what I have written to M. Philip about the ungodly, which I deliberately did not want to remember, I would like you to receive in such a way that you understand that it seems to me, since those words were spoken to the disciples, that by them it is not required that we also discuss this matter with those who, in all likelihood, do not want to be Christ's disciples, not that I ascribe the presence of Christ to the soul in such a way as to make him absent from the signs in the meantime, since I nevertheless say that he is received and presented presently through the signs, adding only that all this is instituted for the nourishment of the soul, not of the body, except insofar as the power of immortality flows over to the latter from the soul. In this you have my opinion in abundance in this matter, which is diligently taught in our church and in very many others, and it is good hope that we will finally also all have the same opinion here, toward which we will work diligently. Fare well in Christ, and receive me, as you have again begun, as a father. At Strasbourg, February 9, 2.

Venerable Lord, your most devoted Martin Bucer.

No. 1760.

(Wittenberg.)

February 15, 1531.

To Lazarus Spengler in Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 570.

No. 1761.

(Wittenberg.)

February 16, 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 1976, no. 43.

2) The original has clearly as time determination: *quinto Non. Febr.* which results in 1, Febr. for which Bucer would certainly have written *Kal. Febr.* Kolde remarks: "Should probably mean on the 5th, the Nones of February." But even the latter date is still too early, because Bucer writes to Zwingli on 6 Feb. that Luther's messenger has not yet returned. Therefore, the Erl. Briefw. assumes that Bucer accidentally wrote "*Non.*" instead of "*Id.*" We have followed this.

No. 1762 .

(Wittenberg.)

(Around February 16, 1531.)

Luther's, Jonas' and Melanchthon's Gut-**The first of these was for the Elector about Bucer's proposals for reconciliation.**

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. X VII, 1978, No. 44.

No. 1763.

(Wittenberg.)

February 19, 1531.

Luther's postscript to a letter from Melanchthon to Spalatin.Printed in *Corp. ref.* vol. II, no. 961, col. 481.

To a letter of Melanchthon dealing with a marriage matter, Luther added the words:

Martin Luther greets you, even though the messenger does not want it and prepares to flee.

No. 1 764.

(Wittenberg.)

(February or March 1531.) 1)

To Justus Menius in Eisenach.

On Bucer's Approach to Luther's Doctrine of Holy Communion.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 137 d. Printed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1721, p. 357 (from 1529); in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 258 (from 1536); in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 236 (perhaps in March 1531) and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 363. German in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1167.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It is true, my dear Justus, what you have heard, that Bucer has at least begun to have the same opinion with us about the Lord's Supper, if the letters he addressed to me and Philip are not deceptive (which I do not easily believe). By the way, it is still uncertain whether the others also want the same thing; Bucer works and works towards the fact that they want the same thing, and has done so much that all admit that the body of the Lord is truly present in the Lord's Supper and is served, even in bodily presence. But the others say that it is only presented and present as food to a believing and godly soul; but Bucer agrees.

1) This letter presupposes that Luther had already received Bucer's letter No. 1759, therefore Seidemann's dating in *De Wette*, Vol. VI, p. 559: "early February", is too early.

that it is also presented by the hand of the ungodly and taken with the mouth. For his letters clearly testify to this.

I cannot answer the letters from others of yours and my grandfather's 2). I am overwhelmed with letters from all places. I am one and only, and every single one of them thinks that his business alone is the one that the idle Luther should carry out. Then almost all the messengers can't wait, don't have food, and have other things to do, so that they expect the letters to be ready for them as soon as they have delivered theirs.

You may say this to George,³⁾ to Thomas and to my grandfather; in time I will answer them, and will help. "I will not" as one "arrange" all the business of all and alone quickly and at the same time. Farewell and pray for me. 1531.

Martin Luther.

No. 1768.

(Wittenberg.),

(March 1, 1531.) 4)

To the pastors of Göttingen.

Luther sends the church order he overlooked and promoted for printing and wishes them God's blessing for the use of it.

First printing: "Christlike Ordeninge der Stadt Göttingen. Myth eyner voerrede D. Martini Luther." At the end: "Gedrucket tho Wittemberch dorch Hans Luftt. MDXXXI." 16 leaves in octavo. Also in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 282; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 367; in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 427; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 554; in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 255; in *De Wette*, vol. III, p. 328 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 7. Everywhere the wrong date: June 1528, and the superscription is missing.

2) his mother's brother, Ziegler; according to Richter, (*Geneal. Luth.*, p. 19: Lindemann. (*Erl. Briefw.*)

3) "Georg" is Georg Thomas, pastor in Eisenach; "Thomas" is Thomas Neuenhagen, likewise pastor there.

4) This letter is incorrectly dated in the editions: *Mense Junio Anno* 1528, because the Reformation did not begin in Göttingen until October 1529, and the church order mentioned at the beginning of this letter was not printed in Wittenberg until 1531. Luther sent the same on March 1, 1531 (as the following letter shows) to the council and no doubt on the same day also to the preachers with this letter. However, if this letter (which seems credible to us according to No. 1767) is Luther's *preface* to the church order itself, then a somewhat earlier date would have to be set.

To the worthy pastors and preachers of the city of Göttingen Mart. Luth.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have read over your desire for this church order of yours and promoted it through printing; God, the Father of all wisdom, grant His grace that it may gain a strong continuation, amen.

For we know well, praise God, what an adversary we have in such matters, namely Satan with all his angels: therefore it is not enough to have good order, good law, good doctrine; indeed, there is (in short) no counsel, no wisdom, no precept so good and right, that anything should be built on it and anything should be attempted; indeed, even if it is a divine right, it is not useful, but rather harmful, Rom. 4:15: "The law provokes wrath."

How many a wise man, yes, how many a holy man has missed his most beautiful and best cause and his most sacred right. Why is that? Because there is one more thing that belongs to right and good order, that is, to prosper, so that St. Paul himself says that the gospel (which is not only God's order, but also God's power) does not create anything if God does not prosper it [1 Cor. 3:7].

Therefore these are foolish men, which say, I have a good right, I will do it; who shall forbid me? For that they say, I am well justified, is well said; but that they also say, I will do it, is too much. For such doing is not yours, as little as the right is yours. God must help it to be done; otherwise you will see if it is not done for you.

Even if you are right, God will not suffer your defiance and insistence on justice; You should also humbly ask for help, so that he, and not you yourself, may preserve justice, so that you may learn what the devil is, yes, what you yourself are, as you are not able, if he has you right, and the devil is a warrior against everything that is right and good, that God must help you, not only from injustice, but also to justice, both in great and small, yes, all kinds of things. Therefore wisdom says, Proverbs 8:14: "Mine is counsel and advice. Many have good counsel, but

The device does not follow, but becomes a great evil out of great counsel, as many examples and histories prove.

Therefore, dear lords and friends, I have informed you that you should keep yourselves and your people in mind, not only to rely on your church order, as if there were no need for it now that it has been established, but also to give humble thanks to God and ask Him to grant you prosperity and guidance, and to go on blessedly.

For there will be enough obstacles and hindrances; and he who is a prince in the world (believe me) will also want to be a prince in Göttingen, and will not like to be a beggar.

God cast him under you, as St. Paul asks Rom. 16, 20: God tread Satan under your feet. Which I also wish for you, and pray that God will bless you and keep you, and make you grow blameless and strong for His praise and glory, Amen. [March 1, 1531. 1)

No. 1766

(Wittenberg.) March

1. March 1531.

To the City Council of Göttingen.

Luther sends the printed church order and reports that Basilius Schumann will not come to them as a preacher.

Printed by Heumann, *diss. de lenit. A. C.*, p. 45; in the same *Sylloge dissertat.*, App., I, p. 57; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 66, No. 109; in Walch, vol. XXI, 334 f.; in De Witte, vol. IV, p. 335; in the Erlanger Ausg., vol. 54, p. 217 and in the Gött. Zeit- und Gesch.-Beschr., vol. II, p. 394.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Göttingen, my favorable gentlemen and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable wise sirs! I have had your order printed, as you see. But why the licentiate Basil does not come, you will hear from his writing 2). I am not at ease that I have thus brought up the good man, and must leave him sitting there for nothing. That is my pious

1) See the first note.

2) On Feb. 5, the council appointed Lic. Basilius and gave him a salary of only 60 fl. per year, and also made difficulties about reimbursement of moving expenses. The matter came to nothing. Cyriacus Gericke, who was appointed after him, was offered an annual salary of 70 fl.

It's my fault that I didn't inquire about all the things beforehand. Well, it is not my first mistake, nor will it be the last. God grant that you may always be certain of these things beforehand, and that you may first become one before you undertake such a thing. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. On the first of March, 1531. Luther.

No. 1767.

(Wittenberg.)March

1. March 1531.

To Johann Tütel, pastor in Göttingen.

Luther reports that the church order of the city of Göttingen had been printed in Wittenberg and that he had provided it with a preface to the preachers (probably No. 1765). Luther complains about the meagerness of the Göttingen against the preachers to be hired. Answer to the question: whether Sutel could administer Holy Communion without having been anointed.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 122 b. Printed in Zeit- und Gesch.-Besch. der Stadt Göttingen, vol. II, p. 395; in I. M. Sixt, *Reformationsgeschichte Schweinfurt*. 1794. p. 195; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 218; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 225 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 366 f.

To the highly venerable brother, Johann Sutel, the faithful servant of the Word in Göttingen.

Grace and peace in the Lord! We have taken care of the printing of your [church] order, my dear Sutel, which I have provided, as best I could, with a preface dedicated to you preachers. 1) You may see whether it will be of any use. I see that the sings find themselves complained if they have to pay the church servants a little more, 2) also take no account of the time. Perhaps they hope they may have superfluous people to administer the preaching office, but since they hoped this, church servants should not have been sought from me. For here there is the greatest shortage of suitable men, and I can only drive them out with great difficulty, so that we are beginning to suffer mailgel in this city as well. In the past they wasted thousands of florins on innumerable seducers, while

1) See the first note to No. 1765.

2) Here the Erl. Briefw. makes the not quite correct remark: "The salary promised to Schumann satisfied Luther (cf. to Gericke March 28), so the rebuke concerns the objection to the moving expenses." The letter to Gericke rather shows that the latter was immediately offered 10 guilders more than the licentiate Basilius.

they do not want to turn to one hundred now. Therefore, we will let them go. It is better that they should be the servants of the pope and subject to the devil, than that they should be lords over Christ and trample on his word. Many such things occur in other places, but the Lord knows His own [2 Tim. 2:19]. "They make themselves believe that we must be glad of them, and that without them we cannot remain anywhere." This is not seeking the gospel with earnestness. Therefore I cannot answer anything about what you ask: whether you should partake of the Lord's Supper unshorn and unanointed, 3). For if it should not be a serious matter there, then I would like you to abstain from it, as before; but if it should be a serious matter, then you can receive testimony publicly before the altar from the other church ministers with a speech and the laying on of hands, and the power to administer the Lord's Supper. But excuse my brevity. I am moved by so many examples of ingratitude, that I am brought to give myself severely to these things, and to make myself a partaker of these disgusting Jews, who are disgusted with the manna [Deut. 21:5]. You are well, brave in Christ. On the first of March, 1531, Martin Luther.

No. 1768.

(Wittenberg.)March

4. March 1531.

To Stephan Roth in Zwickau.

Luther very sharply rebukes the proceedings of Roth and the Zwickau against their preachers.

Manuscript in Gotha, *Cod.* 451 k. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 219; by Hildebrand, *Archiv für Parochialgeschichte*. Zwickau 1834, I, 1, p. 25 (slightly more than half German, the conclusion Latin); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 226 f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 368. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1378.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Stephan Roth, town clerk at Zwickau, his friend.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Although I am more than overly afflicted, my dear Stephan, for the sake of the Word of God, it pains me not a little that you and your Zwickau God are not being treated with the same care.

3) Sutel had previously been Rector in Melsungen and had not received priestly ordination.

and his servants so extraordinarily despised. You have always despise this now. May the Lord Jesus Christ expelled Lorenz Soranus 1) with disgrace, but you have disgrace your and your family's counsels and not even heard the one so branded with this public presumptions, amen. March 4, 1531.

punishment, who had not yet been convicted of a public offense, and publicly everyone is crying out that you are both the author of this disgraceful deed and the helper in it. And however much you may excuse yourself, this cannot be excused in any way, that you have done this by your own violence, rather by your own sacrilege, without involving the priest, the very good man, and against his will, who after all was most anxious to know it and to give his consent to it. "But do you think, you dear noblemen, that you want to dominate the churches, and to snatch and steal the pensions, which you did not endow and which are not yours, and give them to whom you want, as if you were lords over the churches? As the Lord lives, I will make you and these Zwickau beasts a public example of such a great shameful deed in some booklet. But we have earned this through such great hardships, through such great fights for the Word of God, such thanks you pay us, you friends! But I will consider you again, together with yours, as having been put out of the fellowship of my Lord Jesus Christ. "This you and they all shall see," as surely you also

1) Lorenz Soranus (Sorer, Sörer, from Sohra near Freiberg) was first reading master in the Freiberg Franciscan monastery, where he preached in Luther's spirit already in 1524. Through him, the Duchess Ursula of Münsterberg seems to have first become acquainted with Luther's writings. In 1526 he became the first Protestant preacher at Reichenbach in the Vogtland and in 1528, appointed by the city council, came as a preacher to the Catharinen church at Zwickau. At the end of February 1531, the council suddenly dismissed him on May 1 "because the congregation had no desire for his person and teaching. He was accused of living an annoying life with his wife. A justification of Soranus was unsuccessful, which is why he demanded his immediate dismissal, which was also granted to him with the granting of his salary until May 1. This dismissal, which had taken place without the consent of the pastor Hausmann, was seen by the latter as an encroachment on his rights, and he demanded the reinstatement of the dismissed man, which the council refused. Hausmann then traveled with Soranus to Wittenberg and complained to Luther, who sided with the clergy. Thus a violent quarrel arose between Luther and the Zwickau council, which also caused Hausmann's departure in August. The breakdown of friendly relations between Luther and Roth lasted for several years.

Martin Luther.

No. 1769.

(Wittenberg.) March

4. March 1531.

To the Mayor and City Council of Zwickau.

Luther sharply chastises them for their ungodly behavior against their clergy.

The original is in the Rathsarchiv at Zwickau. Printed by Hildebrand, Archiv für Parochialgeschichte, Zwickau 1834, I, 1, p. 25 ; by De Wette - Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 437 (without the supplement) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 370. The supplement alone: in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 169.

To the honorable, prudent gentlemen, mayor and council of Zwickau, my favorable gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, prudent, dear sirs! Your parish priest and Laurentio Sorano have been here with us, and I have been told how the said Laurentius Soranus has been given leave of absence from you without the knowledge and will of the parish priest, no differently than a lord gives leave to his servant, since he is not your servant, and you are not lord of the churches, nor may you steal and rob such office at your pleasure, if and to whom you wish, but it is due to the Sovereign, until the matter with the bishops has ended. 2) Although I am now well aware that you have no interest in what I think is wrong or unjust, regardless of the fact that you should spare me, as I so hardly acquired and preserved the gospel (of which you have now become a part and need against all of us), and not trouble me, a poor afflicted man, with such presumption. Unfortunately, there is too much else that grieves my miserable heart, so that I should have cheaper consolation and joy from you. But because it will not be otherwise, I must command God and consider you again as cut off members of Christ. Unfortunately, you are too comfortable. But you shall not, if God wills it, resound with the defiance that you, as lords and princes of the land, would set up and depose preachers without the knowledge and will of the pastor.

2) That is, until Protestant bishops are installed.

Office and interest are not yours. It may be that you will lose more than you gain. This I have said to you as a reminder. Whoever does not want to have preachers, let him leave it; in time it will be different. The merciful God will protect your and all your peers' conduct in such a case. No priest nor preacher can stay with you for months, you make such a hue and cry for your city yourselves. Well, I have nothing to do with it, but to admonish you faithfully and brotherly. It is more for you than for me. God help you, amen. March 4, 1531, Martin Luther.

(Inserted note.)

The messenger got the first answer: there should be no answer; then he told me that he would not have to come home without an answer. But when I wrote this letter and told him to wait, he went away. Do not send me the proud messenger. Otherwise it makes you think.

No. 1770.

(Wittenberg.) March

4. March 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther asks him, on the basis of the expulsion of Soranus, to resist the arbitrary procedure of the council of Zwickau. .

Handwritten in the Rathsaarchiv at Zwickau (simultaneous, very poorly written copy). Printed by Kolde, p. 167 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 372.

Most gracious Lord! The City Council of Zwickau has suspended their preacher, Mr. Lorenz Soran, which is both burdensome to the pastor and preacher, because they have done so without the will of the pastor, even without cause against the preacher. Now, the Elector General knows very well where the example should be set that a preacher should be appointed and dismissed against the pastor, if they want to appoint 1) a Münzer or Carlstadt today or tomorrow, depending on whether they are inclined or disinclined toward the pastor. In addition, the Electorate is not to suffer, because now all monasteries and offices are in the hands of the Electorate, due to necessity and the bishops' abandonment of the idea that a city should be subject to having monasteries and offices for itself as its own.

1) "they" put by us instead of: "themselves".

thum. Also, where it should apply that a city may depose preachers and pastors if it wishes, and, the most serious, to burden an unindicted and unconvinced 2) preacher with such punishments that he is driven out in disgrace and cast into misery, the Elector General will not keep preachers in the country. The punishment should not be carried out³⁾ before the guilt is proven and the cause is brought forward. Therefore, to prevent such a bad example, I humbly request that your Lordship have a serious understanding, because the city of Zwickau has a cry that they can not stand a preacher,⁴⁾ and very hard-headed (hartt koppick), nevertheless want to be evangelical, to little honor of the Gospel. Further, the pastor himself will report to E. churf. G.. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Marcii 4, 1531.

E. churf. G. subordinate

Martinus Luther.

No. 1771 .

(Wittenberg.)

March 7, 1531.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther asks him to get a letter to the Elector and tells him about a difficult night he had. -

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 128; *ibid. Extrav.* 64, 4, fol. 305; in Hamburg, O 14, 107 (as addressed to Hausmann); in Zurich, Siml. Sammt., vol. 19 (to Hausmann; incomplete) and in *Cod. Jen.* b, fol. 189. Printed in Buddeus, p. 218; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 220 (to Hausmann; incomplete); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 229 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 373. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1222 f.

Grace and peace in Christ! See to it, my dear Jonas, that this letter is properly delivered to the prince, either by you or by someone else through you, and obtain an answer for me, so that I may put to rest those people who think that I am able to do everything at court, although nothing has been done.

2) In the manuscript: "vnubezcewgten", which Kolde has added a question mark, but the Erl. Briefw. but not correctly resolved by "unbezeugten". It is: *non convictum*.

3) Handwriting: "Jhenn".

4) Already in 1515, the people of Zwickau had a dispute with their preachers, according to a letter from Elector Friedrich to the bishop of Naumburg in the town hall archives of Zwickau. (Kolde.)

is less true. I will write about Doctor Basil 1) in the meantime, while you are there, but on another day than this one (so that I do not overwhelm the prince). In the meantime, you build, prepare, talk, walk and stand in front, so that the times will be suitable for us to talk, 2) because I will certainly come.

If you should hear something sad about me, do not believe it easily. For this night (I do not remember ever having done this before) I slept on my right side for six hours, although I always sleep on my left side, so tired was I. For the previous night I carried stones and wood far into the day (*ad multam diem*) in hell, not in Egypt. It was not the iron furnace of Egypt, but such as cannot be talked out with words, so that I seemed to myself a corpse. But I write this so that you may see that it is true that Christ is the King of power in weakness, who can rule, moderate and settle what is hot with what is cold, what is hard with what is soft, death with life, sin with righteousness, indeed everything opposed with what is opposed, according to the greatness of his glorious power; to him be praise and glory, amen. March 7, 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1 772.

Torgau. 3)
1531.

March 8,

The mayors of Zwickau, M. Lorenz Bärensprung and Hermann Mühlport like the, to Luther.

They complain that Luther had written so vehemently because of the dismissal of Soranus; if he had known the circumstances correctly, he would have used them to

have spared. An interrogation would show that they were justified in such dismissal. If it should be necessary, they would show further excuse.

Printed in Hildebrand, Archiv, vol. I, issue 1, p. 277; in Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte, edited by H. Ermisch, vol. 5 (1884), p. 338 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 374.

To the respectable, highly respected and worthy Mr. Martin Luther, holy and evangelical scripture doctor, our special favorable gentleman and friend.

Our very willing services of possible diligence before. Respectable, worthy, dear Doctor! We have now received E. A.'s letter at Torgau concerning the leave of absence of Mr. Lorenzen, the preacher at St. Catherine's; however, because we are burdened with letters at⁴⁾, we have not been able to give E. A. a correct and proper answer as we would have liked. However, we are not a little concerned and alienated by your letter, and we have no doubt that E. A. will report to us, along with all the circumstances, that you have spared us your almost vanishing letter, because we, through divine help and grace, would also like to live and act in a way that is pleasing to God, that will make us blessed, and that will not be punishable by the world. We must, however, tolerate this and other letters, which are addressed to us and against us, in view of the fact that we are innocent of the dishonor inflicted upon us; 5) under the name of the holy word of God, and the holy gospel is to be called preached; but if we would have our regiment discharged, it should not be highly contrary to us to hand it over to the pastors and preachers, as is their intention. ⁶⁾ At our discretion, our business shall, as we request and ask, be brought to trial: 7) it shall apparently be found that we are justified in such dismissal. Be that as it may, we want to send E. A.'s letter to other friends of ours as well. Whether E. A. needs to write further, our excuse shall also remain undisturbed. For we are willing and eager to serve E. A. and his dignity, as our favorable lord. Dated Wednesday after Reminiscere [March 8] *Anno Domini XXXI*.

E. A. und Würden willige Laurentius
Bernsprung Mgst. und Hermann Mühlport
der Aeltere, beide Bürger zu Zwickau, jetzt zu
Torgau.

4), Erl. Briefw.: "s. v. a. Schreibereien". - Shouldn't "business" be read?

5) Inserted by us to give meaning.

6) The now following is drawn in our template (as we think", wrongly) to the preceding.

7) There is an item here in our template.

1) D. Basilius Axt. He came to Königsberg in August 1531 as physicist to Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

2) *mollia Tempora fandi*. Cf. *Virg. Aen. lib. IV, v. 293 sq.*

3) In any case, the messenger who had to deliver the letter to the Elector (No. 1770) will also have taken the letter to the council of Zwickau (No. 1769). Since he now found the two mayors of Zwickau in Torgau, he delivered the letter to them. Their answer is therefore only a personal one, not on behalf of the council.

No. 1773.

Wittenberg.

March 12, 1531.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

Luther recommends Basil to him and reports his unhappiness.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 128. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 221 (wrong: March 13); by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 230 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 375 f.

Grace and peace! My dear Amsdorf, my Basil is coming; 1) he is recommended to you, and the Lord create fruit through him, amen. It is a constant rumor that the Turk will come; God have mercy on us! I have no other news. I am very weak, especially in the head. Therefore, I am prevented from writing, reading, talking much, and live like a sick person. Pray for me. Wittenberg, Sunday Oculi [March 12] 1531.

Martin Luther.

No. 1774.

(Wittenberg.)

March 13, 1531.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther promises to act for D. Basilius Axe ; of the Turkish danger.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 121b and 122 and in *Cod. Jen.* b, fol. 190. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 219; by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 230 and in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VIII, p. 376. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1224 f.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I see, my dear Jonas, from your answers that I did not try to act for Doctor Basil at the right time, since I was most moved by the assumption that meanwhile, while you were deliberating, the prince would have greater leisure. But since this hope has failed, I will do what I can at another time, and shortly.

1) Whether *Lic.* Basilius Schumann or D. Basilius Axt is meant here is disputed, but we lean towards the opinion expressed by De Wette: "Probably the same one who was earlier destined for Göttingen. He may have taken his way via Magdeburg on the journey to Goslar, where he had been appointed (cf. No. 1778).

A certain Mr. Peter 2) from Prag, whose son is a scientist here, writes to me that the Turk is surely coming, and last fall he had innumerable baptized bushels of grain sown in the kingdom of Hungary in order to feed his army. What this means, we Germans must bravely despise, so that we will perish. But if fate wants us to perish, it is easier for us to perish with the wicked than to live with them, since while they live, they do not allow us to live with them, and if we die with them, we will lack nothing, but those will perish completely. Be well and pray to the Lord for me; in him be well and live. Monday after Gregory [March 13] 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1775.

Wittenberg.

March 17, 1531.

To the mayors and judges of Frauenstein.

Luther advises them to continue to partake of both forms of the Lord's Supper despite the external violence, and to confess this when asked.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2216.

No. 177 6.

Wittenberg.

March 18, 1531.

To a citizen of Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 568.

No. 1777.

(Wittenberg.)

March 20, 1531.

A marginal note and postscript by Luther to one of Melancthon's letters to Spalatin.

The original is in Basel, *Cod. F* 101, op. 102 (with Spalatin's inscription: 1.5.3.1.). Printed in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 490 and (in part) in Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. VIII, p. 379.

Melancthon writes: The passages of Peter [1 Petr. 3, 18. ff. and 4, 6.] I cannot explain. Our Pomeranian firmly asserts that only the Gentiles are there.

2) At that time there was only one student from Prague in Wittenberg, Johannes Trscko, inscribed in the winter semester 1530 (Alb. 141), whose father will be meant.

The apostles preached the gospel to them after the resurrection of Christ. He interprets it in such a way that these had been in prison before they heard the gospel, and almost persuaded Luther to his opinion.

Luther wrote in the margin: "That is not true. M. L. with his own hand.

[Postscript.]

Greetings from the sick and yet not [dying] 1) Brother Martin Luther.

No. 1778.

(Wittenberg.)

March 28, 1631.

To the City Council of Göttingen.

Luther reports that Basilius Schumann has gone to Goslar and suggests the preacher Chriacus Gerrcke in Köthen instead of him.

Printed by *Heumann, diss. de lenitate A. C.*; in the same *Sylog. dissertat., Append.* I, p. 58; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 66, No. 110; in Walch, vol. XXI, 335; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 234; in the Zeit- und Gesch.Beschr. von Göttingen, vol. 11, p. 396 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p.2Ä2.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Göttingen, my favorable dear gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace. Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! The Licentiate Basil, of whom you write, is now no longer available, but has been demanded to Goslar, as I also indicated earlier that the personnel has become strange and expensive, and the longer the more so that I know of no one here who is capable of speaking the Saxon language for you. However, I have spoken to your envoy, he should try to deal with one in Köthen, called Mr. Cyriaks, who has been in the preaching ministry in Zerbst. If he now wants to accept this and you like it, I would like to be conducive to it as much as I can. Hereby commanded by God. Date Tuesday after Judica [March 28] 1531.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1779.

Wittenberg.

March 28, 1531.

To Cyriacus Gericke in Köthen.

Luther offers him the pastorate in Göttingen.

1) This word is not legible. Bretschneider thought it was *Steurigadus*; perhaps: *moribundus*.

Printed by Neumann, *Heumann, dissert., Append.* I, p. 59; in the same *dissert. de lenitate V.* 6. p. 46; in the Zeit- und Gesch.-Beschr. der Stadt Göttingen, vol. II, p. 396; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 192; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 234f. and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 380.

To the highly esteemed man Cyriacus N., servant of the Word at the castle in Köthen, his brother. "To Cöten at the castle, the preacher."

Grace and peace! The Göttingen council demands a servant of the word from me, dearest brother, who is also to be superintendent; I had promised him the licentiate Basilius Schumann, but he has been called to Goslar. Therefore, if it seems good to you, you can talk to this Göttingen envoy about this matter. For I have so advised him that he should go to you to hear your will. The all-offer is respectable enough, as it seems to me, 70 fl. of annual income. If, therefore, the Senate will persuade you to accept it, then it is good; if not, then you should answer yourself and indicate your opinion to the Göttingen Council. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, "Tuesdays" after Judica [March 28] 1531. Martin Luther.

No. 1780.

Wittenberg.

March 28, 1531.

To Johann Frosch²⁾ in Augsburg.

Luther corrects the false rumors about the agreement concluded between him and the Zwinglians, and admonishes him to remain firm in the right doctrine.

Handwritten in Dresdeu, C. 351, fol. 26 d. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 222; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 235 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 381.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have heard about the boasting of your Michaelists 3),

2) Schütze has read *Rana* (Frog) in "Nauve" and lets this be the addressee. De Wette has followed him.

3) The followers of the leader of the Zwinglians, Michael Keller. Frosch and Stephan Agricola (Kastenbauer) had been dismissed during the Diet but recalled at the beginning of 1531, but at the same time Keller and two of his companions, Wolfgang Musculus and Bonifacius Wolfhard, had been called. Now the old quarrel flared up again, and the council forbade to bring the question of oral enjoyment and eating of the unbelievers to the pulpit. As a result, Frosch and Agricola took their leave; Caspar Huber stayed. Both went to Nuremberg. Frosch became a preacher at St. Sebaldus Church, but Agricola was a guest of Wenceslaus Link until Margrave George of Brandenburg summoned him to court.

who boast that an agreement has been made between us and the Zwinglians, so that there is also a rumor that we have completely agreed with their opinion. But you, my dear Frog (*Rana*), with your colleagues, firmly believe that we have not yielded anything of our opinion. But this is how it is: Martin Pucer is quite diligent and, as the words say, sincerely anxious to hold and teach with us. And therefore, as far as his person is concerned, I have good hope that at least he himself will return to the right path. I have nothing certain about the others, but if they sincerely wish for harmony, I would like to be lenient with them, so that they will gradually be lured in after their commands that all things be placed in the hands of two or three men. So I, D. Martin, praise God, am now gone in always without prejudice to our opinion, which we have defended up to now. This is what love seems to demand. If they do not sincerely desire the same, the cause itself will cry out and stand against them for us. In the meantime, be strong with our brethren and persevere as we care for my soul more than 100,000 Zwickau. If my you do, not broken or changed by any boasts of any teaching is right, then the people of Zwickau should not scoundrels (*spermologorum* [Apost. 17, 18]) and their lead their defiance outside. If I could be with you, I would boasts, and, God willing, I will not change in my opinion also tell you so that you could answer the "sharp and faith. The grace of God be with you. Greet Doctor Zwickauers. Therefore I kindly ask you to excuse your Stephan and all our brothers reverently. Wittenberg, "Tuesday" after Judica [March 28] 1531.

Martin Luther.

Greetings from the scribe M. Veit Dieterich, who wrote this letter. wants to go to them, as I have experienced so far. For you can see that for yourselves

No. 1 781.

(Wittenberg.)

Probably still in March 1531.

To Valentin Hausmann¹⁾ in Freiberg.

Luther defends Nicolaus Hausmann against the one-sided and implausible accusations of the Zwickauers.

1) All older editions leave the letter addressed to Valentin Hausmann, only De Wette, which is assigned to *Cod.*

Goth. followed, makes Nicolaus Hausmann the addressee. The Erlangen edition does not come into consideration because it is a mere reprint of De Wette. Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 508, note 4, says: "The indication of *Cod. Goth.* is wrong. In general, it is becoming more and more apparent that the value of these copies in the various *Codicibus* falls variously short of the expectations.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 402, fol. (as from the year 1532). Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 303; in the Altenburger, vol. V, p. 1015; in the Leipziger, vol. XXII, p. 561; in Walch, vol. XXI, 356 (1532); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 228 (to Nicolaus Hausmann) and in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 218.

Grace and peace in Christ! Your brother N[icolaus] has let me see your writing, in which you comfort the good man "with many words" almost little, and shows enough cause that moves you; and it is true that your writing has moved me to thoughts. But I ask you, for God's sake, to have nothing certain about the others, but if they sincerely wish for harmony, I would like to be lenient with them, so as an adversary than one man's word, and God that they will gradually be lured in after their commands that all things be placed in the hands of two or three men. So I, D. Martin, praise God, am now gone in always without prejudice to our opinion, which we have defended up to now. This is what love seems to demand. lords and sovereigns, than Zwickau is, loaded onto me, If they do not sincerely desire the same, the cause itself and as little as I want to do injustice to the same, so little will cry out and stand against them for us. In the do I truly want to do injustice to those of Zwickau. For I meantime, be strong with our brethren and persevere as care for my soul more than 100,000 Zwickau. If my you do, not broken or changed by any boasts of any teaching is right, then the people of Zwickau should not scoundrels (*spermologorum* [Apost. 17, 18]) and their lead their defiance outside. If I could be with you, I would boasts, and, God willing, I will not change in my opinion also tell you so that you could answer the "sharp and faith. The grace of God be with you. Greet Doctor Zwickauers. Therefore I kindly ask you to excuse your Stephan and all our brothers reverently. Wittenberg, dear brother and not to believe everything those of Zwickau say, especially because they are crying out that they cannot stand any preacher or pastor, and no one wants to go to them, as I have experienced so far. For you can see that for yourselves

tungen". The Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. VIII, p. 383, has the heading: "Luther an N. N. in Zwickau", and justifies this with the fact that our letter "is obviously addressed to Zwickau". To us, the opposite seems to be the case. Nowhere does Luther say: you of Zwickau, but throughout: "those of Zwickau". Luther could not write to someone living in Zwickau: "do not want to believe those of Zwickau", because he himself was an eye and ear witness 2c. The matter will be like this: from Zwickau a colored report will have gone out to Valentin Hausmann, which the latter joined in his letter to his brother, without having heard the same as a second witness. Therefore, at the end of the letter, Luther identifies him to a certain extent with the Zwickauers, but separates him from them there: "Do those at Zwickau, or you yourself, not want to feed your brother" 2c. We have set March as the date, partly because of the significant echoes that our letter has of No. 1769 and No. 1770, and partly because Nicolaus would not have let a long time pass without telling his brother something about this deal.

But it may well mean that a good man, who has studied his life away, who has consumed his father's goods and suffered all kinds of misfortune, should be a pastor in Zwickau, as they have let themselves be told, that they should be lords, and the pastor Kriecht, who would be sitting all day on the Schuckel: if Mühlport wanted him, he would stay; if not, he would have to leave. No, my dear sir, you shall not take it there, nor shall you keep a pastor; we will not do it, nor suffer it, unless they confess that they do not want to be Christians. From pagans we shall and will suffer it; from Christians Christ himself will not suffer it. If they at Zwickau or you yourselves, my dear sirs and friends, do not want to feed your brother, you may well leave that alone. Christ is a little richer than the world, even if he pretends to be poor. It is said: *Esurientes implebit*; we will leave it at that and let those at Zwickau go on.

No. 1 782.

(Zwickau.)

3. April 1531.

Stephan Roth to Luther.

Roth complains about Luther's vehement writing and hasty judgment.

Printed by Walch, vol. XXI, 1379 (who does not indicate his Latin source) and subsequently in Erlanger Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 384.

To the excellent and honored Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor of Theology and Ecclesiastics at Wittenberg, to his own hands, his Lord to be especially revered.

Grace and peace in the Lord! In this one thing I boast before God and the world, in Christ, most beloved Father, that through you I have been given to know Christ and the mystery of the Gospel, and that I am a witness of your labors, watches, tribulations and sufferings, which for the sake of the Gospel you are now almost into your fifteenth year, steadfastly and generously enduring, for which I give you, but especially our God, undying thanks. For the rest, I cannot be surprised enough at the hasty judgment you have passed on me and my Zwickauers, who have not even been heard, let alone convicted, but are rather innocent and do not deserve it. You condemn this some of us, that we have disgracefully hunted out that Soranum, who is best known to you, unheard and not referred.

have. Why do you condemn us unheard? although it is not true in the least that we have expelled Soranum unheard and punished him publicly, but rather we have released him most honestly, namely by setting a time for his departure (of which¹⁾ occasion, which the Council with reverence and for the honor of the Gospel not without prior counsel and cultivated mature consideration, still exists with us a copy and, if I am not mistaken, the manuscript itself). Why have you, venerable father, been tempted by this man's greatest ingratitude? That in the most difficult and important matter, namely the welfare of souls, you do not hear one party and pass such a terrible judgment. And if I, whom you consider the author and promoter of this tragedy, were not aware that I am innocent in this matter, you would have taken this very Soranum, upon our priests, whether they like it or not, as a witness, and, God forbid, condemned me to the rope. Not even unjust judges do this, that they are so hasty in passing judgment, even in small matters, when the other party is not heard and is absent. For thus it is said in Proverbs, "One man's speech is not speech; they shall both be heard. I am sorry for you and I am sorry that you give a complete hearing to such slanderers, who are only looking for their own thing from you. For I know for certain that you will not be deceived once by such beasts, but will be led behind the light countless times. Perhaps the Lord will send it so that I can excuse myself and mine verbally. For how do we poor people come to be so innocent and so suddenly, for the sake of one man's testimony and untruthful accusation, to obtain both an ungracious God and an ungracious sovereign? God did not want that! They eat salt with you in Wittenberg as long as with us, so you will know them as well as we do. Not all of them are good cooks who carry knives for a long time. There are many name Christians and preachers of the gospel whom you would find, if you knew them better, that they seek their own things more than the things of Christ. These will cause us a lot of trouble in future times, which a prophet would certainly predict, and God would have me speak falsely. But enough of that. Incidentally, as far as the threatening words are concerned, namely that you will use me and the Zwickau beasts in a book as a general example.

1) This is: their.

If you want to take it around, we leave the matter to God. But you may see what you will achieve with this decision with the enemies of the Gospel, or what you will bring my Zwickauer to. The church goods are dealt with in such a way that the council is not ashamed to give an account of every penny at any moment. They do not seize the goods of the church and take them as robbery, as they are also falsely accused by those who are concerned that they defend their conscience. Why do you hear the bringers in this piece? And in short, in all these things the council will prove its innocence. Believe me, the council is holier and more innocent in this matter than that it should remain silent and allow itself to be accused of this disgrace. This is what I recently wanted to say in reply to your vehement letter, so that you may see that we are not at all afraid of these accusers, but are courageous and steadfast, and give an account of all our words and deeds, not only to you, venerable father, but also to our prince, and to anyone else who is interested, when and as often as it is necessary. Therefore, for the sake of Christ and Christian peace, I ask you to hold back your hasty judgment, even to withdraw it, until you have also heard us or read our apology. There will be little lack, as I believe, that you should not regret having so hastily condemned us poor, unheard, innocent people. It is also not without cause that Soranus has been dismissed without prior knowledge and inquiry with our pastor - as you will also hear in due time. We may therefore not be out of the fellowship of Jesus Christ, as you judge, since you are wrongly prejudiced by the other part. Rather, we are driven by the holiest zeal, and that by virtue of our knowledge and the gospel of Christ. If you will not deny this, that even among those who boast of the gospel, ungodly men are sometimes found, who, under the pretext of the gospel, follow their affections more, and interfere with their preaching with such great bitterness, immodesty and impetuosity, that nothing is above it, than doing the work of Christ. There is hardly a sermon in which one does not hear: you sticks, you blocks, you rogues, you rogue necks, you knuckle-draggers, you oxen, you coarse daggers, you godless people, I have to call you whales,¹⁾ I have to reel you in, hew you, prune you, and the like. How much un

Whether this excites the mob, or how much the people are edified by it, you may consider for yourselves according to your modesty; but whether this means anything else than denying the spirit, I do not know. From this follows the greatest and unspeakable contempt for the Gospel and the true servants of the Word of God. The rest I pass over with good deliberation. May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, who will preserve you for a long time and strengthen your heart, so that you will be strong and an iron wall to bear all the tribulations of the enemy. Do not take offense at the present, for your letter has forced me to reply. You may attribute it to the same if I have transgressed here. Greet your Catharina and all who are with you. Do not so hastily expel an old friend from your community, and if you have time, and it seems good to you in your eyes, write again, 2) so that I may know whether I am in favor or in disfavor with you, for I am anxious to know. Given on the Monday after Palmarmum [April 3] in the year after the birth of Christ 1531.

No. 1 783.

(Wittenberg.)

April 5, 1531.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

About a marriage case.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen. a*, fol. 347. Printed by Buddeus, p. 220 (as from 1530); by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 237 and in *Erl. Briefw.*, vol. VIII, p. 387. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1225 f. (among the letters of 1531, but with the year 1530).

To the worthy man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, servant of the word at Altenburg, his brother.

Grace and peace! M. Philippus, my dear Spalatin, writes my opinion about the presented marriage case. 3) For I write little and in stolen and intervening moments, so that I do not again irritate my head more severely, which is otherwise already too much irritated. Greetings to your exceedingly dear Hind, to whom God give a little deer, amen. But that the answer about the aforementioned case is delayed, is perhaps due to the very

1) "waltraufen" will be the same as "forest rights", to make forest right, to cut.

2) Luther sent this letter back unbroken through Hausmann.

3) This letter of Melanchthon is in *Corp. Ref.* vol. II, 492.

It was the fault of the good man, the pastor at Zwickau, who either did not remember or did not stop enough. Fare well in the Lord. April 5, 1531.

Mart. Luther.

No. 1 784.

(Wittenberg.)

16. ApWril 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1745, no. 1162.

No. 1 785.

(Wittenberg.)

April 17, 1531.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1618.

No. 1 786.

(Wittenberg.)

April 18, 1531.

To Justus Jonas.

Request for a letter of recommendation for the sexton of the church near Eilenburg.

The original is in Wolfenbüttel, *Helmst.* 285. B. Handwritten there, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 129 (inserted leaf). Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 223; in J. Th. Wideburg, *Osterprogramm des Gymnasiums zu Helmstädt vom Jahre 1818*, p. VII; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 245 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 896.

His superior in the Lord, Mr. Justus Jonas, the extremely faithful archbishop of Saxony.

Grace and peace! If this Laurentius finds you, the gatekeeper of the church outside Eilenburg, 1) my dear Jonas, please provide him with any letter of recommendation, wherever he desires it. I otherwise already shower the prince with such writings that I must be ashamed. If this perhaps does not seem useful or advisable, then let him be comforted with good words. "After all, it is becoming too much of a thing!" And we are forced to give away more than we have, especially I, although the Lord amply repays it. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. April 18, 1531, Martin Luther.

No. 1 787.

(Wittenberg.)

April 24, 1531.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

Luther sends back the letters of the Zwickau council and Stephan Roth unbroken and unread, because he does not want to have anything more to do with them because of their hostile behavior against him. About a marriage matter.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 123b; again fol. 459b (dated July 27, 1545); same, *Aug.* 11. 10, fol. 232 (without day and year); same, *Cod.* 214, fol. 2; in Hamburg, Ms. 66, fol. 186; in Gotha, *Cod.* 451, fol. and in *Cod. Jen.* b, fol. 156. Printed by Buddeus, p. 226; by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 249 f. (datirt 1. Mai) and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 397. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1227.

Grace and peace in Christ! I do not know what your council has written to me, nor do I want to know, my dear Nicolaus, which is why I have returned his letters unbroken and unread, because I have decided that I do not want to hear, see or read them, but have nothing to do with their fellowship and their doings. Therefore, I am also returning your earlier letter, which I opened but did not read, since I had seen that it was from Zwickau, together with the still unopened letter from Stephan Roth. A certain rumor comes to me that they have talked against me in Torgau 2) and put it into action, therefore "they should leave me alone with their letters, I will go idle. Finally, I am also sending the letter I intended to address to you,³⁾ which is marked with the letter B. You will see what you have to do. You will see what you have to do. I will take care that I do not participate in any part of her advice or actions. What I have written to them before, that shall be written. But I will also write to the preacher at St. Catharine's 4) and tell him in conscience why he has taken the boldness to preach in the office entrusted to you without asking you for advice. I

2) On March 11, a preliminary decision was made in Torgau. The mayors of Zwickau submitted a letter of apology to the Elector regarding the dismissal of Soranus, and his decision was that the matter should be settled amicably; the discharge of Soranus, however, was approved.

3) No. 1785.

4) Stanislaus Hoffmann, a Bohemian clergyman, was appointed by the Council as the successor of Soranus. The next letter is addressed to him.

1) Sexton at the mountain church near Eilenburg.

1653

I would like you, together with Cordatus, to press the case and the matter so that he, frightened, will desist from this stolen preaching office.

By the way, what you write about Erhard Goetz, you should know that the opponent did not appear, as the note of the settlement indicated. And I have the suspicion that your council is spreading this fairy tale to your and all our disgrace, so that they alone are Zwickauers and the first to trample on and defile all servants of the word. Therefore I hold that Erhard is free from that accuser, who is convicted of adultery by so many witnesses and her own confession. 1) But you know that we have taken the matrimonial matters, which the authorities have not taken care of so far, upon ourselves out of necessity, but that I have now thrown them back upon the authorities in a public book 2). For, among others, the children of Belial [2 Chron; 13, 7.) from your senate have also expressed this brand to me at Torgan with lying and malicious words, that I was playing a game with dissolving and confirming the marriage according to my will, and arrogated to myself the rule over it. "They are boys in their skin." Therefore, if they are not satisfied with this judgment of ours, "let them judge for themselves and rule in the devil's name. Neither let them trample under foot the ministry of the word, as they do, or let any other name pass over them." The Lord be with you, dear brother, and pray for me. Monday after George [April 24] 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1788.

(Wittenberg.)

April 24, 1531.

All Stanislaus Hoffmann in Zwickau.

Luther points out to him that without the knowledge and will of the priest Hausmann of the Zwickau council he had taken the place of

1) About this decision of Luther, as well as about the one in the case of Pocher (letter to Hausmann of May 10), the council deputies repeatedly complained at the hearing on August 3 in Torgau: Luther had, as they had already pointed out at the first hearing on March 11, often decided arbitrarily and unjustly in matrimonial matters, especially in the case with Götz and Pectold (Pocher), whom he had acquitted of the suspicion of adultery.

2) "Of Matrimonial Matters. 1530." St. Louis edition, vol. X, 754.

of Soranus, and indicates to him that he does not want to have any part in this offense; Hoffmann may exercise his conscience.

The original is in the Zwickauer Rathssarchiv. Printed by De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 488.

To the highly esteemed man, Mr. Stanislaus Hoffmann, preacher of the council of Zwickau at St. Catharinen, his friend in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I hear, my good man, that you are preacher at St. Catharine's in place of Laurentius Soranus, who was shamefully and ignobly expelled, and who has neither been charged nor transferred, and I am very surprised at your audacity, since you knew very well that the church at Zwickau is commanded to the pastor Nicolaus, and entrusts these souls to his faithful care, for which he must give account to Christ. And yet dll, without asking him and without his will, entered this office or took it over. But with what kind of conscience could you do this and persist in this doing? It may be that the council has appointed you, but it has appointed you without the knowledge and will of the pastor, to whose care this city is entrusted. I am writing this to you to admonish you, but at the same time to inform you that I do not want to take part in this deed of yours or your senate's, nor do I approve of it, but have nothing to do with it and be pure from your sin, if Christ should judge. You may see what you have done, but you will have me neither as a comrade nor as a justifier. Fare well in the Lord, and take heed to your conscience. On Monday after George [April 24] 1531. Martin Luther.

No. 1789.

(Wittenberg.)

April 24, 1531.

To Spalatin.

Luther recommends Georg Tors, who is looking for a position. From the theurung.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 259. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 225 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 251. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1226.

To the esteemed man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the faithful and fair pastor of the church at Altenburg, his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! This Georg Tors 1) has been with me, my best Spalatin, in the intention of finding some position. Since none presented itself at present, and he could not stay here in this place, he has decided to stay outside of Wittenberg for the time being, somewhere where an opportunity should always present itself, until a position is offered to him. Therefore, he asks me for letters of recommendation to you and the other visitors, if you could advise him with any position. Therefore, either help the man or comfort him with a word that inspires confidence.

We have no news, except that the theurization of grain has suddenly risen beyond all measure, and there is a tremendous clamor among the people. But what does the unbelievable neglect of the word not deserve, rather the contempt and hatred even among our people? God convert our hearts, and so have mercy on us, Amen. Greetings to your chain (*Catenam*, Kethe), the very good wife. On the day after George [April 24] 1531, your Martin Luther.

No. 1 790.

Wittenberg.

April 29, 1881.

To Brosius Heinrich zu Dittersdorf.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 746. - There, according to De Wette's processes, provided with the date: "April 30". But already Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 508, note 6, says that "Saturday after Misericordias Domini", thus April 29, is the more probable date, which this citation in all editions of the *Tischreden*, Cap. 43, § 122 actually has. Similarly, this dating is found in the *Bibl. Wolf.* III, 64 at Hamburg, as Burkhardt, p. 190 reports.

No. 1791.

(Wittenberg.)

April 30, 1531.

To Barbara Lischner in Freiberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1744.

1) Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 657 writes "Dors".

No. 1792.

(Wittenberg.)

3. May 1531.

To the Reval City Council.

(Regest.)

The candidate for superintendent refuses to accept the office, and Luther has not found anyone else, so he admonishes the council to support his city children in their studies, for which two suitable persons are named.

According to the original in the Rathssarchiv zu Reval, reported by O. Waltz in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, II, 134. A regest in Kolde, *^naleeta*, p. 169, which we have reproduced here.

No. 1793 .

(Wittenberg.)

May 8, 1531.

All the Chancellor Brück.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1749, no. 1163. - There, the heading reads "1531".

No. 1784

(Wittenberg.)

May 10, 1531.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau. About the marriage case of Georg Pocher.

The original is in Dessaus) Manuscript in *Cod. Jen.* b, fol. 211 and in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, fol. 128 (identical with Aurifaber, vol. III). Printed by *Buddeus*, v. 227 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 253. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1229.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have read your letter for your relative Georg Pocher and heard the man in detail. But because you demand my counsel in this matter, I have consulted with Magister Philippus, and it seems advisable to us, if the danger is so great and such, that he abstain from attending his wife out of *just fear (justo metu*, as the lawyers speak), whether perhaps time will finally reveal her to be either guilty or innocent. And this is supposed to be a thing, which the 1 Cor. 7

2) Since we have essentially worked according to De Wette and Burkhardt in the following, we have followed their designations of the locations. The archive in Dessau was, as the Erl. Briefw. states, was brought from Dessau to Zerbst; Burkhardt has the indication: "Original in Dessau." Aurifaber's manuscript in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, is referred to by De Wette either as "Aurifaber's unprinted collection" or as "Aurifaber, vol. III," and in this we have followed both.

is the same where enraged spouses depart from each other. But a divorce, that both may marry, is not to be made, except in the public court, where each of the two parties is personally accused and charged. It is not up to us to advise this, nor does it fall within the bounds of conscience. Conscience, however, is safe if he abstains from the presence of the woman as long as he is in probable fear of such great danger. Now whether this fear is probable must be determined from the man's manners, character, and reputation, as when he is not notorious for levity or malice, but has a good reputation and serious manners; then when the woman is notorious by the opposite manners and character, that is, when the man complains of nothing but such danger, and would suffer everything else, as you write. For if this is found to be true, he must not be forced into the danger, regardless of the annoyance. But such great signs of danger (even though the woman denies it), as he relates, are sufficient to cause a just fear. But enough of that. We see in such cases the very real works of the devil. The Lord be with you. Salute the Lord Cordatus in the Lord. May 10, 1531, Martin Luther.

¹⁾ Because your council wants to judge this case, we want to be free and refer it to them; only that we want to consult the conscience, if a temporary separation should be ordered.

No. 1795.

Wittenberg.

May 12, 1531.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther instructs him that in the case where one is not sure whether someone is baptized or not, one must not give conditional baptism.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 402. fol. and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 129. Printed in *Buddeus*, p. 78 (incomplete; from 1529); in Schütze, vol. III, p. 171 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 254. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1194 (as from 1529).

¹⁾ In Buddeus, De Wette and Walch this postscript is added to the letter itself, according to the original it is a postscript.

To Mr. Wenceslaus Link, Ecclesiastics at Nuremberg.
Grace and peace! Concerning the question you put to me in your last letter, my dear Wenceslaus, about conditional baptism, I have consulted with Master Philip, and after carefully considering the matter, we have come to the decision that conditional baptism is to be absolutely rejected in the church, and where one either doubts or does not know whether a person has been baptized, he should simply be baptized without condition, as if he had never been baptized. And our reason is this, that a conditional baptism says nothing, neither denies nor affirms, neither gives nor takes away. For suppose someone is baptized conditionally, he will then be forced to say, "Now I know as little and am as uncertain whether I was baptized as before, and with me all those who baptized me. For if the former baptism was right (which must be unknown, I may want or not), then the later one (because a conditional one) is nothing. Now if the earlier baptism was not a right one (which again I am obliged not to know), then the later baptism is again nothing, because it is and must be uncertain as long as the former is uncertain, since it is founded by the condition on the earlier one, which was uncertain, therefore it likewise remains uncertain forever. But now this must be done so that baptism is certain, at least for the baptizers themselves, who can testify to the church afterwards. In this case, therefore, it is safer to err with rebaptism, if a mistake is made at all (which we do not believe), than by giving an uncertain baptism, where in truth a sin is committed, because then it is also not a true rebaptism, but an uncertain rebaptism, that is, a true and certain baptism, against an uncertain baptism. In this way, we do not become raging rebaptizers. For those, as you know, publicly condemn the certain first baptism and do not want it to be called a baptism. But we want to leave the uncertain to its fate and God's judgment and offer a certain baptism. Thus we believe to be right and safe

act. Furthermore, if someone baptizes with an altered to baptize a child not yet born. For some used to run the baptismal formula, as you write: in the name of the Father fruit when the crown was barely showing. But why do they and of the Son and of St. Michael, we are certain that it is not baptize the mother's womb in the same way, or rather the mother's womb itself, so that the fruit may be thought not a baptism at all, not even a conditional one.

The conditional law of the Zeal Law [Deut. 5] has a to have been baptized? I have commanded that the different meaning. Because law and gospel are different woman in childbirth be assisted with prayers. But the things. The gospel is a promise of God that must be baptism of women, with which they baptize a child that has certain. The law is about things and our works, and can come into the world because of the danger of weakness, be omitted and not omitted, and easily suffers a condition. I consider valid, but it should still be brought into the Then also the law shows the hearts of men, which we do church, so that public prayers are said over it and the not know. But the promise gives us the things of God, baptism is publicly approved by the laying on of hands of whether we know them or not, since we know for certain the church minister, as confirmed by the testimony of the that men need them, but we do not know for certain church. However, I cannot condemn an unconditional 1) whether men have sinned against the law. baptism of a child born and brought into the world, if one

As I am busy, I write confusedly and hurriedly; you will doubts the certainty of the privately administered baptism; arrange it and gather the best from this forest of my the situation is different if one does not doubt. I am writing clumsy writing. very briefly, because my head is suffering and my hands

I thank you for the oranges you gave. There was a are shaking. Pray for us and be well in Christ forever. small washbasin enclosed along with a two-armed Given on May 13, 1531.

candlestick, I don't know if you gave it; you didn't indicate anything. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, May 12, 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1797.

Your Martin Luther.

(Wittenberg.)

May 19, 1531.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1614. - There, as in De Wette, with the wrong date: "May 26".

No. 1796.

(Wittenberg.)

May 13, 1531.

To Andreas Osiander in Nuremberg.

On the baptism of children not yet fully born and on emergency baptism.

In Aurifaber's unprinted collection. Printed by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 192; in Strobel's *Miscell.* vol. III, p. 85 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 256.

To Mr. Andreas Osiander, preacher at Nuremberg.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Since you ask about the baptism of children who have not yet come out of their mother's womb, my dear Osiander, I will gladly give you my opinion without interfering with yours. I have forbidden our wives to have a

No. 1708.

(Wittenberg.)

20, May 1531.

To his mother.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1798.

No. 1799.

(Wittenberg.)

May 23, 1531.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau. See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1612.

1) The text is in any case corrupted here, since it says the opposite of what Luther wrote to Wenceslaus Link on the previous day; therefore, we have assumed *Conditionalem* instead: *Inconditionalem*. Possibly the error can come from Luther himself, because he was, as the following says, very suffering. Obviously, also here the speech is about a baptism after happened emergency baptism.

No. 1800.

(Wittenberg.)

June 1531.

To Nicolaus Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

About the reconciliation of several Magdeburg preachers with each other; Luther wants Simon Hafritz to come to him; about the matter of a betrayed fiancée.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 131; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 230 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 262.

"Grace and peace in Christ!" I have reconciled Mr. Melchior 1) and the other two, M. Stephan and Fritzhan, my dear Amsdorf. Now it remains that you also treat the man in a friendly manner, as a comrade in the ministry of preaching. He is neither a wicked nor a bitter man, but of a somewhat petty disposition, who can easily suspect that he is despised; in this affliction of the brother, you know best how to advise. I have asked them to act respectfully and in love toward each other; if this were done, the people would also easily become calm. I have taken away from him the opinion he had formed concerning (*erga*) Simon Hafritz, and he will henceforth not favor the man as he did before, when he was deceived. But we agreed that I call Simon to me. "And I ask you herewith, only let said Simon, when I shall write, which shall be soon, as I will also ask an honorable council." You can make this opinion of mine known; perhaps it will serve to calm the minds, if perhaps some are agitated. But because I am burdened with these people, I have asked that he go away with a considerable gift, so that I will not be forced to feed the man, since I am poor myself. "And kindly ask, together with my dear Käthe, that you help diligently so that the dean Erhard Kapp may keep the cloth and rings that he gave and promised to the other betrothed virgin. For this is a just verdict, "considering that he deceived her so wantonly, and also slandered the first one so with trivial things, and prevented both of them from marrying.

come. You will, God willing, do it all better than I can write it". May the grace of God be with you. In the month of June, Anno 1531, your Martin Luther.

No. 1 801.

(Wittenberg.)

June 1, 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for Wolf Hornung for timber.

The original is in the Coburg House and State Archives. Printed by Burkhardt, D. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel, p. 191.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Wolf Hornung also intends to improve the town of Kemberg with a small house, and has purchased 40 logs in the southern district. He humbly requests that E. C. F. G. graciously give him 30 more logs in addition to the 40 in the same office, because it does not make much money. E. C. F. G. will know how to show mercy to him, because I write too much to E. C. F. G., and I want to tell everyone his cause through me. May God strengthen E. C. F. G. with His grace, Amen. June 1, 1531.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 1 802.

Wittenberg.

June 7, 1531.

To Caspar Löner and Nicolaus Medler in Hof.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1618.

No. 1 803.

(Wittenberg.)

June 8, 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Intercession for Nickel Werner.

The original is in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv, Reg. Nn, p. 674. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 191.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Good people have managed to write me to E. C. F. G. for this Werner, letter

1) Mirisch.

Zeiger, which the Amtmann zur Nenenstadt, Erph vom Ende, almost unreasonably beschweret 1) and E. C. F. G. too harshly. Therefore asks that, after having received E. C. F. G.'s award earlier, as I have seen and read, E. C. F. G. should graciously handle it, and if it is found that he has run over such award and E. C. F. G. is to be punished. C. F. G. too close, he does not request intercession. Because he did not seek his own in this, but his ward's need as a faithful guardian, and E. C. F. G.'s need as a faithful guardian. C. F. G. himself experiences daily how the officials take cause from this dwindling time to be princes of Saxony themselves and to do what they want, not what they should (as I do not like to report such things), my humble request (which I do not know how to refuse the good journeyman, and would rather let stand) is that E. C. F. G. want to intercede for Werner at such arbitration, in E. C. F. G.'s name. C. F. G.'s name given to him." He desires nothing more, which E. C. F. G. would gladly do without that, we all know (praise God) almost well. Christ, nuser HErr, strengthen E. C. F. G. with his spirit, Amen. June 8, 1531.

E. C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 1804.

(Wittenberg.)

June 16, 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther complains about the lifestyle of the captain Hans Metzsch and reports the insecurity of the city by tearing down a large part of the wall.

The original is in the Weimarsche Gesammtarchiv, *Reg. S.* fol. 31b to 37. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 192.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I should not and do not want to take on the secular regiment, nor disparage E. C. F. G.'s officials. However, because the common clamor is so strong, and I believe that E. C. F. G. is showing loyalty and love to me, which I do not want.

1) The statement of claim proves 18 points in which the defendant not only denies justice, but has also done the plaintiff, who is the guardian, all kinds of wrong, up to the imprisonment. The matter was investigated and Nickel Werner was released. (Burkhardt.)

I am also guilty in many ways, and do not like to have the name afterwards, where something went wrong, as if I had kept silent to the detriment of E. C. F. G.: Our captain Hans Metzsch is much and often amicably and seriously admonished by me that he should refrain from fornication and fornication with women, 2) it would not be too long for me, as a preacher, to suffer such a great annoying being nor to remain silent. About this he continues and makes it so fine that all people's mouths and noses, ears and eyes are full, he also confessed to me in private that he could not be without women. Thereupon I refused him all fellowship for my person and secretly forbade the sacrament. But since he hangs so tightly in his whores' braids that he shows little fear of God with them, and henceforth I also want to act against him in public sermons and judgments, I hereby request the opinion of E. C. F. G. that, if E. C. F. G. were to learn that I am working on these matters with him, E. C. F. G. would graciously remember this instruction, for such annoyance wants to shut me up, and also give others room for malice. He may be a good warrior, but he should not defend me in times of need, when he does not have God before his eyes, who has protected us so far without the stroke of a sword and still preserves us daily.

On the other hand, I also want to prove my loyalty to E. C. F. G.. I have also spoken to him and others in a friendly manner about the demolition of the city wall. But since I was told that I was a scribe and did not understand such things, I let it go. Nevertheless, whether it would be otherwise, because such builders think that no one may say that I have not warned E. C. F. G. of damage. For I know very well how much attention was paid to the gates until now, that the city would be closed, but now the city is open day and night for more than a hundred steps, so that pigs and everything can run in, and from the field to the market, from the market to the field, they can stand, walk and shoot freely, because the wall is broken down to the ground, and nothing is built or put up for it. Is it good and fine that

2) Maybe: come off?

I let it happen. E. C. F. G. will graciously recognize my report and consider the matter. My head is worried because there are now many children of great honest people here, and the fears are almost annual that something might happen by God's decree, about which we would have to complain too slowly and in vain. He goes through with his head and makes a big noise against himself, that nevertheless E. C. F. G. is to be put in, so that no displeasure arises; for pious people suffer, but too much tears the sack, and a spark might easily arise among the impatient, who would not be satisfied with his defiance, cursing and tyranny. It is, praise God, a pious, peaceful, obedient city. But the oppression and defiance may turn them back, so that they would not think of fearing a bailiff over their sovereign. Please again, E. C. F. G. want to receive this writing as out of pure loyalty. I have kept silent long enough so that I would not disparage anyone. But, if I am being nonsensical, then they will use E. C. F. G.'s goods and money as they please; even though E. C. F. G. may know all this, I still wanted to do my service. May God strengthen and comfort E. C. F. G.'s heart against all the deceitfulness of the afflicted, amen. On the Friday after Viti [June 16] 1531.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1805.

(Wittenberg.)

June 21, 1531.

To the preachers at Zwickau.

Luther speaks courage to them because of the vexations they had to suffer from the Zwickauers in their trade against Hausmann and Cordatus.

Manuscript in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 133; in *Cod. Goth.* 451. fol. and in *Cod. Jen.* d, fol. 161. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 228 and by *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 264. German by *Walch*, vol. XXI, 1230 f.

To the worthy men, the ministers of the Word at the church in Zwickau in general and especially to his brothers who are to be highly honored in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I believe sufficiently, worthy men, that you at Zwickau

You will have many troubles, and you will be forced to listen to Zwickau's boasts and invectives against the pastor and Cordatus. But bear it for the sake of Christ, who will defend and judge you and this cause. In the meantime, faithfully and quietly administer Word and Sacrament to the godly and faithful until we have the prince's verdict. If they should now demand of you that you approve or condemn their deeds against the priest and Cordatus, you may say that you are not judges, but that the matter is pending at the court, and from there the judgment must be expected; as the Lord himself will enter this and all things better.

I have pity on the priest and Cordatus. But I am so displeased with these raging furies that I will not even dignify them with a letter or a word forever, and have decided to consider them as people who are excluded from my community. May God punish their iniquity, Amen. May Christ, who began the good work through you, strengthen it and carry it out until that day when we will be freed from this mundane rage and from all evils, amen. June 21, 1531.

Martin Luther.

No. 1806.

(Wittenberg.)

June 21, 1531.

To the Christians of Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1922.

No. 1807.

Torgau.

June 25, 1531.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Credenzbrief for Hans von der Planitz, Gregor Brück and Hans von Dolzig.

The original is in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv, *Reg.* S, fol. 31b-37. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 194.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We have the noble, esteemed, our councilors, and dear faithful, Hansen Edlen von der Plaunitz, knight, our bailiff at Grimma (Grym), Gregorien Brück, doctor, and Hansen von Doltzk, you of etzlicher things

1) as you will hear from them, and therefore it is our gracious request that you give them faith therein, as you do to us, and show yourselves in such a way as we graciously provide for you. This is done for our benefit and we are graciously inclined to you. Date Torgau, Sunday after Johannis Baptistä [25 June] Anno 1531.

No. 1808.

(Wittenberg.)

June 26, 1531.

Concerns, jointly with Melanchthon.

About a marriage case.

Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 28, p. 8b and in *Cod. Goth.* 166, p. 179b. Printed in *Manlii Farrago*, p. 105; in *Melauth. Consilia lat.*, tom. II, p. 642; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 509 and in *De Wette-Seidemann*, vol. VI, p. 130.

Luther speaks about Hartung's matter in this way: the woman must be cited before the doors of the church, as is the custom. If she now appears, she may state the reason why she left the husband and accuse him. But if she should not appear, the man, since he has good testimony, shall be acquitted of that woman who has gone astray, and shall be left to his conscience to decide whether he wishes to marry again. The matter does not contain a difficult dispute. On Monday after John the Baptist [June 26] 1531.

No. 1809.

(Wittenberg.)

June 26, 1531.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Luther complains about his sickness. One more word about the conditional baptism.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 134, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 228 and in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 267.

Mercy and peace! Satan is tormenting me with various blows, my dear Wenceslaus, so that he makes the health of my body uncertain, because he now prevents me from crying out so much through his malice.

1) According to the enclosed instruction, they had the task of investigating Luther's points of complaint in his letter of June 16, and to establish a good understanding between Luther and Metzsch. The results are unknown (Burkhardt).

I write and do very seldom and very little; perhaps he will also kill me in a short time. But let it not be his will, but his will, which has destroyed him with his whole kingdom, amen. I have read Brenz's opinion on conditional baptism, and I like, among other things, his sincere speech about the freedom of conscience. But I suspect that when he has heard ours, he will not join unwillingly. I have no other news. You can learn everything from Christian Goldschmied. Be well in Christ and pray for me. June 26, Anno 1531. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1810.

(Wittenberg.)

June 27, 1531.

To the Christians at Frauenstein near Freiberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2218. - "Herr N." is Hieronymus Weller, to whom the following letter is addressed. - "Caspar von N." is Caspar III von Schönberg, hereditary lord. - Col. 2219, in the text Z. 6 v. o. read: "where" instead of: "how".

No. 1811.

(Wittenberg.)

June 27, 1531.

To Hieronymus Weller.

Luther sends the previous letter to Hieronymus. Weller, who had initiated it, for his disposal.

From the Börner collection in Leipzig in Schütze, vol. II, p. ? (*De Wette*: 1531); in *Strobel's Miscell.*, vol. III, p. 89; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 193 and in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 269. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 402. fol.

Grace and peace in Christ! In many respects I detest the utterly vile and sacrilegious actions of this preacher, my dear Jerome, who under Caspar von Schönberg 2) (as you write) persuaded the simple-minded souls to take upon themselves the danger of enjoying both, and now the hireling himself, having seen the wolf, flees and leaves the sheep, which are neither firm enough nor fortified. What shall I do now as an absentee to those from whom I am absent? That hireling has not come before my eyes. Now revoke may

2) Hereditary lord of Frauenstein, a town situated between Freiberg and the Bohemian border.

They cannot ask for forgiveness, and yet they may not be able to persevere and steadfastly confess their godly deeds. How much more right they would act under these tyrants, for example, by strengthening consciences through the word alone, or by teaching that only those should submit to [the enjoyment of both forms] who would be willing to suffer everything for Christ. For it is better to have believed silently than to deny publicly after the fact. Nevertheless, I am writing to them, but I do not know whether my letter will bring them comfort or grief. You will judge and send it to them only when it seems good to you. You did not indicate the name of the city, and I did not want to inquire about it from the messenger. In a short time, your brother Peter Weller will come to you, and you will learn everything from our scout. On Tuesday after John the Baptist [June 27] Anno 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1 812.

(Wittenberg.)

Perhaps in June 1531.

To M. Oswald Losan in Leipzig.

On the consumption of the Lord's Supper under both forms.

From the collection of Caspar Sagittarius at Jena in Schütze, vol. II, p. 253 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 270. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1586. (This proof is missing in De Wette.)

To M. Oswald Losan at Leipzig, on both forms of the sacrament.

If conscience is certain that both forms of the sacrament are Christ's institution, which is not at the discretion of men, that they may freely change it as they please: if it is not permitted to use both forms, then it is better to abstain entirely [from the sacrament] than to use only one form, contrary to conscience and contrary to Christ's institution, with a change in the form handed down by God. For abstaining from it altogether is done here without sin, since it is not a sin.

but is forcibly stolen from us by those who should administer it. And here, at the same time, the answer to the third question is given: that, in the meantime, the communion of faith or spiritual nourishment is sufficient, of which Augustine says: "Believe, then you have eaten, because the pastors are not allowed to rob the bodily food in a tyrannical way or to force it by force. Therefore, the spiritual food remains with necessity.

Secondly, one must be careful that the sacrament is not taken privately or secretly, both because of many disadvantages and dangers, and especially because of the institution of Christ, who wants this sacrament to serve for public confession, saying: "Do this in remembrance of me," that is, for preaching and proclamation, as Paul calls it [1 Cor. 11:26]. Therefore, it is more correct to abstain from it altogether.

Thirdly, if some have communicated elsewhere under both forms, they are obliged to confess when they are questioned about it afterwards, although it is not necessary that you, if it is denied you at home in your parish, receive it in another parish, because you are not a member of the foreign parish, but it is enough to suffer the tyranny in your parish patiently and to keep silent, or to travel elsewhere for the time being, until you are questioned about your faith. Anno 1531.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 1813.

(Wittenberg.)

Perhaps in June 1531.

To Johann Brenz in Schwäbisch-Hall.

Luther's postscript to a letter from Melanchthon to Brenz on the doctrine of justification. Brenz's reply came on June 30.

Melanchthon's letter with Luther's postscript is found in Buddeus, p. 295; in *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. II, 501, No. 984 (dated: mid-May). The postscript alone is found in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 271.

I, too, my dear Brenz, in order to understand this matter better, use to imagine it as if there were no quality (*qualitas*) in my heart which could be faith or love.

1) In the text: "*Scorpionario* (?)", for which we have conjunct *scopionario*, formed from xxxxx, the Wait.

but in their place I put Jesus Christ, saying, "This is my righteousness, he is the attribute and (as it is called) my formal righteousness, that I may thus free and disengage myself from the respect of the law and works, even from the respect of the objective Christ, who is understood either as teacher or giver (*donator*). But I nullify that he is the gift or teaching to me in and of himself, so that I have everything in him. Thus he says: "I am the way, the truth and the life"; he does not say: I give you the way, the truth and the life, as if standing apart from me he works such in me. In me he must be, remain, live, speak, not through me or into me (xxx xxx), 2 Cor. 5, 21.:¹⁾ "that we might have in him the righteousness that is before God", not: in love or through the following gifts.

No. 1 814.

Schwäbisch-Hall.

June 30,²⁾ 1531.

Brenz to Luther.

Brenz sets forth his view of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and reports on the reception of Luther's writings against the imperial edict. This letter is the answer to the previous letter.

Ans of a copy in *Cod. Obenandr.*, p. 41, printed in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 510 f., note.

Hail in Christ! I know that you, most esteemed teacher in Christ, are so busy with holy business, by which you build up the church, that you certainly do not have time to deal with my trifles for long¹. Therefore, I will first greet you very briefly in JEsu Christo, our salvation, then indicate to you that what you recently added to the end of the letter of our Lord Philip was very pleasant to me. I now understand very well, as I suppose, that just as our adversaries make idols out of their works, worshipping them instead of Christ, so it can happen that an idol is erected out of the work of faith, and faith is worshipped instead of Christ Himself, whom we must accept in faith. Now, lest I, by ignoring the cha

¹⁾ De Wette: 2 Cor. VI.

²⁾ "Friday after Petri and Pauli" in 1531 is June 30. Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 169, has in his regest the "July 1" and Bretschneider in *Corp. Ref.* Vol. II, 510 even the "July 5".

rybdis, I hold thus: that faith only accepts justification, namely Christ, but does not in the same way communicate justification through the worthiness of its work. And when it is said that faith purifies the heart, I do not mean the work or the merit or the worthiness of faith, but Christ who has been taken in faith. But more about this in the letter to Philip. The wise men of this world are moved against your German books about the edict of the emperor 3) in many ways. They are exceedingly unwilling that things should be called by their right name, and while they demand of us that, when they have declared a robber to be a robber, in order that they may rightfully execute punishment upon him with the sword, If, on account of this unpleasant duty, they justify and approve their deed, they do not have so much brain as to realize that the lawful words of an ecclesiastical authority are not invectives but just censures, that they are not invectives but due chastisements and divine judgments pronounced against the wicked. But they may have a good year, and, if they will, perish. Therefore, continue as you are doing, strengthen the church of Christ, who may keep us strong in spirit and healthy in body as long as possible. Pray for me. Farewell. From [Swabian] Hall, on Friday after Peter and Paul [June 30] in the year of Christ 31.
Yours, Brenz.

No. 1 815.

(Wittenberg.)

Perhaps in June 1531.

To Nicolaus Gerbel in Strasbourg.

Luther complains about his state of health; he promises to intercede on behalf of the Count of Hohenlohe. About the political situation in Germany.

From the Kraft collection in Ulm in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 252 and from the original in Basel at the University Library, *autograph*. Vol. XXV, fol. 33 in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 271.

To the highly famous and worthy man, Mr. Nicolaus Gerbel, the Doctor of Law at Strasbourg, his brother who is extremely dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! I write with few words, my dear Gerbel, because of my, Ge

³⁾ "Luther's Warning to His Dear Germans," St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1616, no. 1156, and "Glosse auf das vermeinte kaiserliche Edict," *ibid.* there, Col. 1665, no. 1157.

s health, which is becoming more and more shaky day by day as Satan rages against me. I will gladly support the Count of Hohenlohe, if I can, by writing letters to the court. We are firmly convinced that Ferdinand will not (as you believe) wage war on the Hessians, but rather that the Hessians are terrible to him and that Ferdinand is incapable of anything. I and mine admire God's miraculous works and thank Him that He has made the so terrifying threats of the Reichstag a washout, that we enjoy such great peace against the expectation of all. For everyone was gauz certain that this summer and the spring that has just passed 1) would be the most horrible war in Germany. But God has shown that he has the hearts of kings and all in his hand. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Anno 1531, 6. *Calend...*

Yours, Mart. Luther.

No. 1816.

(Wittenberg.)

June or July 1531.

To Michael Stiesel.

Luther announces his and his family's visit at cherry time.

Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 232 and by De Wette, vol. I V, p. 272. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1238.

Grace and peace! Greetings, greetings, greetings, my dear Michael! I have nothing else to write, but so that you would not complain that I do not write anything to you, I wanted to write at least this "Greetings" to you, and at the same time indicate that we will come to you soon, God willing, and visit your cherries with many cherry-loving children. Fare well in the Lord. 1531 Martin Luther.

No. 1 817.

(Wittenberg.)

3. July 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther complains that the sequestrators want to take from Magdalena Staupitz the little house in Grimma that was prescribed to her.

From the original in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv, *Reg. Oo*, p. 792, No. 421, in Burkhardt, p. 194.

1) Out results the time determination of this letter.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! There are some poor people coming to me, among them Doctor Staupitz's sister, Magdalen von Staupitz; the visitors have given her a little house from the monastery in Grimma (Grym) and appointed her schoolmistress of the maidens. But the gentlemen "Sequestrator", as they are called, go to her and want to take it away from her again. Now mau tells me credibly that neither E. C. F. G. nor the landscape opinion has not been that mau should tear up the order of visitation, but everyone says and boasts that not only E. C. F. G. is of the serious opinion, but also that the whole countryside has most humbly requested that the order of the visitation be observed. Accordingly, my most submissive request is that E. C. F. G., if it does not want to be done any longer, should suspend such sequestration for a while and postpone it until further notice. Dean, if it should be the opinion that sequestration should destroy the visitation, that would be an unpleasant insult to E. C. F. G.. I want to be silent of the damage, as all parishes and ecclesiastical office order would go to ruin; for my person I would rather that E. C. F. G. take such goods, which (*síc*) the monastery (of which one makes such unnecessary clamor and elevates foreign part to service), to himself and did with it what they only wanted. I wanted to help, to answer to God and the world. What should it be, then, that one gathers mosquitoes and devours camels, and weighs down E. C. F. G.'s heart with loose futile things. I believe that I also mean E. C. F. G. with fidelity and do not want to harm him gladly. May the merciful God give E. C. F. G. His spirit to intervene with a merciful wrath, since they otherwise have power and right, amen. July 3, 1531.

E C. F. G. Martinus Luther.

No. 1 818.

(Wittenberg.)

3. July 1531.

To one of Abel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 822. - There, just as in De Wette, in the heading: "July 5", but at the end of the letter: "July 3".

No. 1819.

Wittenberg.

July 5, 1531. ¹⁾

To Spalatin, Eberhard Brisger, and Erhard

Steinbach in Altenburg.

Luther gives hope that a poor former abbot could be taken care of.

The original is in *Cod. chart. 122 f. Bibl. Goth.*, not written by Luther himself, but only signed, Printed in *Schlegelii vita Spalatini*, p. 246 and in *De Wette-Seidemann*, vol. VI, p. 131. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1292.

To the highly venerable men, M. Georg Spalatin, Eberhard Brisger, Eberhard N., 2) Servants of the Word at Altenburg, his exceedingly dear brothers in the Lord.

Grace and peace. Dear men! The one you once recommended to me, the Abbot of Hof (? *Curiniensem*), that poor man, I gladly accepted as a recommended one. But now there is no vacancy, but I hope that in a short time not only one will be free, especially in Pomerania, where, after the prince died, they recalled five from Lübeck, who had previously been expelled from Pomerania. Therefore, you also comfort and admonish the people to have patience for a little while. As soon as I can, I will do my best to make him realize that your recommendation has benefited him. Be well in Christ. Do not be surprised that I have written by a foreign hand, for my health is very shaky, as you know. Wittenberg, July 5. Martin Luther.

No. 1820

(Wittenberg.)

July 10, 1531.

To Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1606. - An old copy in the Rathsarchiv at Zwickau suggests that this letter was addressed to Hieronymus Nopus, preacher and teacher of the Greek language at Zwickau.

1) The original has no year. Schlegel, *vita Spalatini*, p. 246, has the year 1539 and so does Walch, vol. XXI, 1292. Seidemann notes that the letter fits better into the year 1531, where on May 9 Duke George I had died, who had so far hindered the Reformation.

2) Schlegel remarks: "He means the Erhard Steinbach."

No. 1821.

(Wittenberg.)

July 13, 1531.

To Bernhard von Dölen, pastor in Sion.

About Dölen's intention to marry.

Printed from a manuscript in the Innocent News 1733, p. 13; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 194 and in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 275. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1233.

The man to be revered in the Lord, Bernhard von Dölen, pastor in Sitten, his brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! Greetings to you, my dear Bernhard, from my mistress Kätha [reverently]. 3) She herself instructed me to write this to you. The other things that you write about the carelessness of the church servants and about the contempt of the peasants are all too true; in any case, patience is not only useful to us, but also, as we have seen so far, necessary.

With regard to marriage, I praise your will, but see to it that you do not marry in any case before the parsonage is completed, so that you can live alone with your wife. For it is unbearable to live with a wife in another master's house. I know that virgin, Hanna Zeschin, well; I have good hope of her righteousness and good character; Then I am sure of her good education (*disciplina*), since she was taught by a strict mistress to learn and to do and to suffer everything concerning domestic duties, so that I believe that she is well practiced and experienced in housekeeping, but nevertheless I do not want you to believe my judgment; you must not admit anything to anyone until you have seen the girl yourself on some occasion. For in figure she is not very outstanding, but mediocre, if perhaps you also want to keep an eye out in this respect. Be well in the Lord and pray for me. We are still quite healthy through God's goodness. On Margaret's Day [July 13] 1531.

3) Here is a gap in the Latin which we have filled by rsveroutsr.

No. 1822.

(Wittenberg.)

July 14, 1531.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

About the employment of M. Georg Mohr in Coburg.

The original is in Dessau. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 230 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 275. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1234.

To the worthy man, Magister Georg Spalatin, Bishop of Altenburg, his extremely dear brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Finally, I have written to the Count or Prince of Anhalt, the captain at Coburg, for M. Georg Mohr, my dear Spalatin; God wanted that in a short time some suitable position for him would become empty there. I do not know of any yet. Then I have decided to recall my pastor at Coburg in the castle from there to this area, if I can. There are so many vacancies here that even this very good man is not yet provided for, nor is M. Fesel, to whom the prince, while we were present, lent an apartment in the monastery. But one of the robbers has come and obtained it, and that one has been driven into his former cave, where he lives with his wife and children as if in a prison. "So it is with the faithful servants of God. "The Scharrhansen rule; God help us, amen." Farewell in Christo with your exceedingly lovely chain, of which we have been told by rumor that she is with child; God grant it, amen. Friday after Margaret [July 14] 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1823.

Torgau.

July 14, 1531.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Reply to the letter of July 3 concerning the little house of Staupitzen's sister.

Ans dem Weimarschen Gesamtarchiv, *Reg. Oo*, p. 792 printed by Burkhardt, p. 195.

Our greeting before. Venerable and reverend, dear devotee! A few days ago you sent us half of Doctor Staupitz's sister, who had been given the little house in Grimma, which we had given her out of mercy, by the deceased.

We have written that, because we have, in the grant that has been made, prescribed for ourselves the houses that we have graciously given to the poor in towns and villages, that no change should be made in them, in addition to others, so that our minds and the minds of the countryside would not be troubled, that in what I and the Visitatores have ordered to be done, some disruption (zerraitung) or change should be made, as well as such not happening at all, provided and ordered that it should remain unhindered and be left, we did not want to leave you unopened in your gracious opinion. Date Torgau, on Friday after Margarethe [July 14] Anno 1531.

No. 1824.

(Wittenberg.)

July 29, 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1798, no. 1196.

No. 1825.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of July) 1531.

To Chancellor Brück.

Luther counsels compliance in the conciliar question.

From the original in Weimar's Gesamtarchiv, *Reg. H*, p. 42, in Burkhardt, p. 196.

My dear Chancellor! I believe that the proposed action of the Council of Mainz cannot be rejected. So it is also easy to advise from the previous dealings what can be conceded or not. And where one could work to make peace and postpone our part's affairs, it would be well to assume, according to the saying: Night deadline year deadline, comes day, comes council 2c. Mart. Luther.

No. 1826.

(Wittenberg.)

August 13, 1531.

To the City Council of Brunswick.

Luther exhorted the city council to maintain unity in the doctrine of the Sacrament, which a preacher named Kopmann was trying to disrupt.

The original is in the city archives at Braunschweig. Printed in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1760, p. 260; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 277 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 241.

To the honorable and wise gentlemen, mayor and council of Brunswick, my favorable gentlemen and good friends.

Grace and peace. Honorable, wise, dear sirs! I did not like to experience the discord of your preachers. But because one of them, Johann Kopmann, stands against all the others, also against your evangelist Johann Pomers and all our faith, the next way is that E. W. should command the aforementioned Johann Kopmann to be silent, and such discord is not to be suffered; for even his opinion has no reason, as he also shows no reason nor scripture in this note of his. So his spirit is almost suspicious to me, that he so falsely twists and interprets my words, as his notes prove, when my words are of a much different opinion in my booklet, because of which I can do little good to him. The other preachers have spoken quite rightly and well. For we also know well that one must spiritually eat Christ's body and drink his blood, that is, believe in him; he must not teach us such things. But still the words of Christ must not be false, because he says: "Take and eat, this is my body", and calls the same bread, which he offers bodily, his body. No one can go beyond these words, and faith is just as much here in the bodily meal as in baptism and the gospel. Otherwise, even baptism would not be valid, because faith cannot be without baptism. But just as spiritual faith is in bodily baptism, and bodily baptism is not denied but rather confirmed by faith: so also the bodily eating of the body of Christ in the sacrament is not denied but rather confirmed by faith (or spiritual eating); as can be read further in Johann Pomer's and my booklet. Let E. Wisdom see to it that neither discord nor disgusting doctrine arises in E. W. City. W. city, lest a little spark become a fire, but he who will not teach with the others according to the order which ye have received, that he be silent and depart. For this matter has now been pursued and tried for so long that it has been found pure and firm, and many have come back who were previously hard against it.

than Martin Bucerus and the city of Strasbourg 2c. Therefore it would be unfortunate that, if other cities were to come here again, it should now first of all begin anew in your city; for all of our adversaries are selling these things very badly 1) for the first time. Christ our Lord protect and strengthen you all in his word, which he has revealed to you so purely and abundantly, amen. I thank E. W. gift giver, would have been without need, because your inclined will and favor to our dear Gospel is to me the highest comfort and treasure. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Sunday after St. Laurentii [Aug. 13] 1531.

Martinus Luther. M. pp.

No. 1827.

Wittenberg.

August 14, 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.
See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1720.

No. 1828.

(Wittenberg.)

August 14, 1531.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther asks him to have a pamphlet by Alexius Chrosner von Colditz, which was not allowed to be printed in Wittenberg, printed in Magdeburg.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection in Schlitz, vol. II, p. 231 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 280.

Grace and peace! M. Alexius von Colditz, my dear Amsdorf, asks me that you help to have his book against the priest of Duke George of Cologne, who is called the "Dresden assassin," printed by you. I have not seen the booklet, nor have I wanted to see it because of the peace treaty recently made at Grimma. You know all this toxicity, and he himself will write you the reasons why it could not be printed here in Wittenberg. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. On the day before the Assumption [Aug. 14] Anno 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

1) In the original: "fehl", "feil geben" will probably be as much as: darangeben, aufgeben. The reading of the Erl. Edition: "feihl" (that is: fehl) will be wrong. Cf. Dietz, "Wörterbuch zu D. Martin Luthers Schriften" s. v. feil.

No. 1 829.

(Wittenberg.)

August 1531.

**Concerns of Luther, Melanchthon, and
Bugenhagen.**

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1792, no. 1195.

No. 1 830.

(Wittenberg.)

August 15, 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Request for travel money for D. Basilius Axt, who wanted to go to Prussia.

The original is in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv, *Reg. N*, fol. 108.41. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 68, No. 114; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 286; in Walch, vol. XXI, 339 and in the Erl. Edition, vol. 54, p. 251.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave in Meissen, my most gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have been asked by D. Basilius Axt has asked me, after he has gone to the duke in Prussia, and the way is far away, that I wanted to ask E. C. F. G. for him for a grant. Although I know that E. C. F. G. has much too much to give; but if it seems good to E. C. F. G., and he wants to see that he serves at court, absent D. Caspar and D. Augustin. Augustin, then I ask that only 20 gulden be graciously given to him, but everything according to E. C. F. G.'s good pleasure, and not according to burden. Christ our Lord strengthen and comfort E. C. F. G. forever, Amen. On the day of the *Assumption of Mary* [Aug. 15] MDXXXI.

E. C. F. G. undersigned Mart. Luther.

No. 1 831.

(Wittenberg.)

August 18, 1531.

To the clergy in Zwickau.

Luther informs them that their pastor, Nic. Hausmann, had been relieved of his office in Zwickau by the Elector.

Ranner, p. 193 and De Wette, vol. I V, p. 287. German by Walch (after the Unsch. Nachr. as from the year 1529), vol. XXI, 1180 and again (with the correct dating) *ibid.* col. 1385.

To the men highly esteemed in the Lord, Johann Goebel, Liborin of Magdeburg, Matthias Kroitsch (*Krotisch*), 1) Adam Schumann, true servants of the Word in Zwickau, his exceedingly dear brothers in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I wish it to be known to you, dearest brethren, that through my efforts and the cooperation of other very good men, we have finally, with great difficulty, persuaded the prince and the rulers to release your pastor from those trustworthy blocks 2) of yours. For they were very reluctant to release him and wanted to force him on those people again, but we, moved by his danger that it would not be useful for him to remain there with those bitter beasts, finally managed to get him released with grace, adding this condition that he should not leave the prince's territory for another ministry. For the prince wants to employ him in his lands, not among beasts, as those are, but at least among men. I am writing this so that, if those beasts should boast, you may have the certain truth of the matter, which you can prove, for as I have said, the matter is in truth. The priest is in grace and favor with all good men, those beasts are hated, detested, as their extraordinary hopefulness and ingratitude deserve. For they belong to the number of those of whom Jacob said [Gen. 49:7, 6.], "Cursed be their wrath, that it is so fierce, and their fury, that it is so troublesome; let not my soul enter into their counsel." Now if any of you, or all of you, should be troubled to stay there, I will turn you out of the way.

1) In an old copy in Zwickau, filed in an old memorial book of the city council archives, this name is missing, probably rightly, because Luther wrote the next letter to him on the same day. - Cordatus is not mentioned among the addressees, because he had already left Zwickau before.

2) The Zwickau Magisratspersonen are meant (De Wette),

I do not advise you to leave, nor do I urge you to stay. I am free to do whatever you like with those enemies and haters of the servants of God and the Gospel. You are not bound to serve these hard-minded people (eorvi6O8i8 - Köppische) against their will and without their thanks. Therefore, take comfort among yourselves in Christ, who is favorable to you, even though a certain poisonous part of the world hates you; in Him you are quite well, amen. On the 18th day of August, 1531.

No. 1832.

(Wittenberg.)

August 18, 1531.

To Matthias Crozsch¹⁾ in Zwickau.

Luther writes to Crozsch especially the same as in the previous letter to all clergy in general.

Handwritten in Cod. Goth. 451, fol. 187. 4. printed from the autograph in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1719, p. 574; from it in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 197; from Börner's collection in Schütze, vol. II, p. 232, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 288. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1235.

To the highly venerable man, Matthias Crozsch of Borna, shepherd (ka8tori) at Zwickau, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

Grace and peace! Dear Matthias, as you see, by the great grace of the prince, your priest, the very good man, has been released by the prince from those people with you. For he was in fear because of danger for him with those hard people, and ordered him to stay in his lands by all means. For he intends to take care of him in another place, which I hope will happen shortly. Therefore, for Christ's sake, do not worry, nor be anxious, but have a little patience and let the euries make and boast. It is enough for us that we not only have Christ, whom they afflict and torment, graciously in spirit, but also the prince and the best men at court exceedingly favorably. Therefore we are not forsaken, but are exalted in the best way, only

1) Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 489, Note 5, says: "An old copy in Zwickau, bound into an old memorial book of the *Rathsarchiv* there, has: *Ad Mat- thiam Groitzsch, presbyterum, oeconomum Haus- manni*. He was Diaconus at St. Catharina."

we have to wait a little while 2). "Neither do they have what they want, and much less than they thought they had." I am sorry for the immense hopefulness and ingratitude of these people, but God will reward them according to their works. In the meantime, therefore, you too, together with the priest, take comfort in Christ. The matter is well, thank God. Then, if the people of Zwickau should also add this ingratitude, that they do not forgive the debts of the pastor, who has served them and carried them for so many years, as a parting gift (*valete*), then I will try to cooperate, and, as much as I can, they shall never find a pastor. Their reputation already stinks enough, since they could not stand such people until now; it will continue to stink from day to day. Christ be with you all, Amen. On Friday after the Assumption of Mary [Aug. 18] Anno 1531. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 1833.

(Wittenberg.)

August 18, 1531.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

Of rumors of war and a comet.

From Kraft's collection in Hufum in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 165, under the year 1530, and again from Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 135, under the year 1531, and in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 289 f.

"Grace and peace!" My dear Wenceslaus, I beg you not to take offense at my writing briefly. This is how it is: I am showered, I am showered, I will be showered, as I see, as long as I live. Tell Osiander that I will also write to him in a short while about the matter that moves me and is worth it, because he says that there is war in Lower Germany. Pray for me, my dear Wenceslaus. With us a comet appears towards the west (as far as my astronomy reaches) in the angle of the Tropic of Cancer and the Color of the equinoxes, whose tail reaches to the middle between the Tropic [and] 3) the tail of the Bear. It does not mean anything good. May Christ guide it, amen. August 18, 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

2) De Wette reads: *medium*, the Cod. Goth.: *medicum*; we have conjicir *modicum* (a small, Joh. 16, 16.).

3) Bon us inserted to give meaning.

No 1834.

(Wittenberg.)

August 24, 1531.

To Albrecht, Duke of Prussia.

Luther gives his opinion about the Apology against the Deutschmeister. In the insertion he recommends D. Basilius Axt, and his brother-in-law Hans von Bors, who served in Memel, and promises to procure a preacher to Liefland in Brismann's place.

From Faber's collection of letters, p. 6, reprinted in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 290 and in Erl. Ausg., vol. 54, p. 252.

Grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! As E. F. G. has written to us and requested to see the Apologia 1) or Responsibility, we have done so, and also find that much good reason and causes are sufficiently set forth therein, and at the request of our most gracious Lord, the Elector, have sent our opinion to the Court, and provide that it has come to E. F. G. at last, or will now come with Doctor Basilio. It has also seemed good to us that it should not be necessary to be so precise and expansive in the indicated matters, because all adversaries are of a kind and nature where they cannot do anything to the right main reasons, they tweak a word or two, and cleverly get it over with, so that the matter gets off track, and the main reasons get out of sight and lose their appearance, as has happened to me daily in all my letters up to now; therefore, the best thing to do with such people is to keep it short and firm, and not to let oneself be led by the main reasons. However, E. F. G. will know how to understand such things better than we can indicate. E. F. G. only be confident and do not let such things worry you, God will do it well. If they did not have this to talk about, they would have to have another, so they have this more than another; no one can shut the devil's mouth, he must talk. Christ our Lord strengthen and comfort E. F. G. to do and suffer all his gracious will, Amen. August 24, 1531.

E. F. G. williger
Martinus LuthE of all of us.

1) The Apology against the German Master Walther von Kronberg.

Insert.

Here also comes Doctor Basilius Aftus, 2) E. F. G. Physicus; command the same E. F. G., they will have in him a fine, faithful, diligent man and good, learned, experienced physician, and his wife a theur, pious wife.

Also, where E. F. G. does not want it to be burdensome, since my Kätthe's brother, Hans von Bore, has nothing and does not have enough clothing and food at the court, that E. F. G. wanted to procure that a few florins would be thrown to him every quarter of the year, so that he could also pay for shirt and other necessities, as E. F. G. can well consider; however, I place it in E. F. G.'s good pleasure. F. G.'s pleasure, which I do not wish to burden. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen.

To send a preacher to D. Brismann 3) instead of Liefland (as E. F. G. desires), I will look around with diligence, because the good people have written to me about it before; but it will become thin, and there are not many such preachers, so that one may well say: Whoever has something, let him keep it.

No. 1835.

(Wittenberg.)

August 24, 1531.

To Johann Brismann.

Luther promises to look for another preacher in lieu of Brismann in Liefland and recommends D. Basilius Axt to him.

The original is in the Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg. Printed by Vogler, by Strobel-Ranner, p. 198; in *Acta Borussia*, I, 808 and by De Wette, vol.

To the worthy man, Mr. Johann Brismann, Doctor of Theology, the faithful servant of Christ, his brother who is exceedingly dear to the Lord.

I wish you luck, my dear Brismann, that you have been brought back to Prussia from Liefland, but what you desire, that another be put in your place, the same the people of Riga themselves have requested of me, and

2) "Astus" == Axe.

3) Brismann went to Liefland in 1527 at the request of Margrave Wilhelm, coadjutor of the Archbishop of Riga Thomas von Schöning, and returned to Prussia in 1531. See his biography in the Erläut. Prussia, Th. III, p. 201.

Now Prince Albrecht is also asking for it. But where are the people who are able to do it, or who want to do it? I see everywhere around, and everywhere is a great shortage of such people. It is time to say to the princes and the cities concerning the ministers of the Word: Hold what you have, lest another take your pastor [Revelation 3:11]. There are some cities that have been without a preacher for two years. But I will be diligent to remove any from his place, and to bring him thither, if Christ give grace.

I recommend to you this new arrival (*novum virum*) in Prussia, the Doctor Basilius with his wife, who, I believe, is known to you. She was a companion of my wife as a nun, 1) but he was the apothecary of the painter Lucas; you will hear everything from him yourself.

You are well and pray for me. The amount of business forces me to write briefly, especially since Pommmer is absent. August 24, 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1836.

Wittenberg.

August 26, 1531.

To Nicolaus hon Amsdorf.

About the supply of Simon Hafritz, and political rumors.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 135, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 234 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 293.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am somewhat slow in calling Simon Hafritz 2) back, my dear Amsdorf, because there is no place where I can accommodate him, and your Magdeburgers have given him very little, so that afterwards I will be forced to feed the poor man who is poor himself. For you know my household; but if it cannot be done otherwise, it is safer that you relieve him, and it is better that I should be burdened,³⁾ than that you should have trouble. Therefore may he come in the name of the Lord.

1) Ave von Schönfeld was the wife of O. Basilius Axt. - Lucas Cranach, the painter, also ran a pharmacy, which D. Basilius board.

2) Compare Luther's letter to Amsdorf of June.

3) Instead of: *pravari* in De Wette, which we think is a misprint, we have assumed *gravari*.

Whether there will be a Diet, I do not know. That I know, may it be held or not held, a harmony is impossible, not only because of the matter itself, for who will reconcile Christ and Belial? or how will the pope admit that faith alone justifies and that the papist works are damnable? or will he be able to admit that he becomes nothing and Luther reigns? and yet, if he does not admit this, there can be no concord, but also because of the persons on our side, whom, even if we wanted to, we will not persuade; there will be either a more shameful or a more confused discord among us. But it is said that an Imperial Diet is being held for the purpose of having Ferdinand accepted by all as Roman king. It has been written to us that three strange stars have been seen in the sky among you, and that your *clergy* (*clerum*) seek their ruin. Give us news of this. In Augsburg Satan rules through the enemies of the sacrament and baptism and the whole faith. The same thing is happening in Ulm. It is said that the people of Strasbourg want to return to the right path. The pope stubbornly refuses the emperor a concilium. What happened to Gandanus, the cardinal and son of the pope, I believe you have already heard. Pray for me, and be well in the Lord. Wittenberg, on Saturday after Bartholomew [Aug. 26] Anno 1531. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1 837.

(Wittenberg.)

4. September 1531.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

Recommendation of D. Robert Barnes; via Hafritz.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 244 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 294.

Grace and peace! I recommend this Doctor Antonius, an Englishman, to you, my dear Amsdorf, because he is making a journey from here to Lübeck. You will be able to get plenty of information from him, if you wish to learn something about us. I have called Simon Hafritz, although I do not yet know in which nest I can put this bird.

And your caste lords have given his so numerous army 1) with a small travel money. But Luther has a broad (*crassum*) back, he will also bear this burden. We give thanks that you have sent him back clothed and well provided for (*ornatum*). May the Lord be with you and pray for me. September 4, 1531. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1 838.

Wittenberg. September 3 or 5,²⁾ 1831.

To D. Robert Barnes.

On the intended divorce of King Henry VIII of England. - This concern exists in two very different relations. We have already reported one of them in our edition, Vol. XVII, 202, No. 1268. The one given here is, as Kolde I. c. p. 397, is to be regarded as the original one already because of its more personal character.

This relation is found in *Buddeus*, p. 325 (incomplete); from Aurifaber's unprinted collection in Schütze, vol. II, p. 235; in *Cod. Goth.* 168. 4. and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 300. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1386.

Grace and peace in Christ! Concerning the matter of the King of England, my opinion is that which you heard orally, my dear Antonius,³⁾ since we discussed this matter in confidence, namely, that I like the decision of the Louvain most of all those who judge the opposite, and the king can follow it with a very sure conscience, indeed, he must follow it, if he wants to be safe before God, that is, he cannot in any way repudiate the queen, the wife of the deceased brother, whom he has married, and by this repudiation make both the mother and the daughter incestuous. For now I do not dispute what the dispensation of the pope to take the wife of the deceased brother is worth, but I say this: It may be, after all, that the king, by taking the wife of the deceased

However, it will be a far more heinous and greater sin to repudiate the married woman and dissolve the marriage in such a cruel way that both the king and even the queen and princess must always be under the shame of incest, although in fact there is no reason why he would want to disgrace her with this terrible accusation, and above that also dissolve the marriage. These two exceedingly great sins are so great that no consideration is to be given to a lesser sin, especially one that is past and already forgiven, and in truth no longer a sin. For the conjugal union of the man and the woman is divine and natural right. But the prohibition to take the wife of the deceased brother belongs to the given (*positivi*), not to the divine right, unless one wants to argue that all rights are divine, because God has approved all rights. Therefore, those who call upon the king to violate his rights torture his conscience in vain; indeed, they sin most grievously against the divine law.

But that they say that it is against the divine right to marry the wife of the deceased brother, namely 3 Mos. 18, 16. If they want to follow the Mosaic Law and push us under this law, then they will make it so that the king in this case is not only required to keep the married queen, but also, if she is not yet married, to take her in any case and raise up his brother's seed, since the deceased brother has left no children by this woman, as clearly 5 Mos. 25, 5. and Matth. 22,⁴⁾ 24. is mentioned by the Sadducees before Christ.

But here they say that the law 5 Mos. 25 was a ceremonial one, which had to give way to the law 3 Mos. 18, which was a moral one, because the things concerning ceremonies had ceased, those concerning morals (*moralia*) had not ceased. Who does not see here that such gloss makers either be

4) Wrong in Latin: *Matthaei* XVIII.

1) This will mean its large family.

2) De Wette dates this letter from September 5, while Kolde, M. Luther, Vol. II, p. 396 and p. 598 ad p. 396, perhaps places it more correctly (in view of the previous letter) on Sept. 3, and Luther will have given this concern, which is put in the form of a letter, to Barnes himself.

3) Barnes was staying in Wittenberg under this name at the time.

or that these things are not said by them with good judgment nor with any truthfulness? Namely, so quickly they found a gloss with which they could make a mockery of the law 3 Mos. 18; here they did not want to have a gloss. Therefore, it is clear that they have set out to gloss over the law that is inconvenient to them, not with good judgment, but according to their will.

Then, how do they prove that the law of Deut. 25 is or was ceremonial, especially since they want the conscience to be made certain? Is it enough to say: We want it so, we say so: therefore it should be a ceremonial one. On the other hand, we say that the law in the 5th book of Moses is a ceremonial one. We say that the law in the 5th book of Moses was a *moral one*, because it was in fact a law that served the community, to preserve families, to keep inheritances, to obtain heirs, that is, it was given to obtain goods, to increase and strengthen the community, Like cultivating the field at this or that time, in this or that way, so that it bears fruit all the more abundantly, is something that truly serves the community and is moral, because through this custom goods are brought about both for the household and for the community. Therefore, the Jews had to observe this law no less than any other law, and the text clearly indicates that it speaks of the preservation of families and inheritance, which are certainly not ceremonial matters, but those that concern the community and necessary moral matters.

And, dear, we want to assume that the law in the 5th book of Moses was a ceremonial one, as these people argue, what is the point? since it is nevertheless established that the Jews under Moses were forced to keep this law, like circumcision and other ceremonies. Here they may answer us how the Jews could take the wife of a dead brother when it was forbidden by divine right 3 Mos. 18. For these two laws dispute against each other, if both are to be understood also by the deceased brother. Therefore it is obvious that they do not consider the words and persons of the law right.

But if they want to pretend that the ceremonial offences have been removed and the moral offences have remained, therefore one must not keep the law in the 5th book of Moses, but one must keep the law in the 3rd book of Moses, then first of all it is still certain that the Jews have kept both, as I have said. Therefore, these people will be forced to admit with necessity that the Jews did not sin against the law in the 3rd book of Moses by keeping the law of the 5th book of Moses. Therefore, those who have such an opinion that ceremonial things are abolished, that they are fatal for us, and that we are not allowed to keep them, must not cite the contrary law in the 3rd book of Moses, but the abolition itself. Now, however, they conclude from the abrogation and base themselves on it, and yet they cite the contrary law as a saying of Moses in order to give credence to their opinion. But just by this they show that they do such sophistry not out of the striving for truth but out of the desire for victory, and that they practice that deception which Aristotle calls the inference from a non thing to a thing (*a non causa, ad causam*). For under Moses, where the law had not yet been abolished in the 5th chapter of Moses, neither the abolition could give an opportunity for a reason for proof, nor the opposition of the laws, since both laws had validity and were kept. Therefore, the reason for the proof of the opposition must have much less validity now. But if there is any ground of proof, let it be the doctrine of abolition itself, and let these people desist from urging still further the contrary law in the 3rd book of Moses. Those who think that ceremonial things are forbidden to us, do not understand anything about it, neither what abolition is, nor what a ceremonial thing is. Ceremonial things after abolition are free and *indifferent* things (*indifferentia*), no longer required and necessary, 1 Cor. 7:18: "If a man is circumcised, let him not have a foreskin, where he teaches that it is not necessary to have a foreskin, otherwise believing Jews would be obliged to restore the foreskin. Therefore, the ablation

The creation of the law is a release from the law, but not of his brother Philip's wife, Herod was criminal. a prohibition, as St. Jerome errs against Augustine. As, if Nor can the opponents, even if they want to, prove a king in any place wished to legislate anew, he could, for that the 3rd book of Moses speaks of the dead brother, certain reasons, order some ceremonies of Moses, which nor can they bring forward any other union of the two laws, are now done and free. But then these ceremonies would especially one that would be sufficient to appease a not be binding by the prestige of Moses, but by the new conscience. But who is so unlearned that he could not command of the king. Therefore, even if this law in the invent or dream something to disturb the consciences? 5th book of Moses were a ceremonial one, and were now Also this is sacrilegious, that they conclude: from the abrogated, the king of England could nevertheless, for a law in the 5th book of Moses it follows that in a given case just cause, as he now has before him, decree the same someone could take his daughter or would be forced to it, anew against these shrewd people, and command in as if Athniel, when he died, had left his wife Achsa, the what place he would that a brother should marry the wife daughter of his brother Caleb, then Caleb would have of the deceased brother. Then this law would force the been forced, as the brother of Athniel, to marry his own subjects to obey completely, just like any other law of the daughter. Who does not see the effort to protect an evil king or his civil rule, Rom. 13, 1: "Let every man be a thing, as if they did not know that a higher law cancels a subject" 2c. lower one, as the law of circumcision violates the law of

To return to the law in the 3rd book of Moses, which the Sabbath, Joh. 7, 22. Where Christ Himself disputes is opposed to the law in the 5th book of Moses, as these that a man is circumcised on the Sabbath, that is, that he people say, we admit that they are mutually repugnant is annulled or sins against the law of the Sabbath with laws, which must not be glossed over in such a way that impunity,¹⁾ so that he does not sin against the law of one of the two is completely abolished, but that both are circumcision, which was before the law of the Sabbath and preserved and kept, because this gloss would not have come from the fathers. What need is there of many words? applied to the Jews, who were forced to keep both, even it is known that a lower law and a lower lawgiver cannot though they were apparently opposed to each other. But close the hand of the higher law and lawgiver, but any law this is the correct gloss, that the law in the 3rd book of and [the authority] 2) of any lawgiver keeps within the Moses speaks of the wife of the living brother, and the bounds of the authority given to him by God, as, a father law in the 5th book of Moses speaks of the wife of the of a family gives laws for his family and his house as far deceased brother. So they do not argue against each as his authority extends. But the authorities or the city do other, but are both kept, because the law in the 3rd book not obey his laws, but subject him to the laws of the of Moses speaks of the brother par excellence, but the commonwealth, so that it is necessary that he be forced one in the 5th book of Moses specifically names the to stand still with his laws and be subservient to the deceased one to indicate that it speaks of a different common laws. Thus the king is lord over the kingdom or brother than the 3rd book of Moses. So John the Baptist the city with his laws, in that he allows them to be punishes Herod for having the wife of his living brother, governed according to their own laws. because polygamy did not make Herod blameworthy, which was allowed to all, but in such a way that a brother should not make the wife of the still living brother averse with a semblance of right or with flattery, as they could easily do with a house and other things. By this offense to

1) Instead of *peccare*, *peccari* will be read.

2) Added by us.

The king's laws are not violated, but they obey the king and do not rule over the king's laws. Thus, God allows all authorities, yes, He approves of them using their own laws, but with the reservation and exception of His will, which they must yield to and obey with their laws. Thus, the given laws, where they conflict with the law of God or nature, always give way to these very laws of God or nature as the higher one. Therefore, since the law in the 5th book of Moses is a given law, and not a law of nature, if in any matter it offends against the law of nature, it must yield to the law of nature and give way, as the lower to the higher. And so also, if according to the law in the 5. Book of Moses it seems that he is forced to take his daughter Achsa as wife, nevertheless, because Achsa is not only his brother's wife (for the words of the law are actually and simply to take), but also his daughter, he is therefore prevented by another and higher law from taking such a brother's wife, who is a daughter for him, because the law of nature forbids to marry the daughter, although the given law commands to take the wife of the deceased brother. But why this lengthy discussion, my dear Antony, unless perhaps in the future you would have to dispute with people who are ignorant of the law?

We want to come to the point and say: that Moses was dead, but lived for the Jewish people, and that we are not bound by his laws. Therefore, we do not want to allow anything that comes from Moses as a lawgiver, unless it is also approved by our laws, that is, natural and secular, and we do not want to put the communities of the whole world in confusion, but we want to flee the seditions and disturbances of all laws and respectability as a poison. The same may serve his commonwealth, we have our legislators in these matters. Therefore, this is to be discussed: if by the laws of the pope or the emperor, the marriage

between a brother and the wife of the deceased brother is forbidden, whether then 2) the King of England is bound not to marry the queen forbidden to him³⁾ and, having taken her, to repudiate her. Here must be answered: By all means not, but he shall be obliged to keep her, under danger of bliss and eternal damnation. This is proved thus: First, it is not established that it is forbidden to marry one's brother's wife, neither by natural law nor by divine law, but only by a given right. For the lawgiver Moses is dead and nothing to us. For we read that Abraham and Nahor, who lived before the Law of Moses and under the natural law, married their brother's daughters; this degree was subsequently forbidden by Moses by a given law. And Jacob married two sisters,⁴⁾ which afterwards Moses also forbade. Therefore it remains only that it is forbidden by a human and given right to marry the wife of the deceased brother. But, as we have said, marriage is a divine and natural right. Now, where the divine and the given law conflict with each other, the given law must give way to the divine; therefore Christ also abolished the law of divorce in Moses in order to establish the divine law of marriage. Therefore, if the king of England sinned by marrying his dead brother's wife, if he sinned against the human and civil law of the emperor or the pope; If, then, the emperor or the pope have indulged him in their laws, he has not sinned at all, because the same God who approves of the civil law given by the emperor also approves of the emperor's law, which is indulged by the emperor, because he has given him the power to give and indulge in laws, and, that I may say so, the keys of binding and loosing in the country which is subject to him. The same I say about the pope, where he

2) Instead of *tamen*, *tum* will be read.

3) Here we have inserted *non*; Walch already added so.

4) Instead of *uxores* we have assumed *sorores*; this has also Walch.

1) Instead of *et*, we have assumed *ut*.

with civil tyranny; although he does not bind with any right, it is much more valid if he slackens than if he binds. But if the king repudiates the queen, he will sin with the gravest offense against the divine law, which says: "What God has joined together, let not man put asunder," that is, let not man put asunder those 1) whom God has joined together either in His order or by His permission, because His joining together, whether by right or by a human act, is higher than a human order. Therefore, if these two laws conflict with each other, let Ulan take care that the king of England does not keep a human law, so that he sins against the divine one, but so that he keeps the divine law, let him be forgiven if a sin is committed against the human law. But, as I have said, where the pope or the emperor (if he recognizes the emperor's laws) have dispensed, there is no sin.

There you have, my dear Antonius, poured out my opinion into your bosom. For I do not know whether it is useful that the same be published, lest perhaps my name harm this matter more, which, as you know well enough, is so hated and detested that, although I speak the truth, it is nevertheless condemned out of hatred for my name. However, so that you can safely discuss my opinion with friends, I will allow you to either suppress or publish it at your discretion. Indeed, if the hatred of my name were not in the way, I would wish it to be useful to the king and queen, so that they would not be seduced and driven by the sophists to such a worthless and wicked divorce, from which, when it is done, they will suffer constant misery in their consciences. But whatever may happen, be it that this divorce has already happened, be it that the king is driven by the prestige of arid doctors to make the marriage

1) Instead of: *Quid est homo? non separat* etc. we have read after the first relation (De Wette, vol. IV, p. 300): *id est, homo non separat* etc..

If the king does not divorce the queen, advise his friends, all of whom you can, to abhor this divorce. And if the adversaries should have completely taken the king, let ours try with all diligence to at least persuade the queen not to consent to the divorce in any way, but rather die than let her conscience be guilty of such a great offense before God, but firmly believe that she is the right and lawful queen of England, made and approved for that purpose by God Himself. For it must not be allowed that she complains with a false accusation, believing such a great sin, which is no sin. For that would be to fear falsehood in an erring conscience and to worship instead of God. For if they cannot save the king (which God forbid), they may at least save the queen's soul alone, so that, if the divorce cannot be prevented, she may bear this great evil of the greatest injustice as her cross, but by no means approve or consent to it. I, who am unable to do anything else, turn to God in prayer, that Christ may prevent this divorce and make the advice of Ahitophel, who advises it, null and void, or if he does not want to prevent it, that he at least give the queen a strong faith and a constant and sure conscience, that she is and will be the lawful and rightful queen of England, against the will of the gates of the world and of hell. You are quite at ease in Christ. Given at Wittenberg, September 5, 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1839.

Antwerp.

September 12, 1531.

Leonhard Munssoor 3) to Luther.

(Regest.)

On behalf of several brothers, Munssoor asks Luther whether they may have Holy Communion served to them by a papist when they are in mortal danger. Until now, they had held communion in secret meetings, but now they were in distress of conscience about it, because

2) Instead of *versa*, Wohl *versor* will be read.

3) Kolde reads the name according to the original, not like Krafzt: "Mussoius (?)". But Kolde has the wrong date: "21. Sept." ; probably a misprint.

little fruit results from it, but many dangers and impulses, even among those who love the gospel. And since the choice of preachers is up to the whole church, they only edify themselves by talking to each other. In the postscript, the news that the emperor, after his return from Augsburg, had raged with fire and sword against the evangelicals; now everything is calm, only the mob is murmuring against the gospel.

The original is in the Wolff Collection of the Hamburg City Library, 1, 50. From *Cod.* a 11 of the Bremen City Library in Krafft, Briefe und Documente, p. 70.

No. 1840.

Wittenberg.

September 13, 1531.

Jonas, Luther and Melanchthon to Hans Löser zu Pretsch.

Intercession for a certain Bartel Schechtel from Pretsch.

Copy in *Cod. chart. Goth.* 187, fol. 18. According to this, the original is by Jonas' hand. Printed in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 170.

To the strict and honorable Hansen Löser zu Pretsch, hereditary marshal of Saxony, our special dear lord and friend.

Our willing services before. Strict and honorable, special master and friend! Shortly after, we have written and asked on manifold and heated request and petition that you, for the sake of our intercession, let Bartel Schechtel, about your judge at Pretzsch, who at the moment, out of God's fate, has dismissed one of your game wardens, [whom he] has not been inferior to, come to escort, 1) to get along with the report (?) and friendship. And if you then do not want to suffer him in the spot, nor can you, to grant him to sell his own and to turn elsewhere. So far, however, we have not received an answer from you. For this reason, we ask you again with all due diligence to have mercy on the poor man, considering that he, as we have reported, came to such a case quite miserably and without his prior will, so that (uff)

he, together with his wife and child, must not be allowed to grow into a peasant, and especially into misery, as we highly trust you, so that the poor man may again have a clear conscience, and thus find himself enjoying our support and intercession. This is what we want to be found to deserve and ask of God for you at all times. Dat. Wittenberg, on Wednesday after the Nativity of Mary [Sept. 13] in the year of the Lord 31 Jonas Probst, Martinus Luther, both Doctor, and Philip Melanchthon.

No. 1 841.

(Wittenberg.)

September 14, 1531.

To Margrave George of Brandenburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1216, Na. 146.

No. 1842.

Wittenberg.

September 22, 1531.

To the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

(Regest.)

Luther sends his expert opinion in the matter of the King of England.

Printed by M. Lenz in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte IV, 136. A regest in Kolde, *Analecta*, which we have included here.

No. 1843.

(Wittenberg.)

October 7, 1531.

To the mayor and council of Zerbst.

Upon request, Luther sends Conrad Mauser, a licentiate, as a competent legal expert.

The original is in the secret archive at Zerbst. From it in the memorandum of Sintenis, p. 46 and according to Sintenis in the Erlangen edition, vol. 56, p. 183. According to the original itself in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 132. - The Zerbsters needed a capable jurist in their dispute with the Provincial of the Franciscan Order.

To the honorable and wise, Mayor and Rathmann of the city of Zerbst, my favorable gentlemen and good friends.

G. and F. Honorable Sirs! At your request, I have looked around for a lawyer. So you stayed outside for so long

1) The text is here quite badly in order. Kolde offers: "about your judge at Pretzsch, who at this time on God's condemnation let come one of your Wildschultzen (*sic*) out of no proceeding nor pushed (?), has emptied, to slide" 2c. Instead of "anff" we put "aus" twice, because in this letter "auf" is given by "uff". - "Wildschultze" will probably be as much as gamekeeper.

and prevented from doing so, especially the one you mentioned, that with the good advice of my friends and gentlemen I have managed to find the respectable Licentiate Conradum Mauser, who is almost famous among our people for his art and skill, and also practiced and used, so that I hope you will be well provided for with him, and he is to appear with you on Tuesday next. So the matter is also good in itself and God's own; he will help. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Saturday after Francisci [October 7] 1531.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1844.

(Wittenberg.) October 9, 1531.

To Martin Görlitz in Braunschweig.

Luther advises him to leave because he cannot tolerate the climate there and promises to find him another position.

From the *Cod. Jen.* 8 24 n, fol. 181 in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 309.

Grace and peace in Christ! I will not forget you, my dear Martin, but I look out and constantly expect some position suitable for you. And how often it has grieved me that you were taken away from Torgau; but we did this in good hope and in obedience to Christ. If your health can no longer bear the condition of the land there, I would advise you to leave before the appointed time and in the meantime stay in Torgau in milder air until the Lord provides for you. It is up to you what you want to do to restore your little body (*corpusculum*). Fare well in Christ with wife and children. October 9, 1531, Mart. Luther.

No. 1845.

Wittenberg. October 10, 1531.

To Spalatin.

About a remedy against the plague, which Spalatin had requested from Luther. About a Zwickau affair; about Luther's work. Political rumors.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* a, fol. 347. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 230 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 309. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1336.

To the dear and very sincere man, Mr. M. G. Spalatin, the brave and faithful servant of Christ, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear George, nothing is known or has been heard here of that miraculous powder that is healing against the plague. Christ, the true physician, protect and keep you, amen. But I hope that this plague, as almost everywhere else, will be slow and mild.

No one has given us the confession of John Fresleben, nor have we ever seen it. The Lord will repay the Zwickau lumps for what they deserve through this great ingratitude and their raging against the very good man. But their custom is to grieve the Holy Spirit, yet to their undoing. I would like to write my defense, but I am so distracted by incidental business and so detained by the duties I owe that not even the seventh part of me could be at her service, while she demands me completely; so one day after the other always passes and postpones the matter. Every day I spend two hours correcting the prophets. But why am I writing this to you, since you know it very well?

It is certain that the Roman pope is estranged from the emperor, and one must assume that the Frauzyose is also averse to him, because he has ordered the plundering of the goods and chattels of the Genevese 1) throughout France (I do not know for what small insult), out of hatred (as one believes) against the emperor. The same is suspected of the Englishman, namely because of the sign that he seeks to push the queen away from him by divorce, for you know that she is the mother-sister of the emperor. This is how it goes in this exceedingly wicked world, these are the aspirations of the children of men. May God graciously look upon the emperor for us, and, as before all his [the emperor's] enemies, put the pope to shame, Amen. The comet makes me think that both the emperor and Ferdinand are threatened with evil, because it first raises its tail.

1) Walch passes *Genevensium*: "Genuenser".

The first part of the image is the one that has been turned to the north and then to the south, as if it were showing a brother on both sides.

God grant that your rib may bear the fruit happily and give birth, and please you both with a beautiful and holy Abelchen, Amen. Greet and comfort M. Brisger in the Lord. Wittenberg, October 10, 1531.

Your M. L.

No. 1846.

(Wittenberg.) ,

October 10, 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Luther's intercession to waive the work on the dams and the investment money for the maintenance of the dams for the pastors in the "Bratische Au" near Wittenberg.

From the original in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv, *Reg. S.* fol. 17-21, printed by Burkhardt, p. 197.

G. and F. in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Although there would be no need to trouble E. C. F. G. with this writing: but because the poor pastors so nearly ask me and fear that their Supplication should thereby work the more faith and grace with E. C. F. G., I do not know how to refuse. E. C. F. G. will probably hear the matter from your petition, as you are required to dampen (temmen) the farmer immediately. Now, the C.F.G. themselves know that there is great poverty. The parish estates are not hereditary, like the peasants' estates,¹⁾ and, as indentured servants, they honestly have their bread from it and must leave the same today or tomorrow, go away with empty hands. If their daily bread, which they hardly have, should also be burdened like the hereditary estates, then several such parishes must leave it, as they cannot bear it, and it is fair, because they should wait for the souls that they, as common servants, are subjected to such a burden. There is almost a lack of parish priests, so that it is not necessary to discourage them with further burdens, as they did not care for it before, are poorer now than before, and are real beggars with their wives and children. E. C. F. G. will know well

to be graciously kept therein. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Tuesday after St. Francisci [Oct. 10] 1531. 2)

E. C. F. G. subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1847.

(Wittenberg.)

October 18, 1531.

To Justus Menius.

Luther demands from Menius the last part of the manuscript of one of his books. About despisers of the sacrament. By Wicel and by Crotus Rubeanus.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 245 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 311.

Grace and peace! See that you send us your copy of the use of the history of the holy scripture as soon as possible, as much as is still left. For what you have sent is already in print, my dear Justus.

I am also very pleased that you want our opinion about those who do not communicate; I think that you have done your duty enough if you have done as you write. Let those go who do not want to. For it is not yet time to do something harder, for the sake of the present difficult time (*paroxysmum* == crisis), until God changes it, which will inevitably happen shortly. In the meantime, suffer, as before, also this dragon.

We will not suffer that Wicel (*Weselium*), this disgraceful man, who is also gone from here by pure lies, with deception of the prince, 3) makes his nest with you. He has promised that he will go to his father, and after resigning his office, he will become a secular man. For so a letter shows, whether it be true or false or fictitious, which calls him under the name of his father We will write to the court, and you meanwhile avoid him like the devil; he is looking for a place to pour out his poison.

2) The resolution that followed kept to the custom that the parish priests were to be called in for the dam work and the investment money for the maintenance of the dams, only it was decreed that the poor parish priests would be reimbursed for what they spent on the construction. (Burkhardt.)

3) Wicel had just been released from captivity (De Wette). Compare No. 1525.

1) Burkhardt: "baurguter".

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scatter, if he seeks in such a way to make his nest. It is wonderful how I detest the man who gets pregnant with any monstrosity, as you will learn elsewhere.

But behold that Crotus, the Epicurer, who venomously persecutes us and flatters the bishop of Halle. ¹⁾ We send a copy to you, and you send yourself in the meantime to send him back to us well beaten (*depexum*) and paint him with the colors of his epicurism. For this will be your office. I am writing under a lot of business. Be well. I must have your writing against the Mainz idol, but certainly. 2) The prophets have been given to the press to be finished in German. On St. Lucy's Day [Oct. 18] Anno 1531, your Martin Luther.

No. 1848.

Magdeburg.

October 18, 1531.

Nicolaus von Amsdorf to Luther.

Amsdorf asks Luther to reply to the letter sent to him. About the obvious hostility and the outrageous extortions of the Cardinal at Mainz.

From *Cod.* a 11 of the Bremen City Library, reprinted in Krafft, *Briefe und Documente*, p. 71.

Hans Hornbeck, a godly man, an exceedingly great friend and patron of Luther, greets you very respectfully, my dearest father in Christ, and humbly asks that you reply to his enclosed letter, and has asked me very much that I should send it to you and request a reply. If you do this, you will be doing something pleasing to a Christian man.

1) "It is indisputable that a writing of the poet Crotus Rubeanus is meant, who had been Luther's friend earlier, and had turned back to Catholicism" (De Wette). On this, Seidemann notes in *De Wette*, vol. VI, p. 559, note 3: *Apologia Alberti Archiepi- scopi Mogunt. Lipsiae* 1531. 4.

2) In *De Wette* the text reads: *Ego must have in idolum magnum tuum, (?) sed certe Prophetæ etc.*. Instead we have assumed: *in idolum Mogun- tinum, sed certe. Prophetæ etc.* Also in the letter to Spalatin of Oct. 7, 1521 (No. 430), the Cardinal of Mainz is called *idolum Moguntinum* (the Erlanger Briefw., Vol. III, p. 237 offers: *Maguntinum*). Menius complied with this request to write against the Mainzer by his writing: *Ad Apologiam Jo. Croti Rubeani Responsio*. See Burkhardt, p. 199.

But since you are idle, as Ebeling Alemann ³⁾ reported, so that Luther has nothing to do but lecture, preach, and write so many books and letters in all parts of the world, you will be able to answer this letter all the better. For I hear that the authors of the letter are good men who love Christ with all their hearts, who do not want to do anything that is incompatible with the Gospel, which you can easily see from the letter they have written to you. I believe that you know what the Mainz bride is planning to do in Halle, for he ⁴⁾ has publicly spat out what he had already thought of himself long ago, and no longer wants to limp along on either side, but to fight with us in open warfare. I do not dare to write how large a sum and amount of money the tyrant extorts from his subjects, namely an unbelievable one and hardly ever heard of in these lands. He has appointed new advisors at court, namely "the provost of the cathedral is his court master, three canons and an abbot are his highest advisors. Farewell in Christ, my dear father. Magdeburg, October 18, 1531.

Your Nic. Ambsdorff.

No. 1849.

Wittenberg.

October 25, 1531.

Jonas and Luther to the Elector John.

Intercession for the Rev. Hertwig.

The original chancery from Oo 792. Herzberg 1531. (Burkhardt.) Printed in Burkhardt's *Briefwechsel*, p. 199.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! Your Lordship's graces are our obedient and willing services in subservience before. Most gracious Lord! Christanus Hertwick, pastor of Bucko, who was a member of the order of St. Augustine in the monastery of Herzberg, has now complained to us that he has a very narrow and small parish.

3) *Alman* == Alemann. In the following, Amsdorf jokes with Luther.

4) That is, the Mainzer, through Crotus Rubeanus, who in September 1531 had published the protective writing for the Cardinal at Mainz mentioned in the previous number. "The Mainz bride" will be the Cardinal himself, as well as St. Louiser Ausg., vol. XIX, 1930, not Crotus Rubeanus, as Krafft assumes, which Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 171, follows in his regest. Still during the Diet of Augsburg, the Cardinal had behaved in such a way that one thought well of him, as can be seen from the documents in the 16th volume of our edition. See there, for example, No. 979 and No. 987.

God endowed him with a wife and several small children, to whom, according to God's will, he would have to leave very little or nothing after his death. However, since he has received nothing at all from the monastery's property and would like to provide his wife and children with their own home and inheritance after his death, even if nothing remains, he has further informed us that two parts of a barn in the Herzberg monastery have been inherited by Johann Kolben and Ern Dionisio, and that the third part is still left and unoccupied. Grace, and to request that the same E. churfürstl. Grace will hereditarily grant him and his children such a third part with the gateway, and at the back up to the walled house, then he will, with God's and pious people's help, put a little house on it, and when this has been completed (brought forward), bring it into citizenship, and gladly take upon himself quite a civic burden. Since we know that all things, as stated above, behave in such a way, we ask E. ch. F. G. we ask in submission, to have mercy on the poor man together with his wife and children, and to hereditarily provide them with the said space out of the leniency of the Electorate. We are graciously pleased to provide and grant them this space out of electoral clemency. For the same E. churf. G. we want to earn with submissive obedience at all times. Date Wittenberg, Wednesday after the eleventh thousand virgins [Oct. 25] Anno 1531.

E. C. G. submissive obedient Just Jonas,
provost, and Martinus Luther, both
doctor.

No. 1850.

(Magdeburg.)

October 30, 1531.

Laurentius Zoch, Chancellor of Magdeburg, to

Luther.

(Regest.)

Zoch reports that he was released from his imprisonment for the sake of the Gospel by Luther's use ("vorschrift"), during which God did not let him waver. Joyful confession of the Gospel.

From the original in the Wolff Collection of the Hamburg City Library, *Cod. I, fol. 51 f.*, reprinted in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 173.

No. 1831.

October 31, 1531.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther invites him to come to him again, and comforts him because of the economic embarrassment he has gotten into due to the ingratitude of the Zwickauers.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in *Cod. chart. Goth.* 402, fol. 185. 4. and in Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 135. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 246 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 312. German in Walch, vol. XXI, 1398.

Grace and peace in Christ, which is higher than your tribulations that have come to you from Zwickau. My best Nicolaus! I am writing to you late because of the infrequency of messengers and their uncertainty, and also because of the amount of my business. I was very unhappy to read that you write that you will not return to me, although I like to see you with me very much, and I still ask you to return to us, if it can be done in any way; you will not be a burden or a burden to me, but only a comfort and a benefit. I will keep your room ready for you and arrange everything. It is wonderful how the rage of the Zwickauers and the hope of their ingratitude outrage me, who, after you have administered your office with them for so many years under the greatest dangers and hardships, demand these small debts from you so severely, while they have paid you less each year than they owed and you have added to your fortune with them. But we also want to bring this abominable wickedness home to the one who judges rightly. Christ will also set you free from these debts and repay them what they deserve. And this same Lord, our hope and our crown, our life and our peace, strengthen and gladden your heart, that you may despise these poisonous tongues and the boastfulness of these angry men. And clearly you must rejoice and exult against them, seeing that they are so smitten with rage and nonsense that they are not worthy to speak well of you, or to know the gift of God. It is honor and praise to be rebuked and hated by exceedingly evil people. My Kätke greets you reverently; she is expecting the birth of her daughter any hour.

helping hand of God. The grace of God and the comfort of the Holy Spirit be with you, Amen. On the last day of October, Anno 1531.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1852.

Wittenberg.

November 10, 1531.

To the City Council of Rostock.

Luther and Melanchthon give their expert opinion on the discord caused by a preacher in Rostock over the forms of worship.

Printed in Schröder, Evangelisches Mecklenburg, Vol. I, p. 193; in Krey, Andenken der Rostock. Gelehrten, Anh., p. 61; in De Wette, Bd. I V, p. 313 and in Erlanger Ausg., Bd. 54, p. 256.

To the honorable, respectable and wise, mayors and council of the city of Rostock, our favorable friends.

Grace and peace from God through Jesus Christ. Honorable, respectable, wise, favorable friends! We have received your writing concerning the discord of the preachers among you, and at the same time a short list of your church ceremonies, and in turn we kindly inform you that we are meant to advise you for the peace of your churches, as much as we are able. For we desire nothing more than that true Christian doctrine be taught peacefully and in harmony, in honor of God and for the comfort of souls. You may think, however, that we can give little advice or act on this matter of yours, since your preachers are not known to us or related to us. But we do not want to hide our opinion from you. We have read the list of ceremonies, and find nothing unchristian or criminal in it, and especially as far as private absolution is concerned, it is good for many reasons that this *private absolutio* be preserved. Because the time of the preacher 1) the private interrogation and absolu

1) Here De Wette asks the question, "Is that the man's name?" We answer: No. It will mean the early preacher (Mettenprediger). For each regular sermon on Sundays a special clergyman is employed in Rostock; for the early service the Frühprediger, for the main service the Pastor, for the afternoon service the Diaconus, who is called Magister in Rostock. It was not until the first quarter of the nineteenth century that the early service was abolished and the early preachers died out. - The from

We mean that it is good that you summon him before an honorable council and deal with him seriously, so that he will put an end to such bickering as reported and teach more peacefully those things that serve for correction, godliness, faith and the knowledge of Christ, and the obedience of the people. And even though we think that he does not respect our advice very much, you may nevertheless tell him from me, Martino Luther, that I kindly admonish him, as the one who has now for a long time led and tried the preaching ministry by God's grace, as he was also admonished by D. Johann Pomeranus has previously admonished him not to be too bold in spiritual matters. For such boldness is annual, as has been found in many examples in our time. That he also see to it that he does not cause trouble by his futile quarreling. But if he will not mend his ways by this action and admonition of yours, it is our advice that you let him go out of your city in a friendly manner and do not shun the support of the common people. For you shall do your office for the peace of the city in God's name, and not fear the mob, but trust God to assist you in your office, as far as you seek and serve God's honor. In addition, the other preachers are to exhort and instruct the people to obedience to the authorities, and without a doubt, honorable and pious people will not sit down in this against a council. So we do not doubt that you are skilled enough that, although there are some useless people who want to cause trouble, you know how to calm them.

This is our concern upon your report, and we hereby request and admonish you that you should not, through these or such annoyances, distance yourselves from the Holy Gospel and

Burkhardt, p. 200, for the explanation of the word "Misseprediger," according to which it is supposed to mean a *monachus missator*, a *sacerdos missarius*, a "Mißling," i.e., a papist measuring monkey, do not fit here. Even the words taken from Bugenhagen's expert opinion (in Lisch, Jahrb. XXIV, p. 149): "bespottet de bunte Misse, also he se nömet", prove that the Misse preacher of that time ("at that time") was not a papist missal priest, but rather a radical opponent of the papist mass.

not to be turned away from the comforting doctrine of Christ that we preach, but to think that the devil is causing such trouble to bring dishonor to God and to frighten people away from the comfort they have in Christ, and as Christians you should be prepared and firm against the devil's wiles, so that you, to praise God and comfort your souls, may receive the holy gospel, in which God, for Christ's sake, gives you forgiveness of sins and blessedness, and promises to be your helper in all distress. May God grant you His grace for this, Amen. Given at Wittenberg, the 10th of *November, anno* MDXXXI.

*D. Martin Luther. Philip
Melanchthon.*

No. 1853.

(Wittenberg.)

16. November 1531.

To Margrave George of Brandenburg.

Luther exhorts the margrave to take better care of the gospel and the evangelical preachers, who were ill-behaved by the officials.

From the Ansbach Archives in Reinhard's Beitr., vol. I, p. 140; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 315 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 258.

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., Duke of Stettin, Pomerania 2c., my gracious lord.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! Preachers from Kulmbach and from the mountains have often asked me in writings and now personally that I should humbly exhort them to be strong and steadfast in the Gospel against such great and manifold offences and troubles, which the devil daily stirs up and increases against it. But because E. F. G. at Augsburg, together with the rest of us, so confidently confessed the Gospel and so joyfully dared to do so, I did not think it necessary to admonish E. F. G. further. For E. F. G. knows that Christ here on earth must be weak, frail and angry in his own, as he himself says: "Blessed is he who does not take offense at me," and thus let his Christianity be hidden with tribulation, riots, infirmities and weakness, so that it cannot be understood by reason.

but must be seen by faith alone and recognized in the Gospel, as we say in the *Creed*: "I believe in a Christian church. Although Christians bear much fruit of the Spirit and live holy lives, there still remain many sins and infirmities, so that the article does not stand idle: "I believe in the forgiveness of sins," and in the Lord's Prayer the fifth petition remains: "Forgive us our trespasses," 2c., as Paul also says in Galatians 6:2, "Christ is the law if anyone bears the burden of another; this is the common law in his kingdom of grace, which E.F.G. knows better than I can write it. But the fact that F. G.'s preachers have been able to exhort me in this way is not because they doubted F. G.'s faith, but because F. G. has a great country to govern. has a large country to govern, and cannot govern it by himself alone, but must command officials and sub-regents, and trust everything to them, among whom (as with us) some secretly oppose the Gospel, and some also despise it completely, Hence comes many an evil trick and abandonment of the preachers, that they can have neither protection nor help and are acted upon in such a way that they finally leave the parishes to famine and poverty, and thus in time the Gospel will fall and perish among our people: so the good men, E. The good men worry that E. F. G. will never find out about it, and those who go along with the parish priests in this way may of course conceal it from E. F. G. and talk far out of turn, as happens with us every day. Thus they say on their conscience, how one M. Ludwig is unjustly and falsely accused of fornication against E. F. G.; thus they take wanton causes to open people's mouths and to cause obstacles and trouble for the Gospel. So E. F. G. is a man as well as I, who often get so tired of things and annoyances that I can hardly bear it: what should E. F. G. not encounter, who have to carry such a large, heavy regiment next to the Gospel? For this reason I ask God, the Father of all strength and comfort, to strengthen F. F. G. in His dear Son JESUS Christ, and through

1) "before" put by us instead of: "here" (in the handwriting probably: "for"); immediately following: "Pfarren" instead of: "Pfarrhern".

His Holy Spirit comforts us to bear all such burdens, toils and troubles of his Christians chivalrously, and protects us from the fiery darts of Satan, who, since he cannot win us over by art or force, still wants to make us tired and weary at last with his persistence and incessant annoyances and obstacles. *Nam quod vi et arte non potest, saepius vincit assiduitate et taedio.* [For what he cannot do by force and art, he often overcomes by stopping and weariness]. Please also, E. F. G., let these preachers be graciously commanded, and be earnest that they be kept a little better. For if we consider their servants of God and His Word, and want to be Christians, they cannot be despised without contempt for God Himself and His Word. This is what I want to ask of E. F. G. from their adherence, so that they do not think that I do not want to serve them at all. For I am in no doubt that I am very sorry for E. F. G., where God's word and His servants are held worthless. But who can make all boys pious? We preachers should and must also have patience and help the world bear all its wickedness. E. F. G. would graciously grant me such a letter. May the merciful God comfort and guide E.F.G. according to all His good pleasure, Amen. Dornstägs nach St. Martini [Nov. 16] 1531. E. F. G. williger

D. Martinus Luther.

No. 1854.

(Wittenberg.)

November 22, 1531.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

Luther invites him to join him once again.

The original is in Dessau. From Aurifaber's unprinted collection in Schlitz, Vol. II, p. 247; in Strobel-Ranner, p. 200 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 317. German in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1399.

To the much beloved Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, your servant of God, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have recently written to you, dear man, 1)

1) the letter of Oct. 31.

and begged you very much to return to me, but because you did not answer, I am afraid that you did not receive my letter. Therefore, I ask you again for the sake of Christ that you return to me as soon as possible. Here you have a new, empty room, which awaits you and is prepared only for you to come. Do not doubt that you will not be a burden to me, but a relief and a comfort, and yet God would have you be with me all your life. It would not be difficult to feed you, rather easy, and a good opportunity to deny to the ungrateful and vexatious people, for your sake, what otherwise must not be denied. The same thing will be told to you verbally by this priest at Buchholz. Therefore, do not hesitate, but come soon. I am waiting for you and will receive you with joy; do not worry about the money either. [Farewell in Christ. Wednesday after Elizabeth [Nov. 22] Anno 1531.

M. L. 2)

No. 1855 .

Wittenberg.

November 22, 1531.

Facultätszeugniss for Veit Oertel von Winsheim, issued by Luther, Jonas and Melanchthon.

The city of Winsheim had chosen its compatriot Veit Oertel (Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 495) as pastor and asked the Elector to dismiss him. He agreed, in case the Wittenberg theologians would give him the testimony that he was fit for the administration of this office. This was done by the present document.

Alls Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 140, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 248 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 318.

The Wittenberg theologians wish the newly appointed minister of the Word at Winsheim

Hail! Since your citizens of Winsheim have asked our most illustrious prince, the Duke of Saxony, to allow you to go to them to govern the church of this city, the most illustrious prince has handed this matter over to us for decision, and has ordered that we should write to you, he

2) This signature is added after Walch.

Graciously allow you to go to your fatherland, if we judge that you are fit for this office. For the very good prince wishes to advise not only his own lands, but also the churches of other lands, as much as he can. But since we approve of your teaching, and your modesty, and your insight and diligence in every kind of office, we have judged that the office of teaching and governing the church at Winsheim can be safely entrusted to you. And we have written this judgment of ours about you to the most noble prince, and he has ordered that you be graciously permitted to move to Winsheim, and we exhort you that you faithfully present the gospel of Christ, which you have hitherto taught purely with us, also there, in order to glorify Christ's honor and for the salvation of the people, and not suffer the purity of our teaching to be corrupted by new teachings, which godless people sow everywhere, who do not know Christ; and only remind you to be continually mindful of the dangers of the times, which, if ever, especially now require careful and vigilant teachers. For we see that disputations are arising everywhere which aim especially at overthrowing that part of our doctrine which we believe to be most necessary for the church, that is, the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins and of righteousness by faith. This is what we thought we had to write to you about the will of our prince, the Duke of Saxony, Elector, in accordance with our love for you, and we ask Christ to govern your ministry for his glory and for the salvation of the people. Given at Wittenberg, Wednesday after Elizabeth [22 Nov. ^ Anno 1531.

Martin Luther. Justus Jonas.
Philip Melanchthon.

No. 185 6.

(Wittenberg.)

November 24, 1531.

To Johann Bugenhagen in Lübeck.

Luther asks him to leave Lübeck as soon as possible and return to Wittenberg, where he is urgently needed. Luther informs him that in addition to the one Zwinglian (Kvpmann, see the letter of Aug. 13, 1), Campanus (Johann Wulf von Campen) has also been sent to Braun.

He asks him to either defend himself against them in writing or to take personal action against them on his way to Wittenberg. About the birth of his son Martin and the prevailing theurge.

From Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 141, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 250 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 319 f.

To the Lord Johann Pommer, Bishop of Wittenberg, Legate of Lübeck.

Grace and peace in Christ! We expect you, my dear Pommer, as a returning one, as soon as it can be done comfortably because of the birth of your wife (for which I pray that it may be a happy one). We have served the Lübeckers enough, especially through your absence [from here], which is finally beginning to be difficult for us, because I am overloaded and often ill; then I neglect the church treasury and it demands its pastor. "I can't wait." The world is the world, and the devil is its god. You know that this same devil has sent a Zwinglian wolf into your church in Brunswick. Zero also comes into this wolf's church that Campanus, 1) the known one. I do not know if God punishes the ingratitude of this city like this, or if he wants to try us by extreme suffering (*patientia*). You can remind the Senate by sending letters there or on the journey you make here. I fear that this little spark will be a conflagration for many. But Christ has One who said to him [Ps. 110:1], "Sit thou at my right hand," and [Ps. 2:7], "Thou art my son." If this one lies, let us worship Campanus and his god, amen, that is, it will not happen. To me the Lord has given a Martin full of my Kätthe, and we are well, only that the peasants, who have become rich in this year, make us a theuring (*carstiam*, as they say) by their wickedness, to show themselves grateful for the Gospel, by which they have been delivered from so many evils. May the world that refuses to be blessed perish, amen. Greet your Eva and Sarah in my and my wife's name, and all ours. On Friday after Elizabeth [Nov. 24] 1531, your Martin Luther.

1) Johann Wulf von Cainpen, who is to be distinguished from Johann Cainpanus from Maeseick (Maseyk) in the Liège diocese. See Köstlin, M. Luther (3.), vol. II, 330 and p. 665 ad p. 330.

No. 1857.

(Wittenberg.)

November 27, 1531.

To Martin Görlitz at Brunswick.

Luther urges him to work against Campanus and gives him hope for a call to Saxony soon.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 142, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 251 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 320f. which includes *Cod. Jen. B 24 n*, fol. 180.

To M. Martin Görlitz, Bishop of Brunswick.

. Grace and peace to Christ! One hears here, my dear Martin, that John Campanus has crept in with you; if this is true, and I can do nothing else, then I certainly regret the fate of your church very much. For I believe that you know this child of Satan and adversary of the Son of God, whom he blasphemes even more than Arius did. Therefore, I ask you for the sake of Christ, that you work with the Senate, and wherever you can, so that they may not allow such furies, who have not been called, since without a calling even an angel should not be heard, and also Gabriel only gave the Annunciation to Mary, since he was sent by God. And if they are so careless as to hear any people who come without being sent and called, it is not without danger for you to remain there. But daily I am anxious to tear you away from there, even because of that Zwinglian with you, who, as I hear, does enough for evil. Finally, I hope that you will soon be a pastor in a town near the river Saale. For they are beginning to want the preaching positions there to be visited. ¹⁾ In the meantime, be well with your family and pray for me, and in the meantime be patient and strong in Christ. On Monday after Catharine [Nov. 27] Anno 1531. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1858.

(Wittenberg.)

December 16, 1531.

To Hans Löser, hereditary marshal of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1302.

¹⁾ Instead of *vaticari*, for which De Wette suggests *vacare*, we have adopted *visitari*.

No. 185S.

Wittenberg.

December 28, 1531.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

News from Switzerland.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 157, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 273 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 322.

Grace and peace! I believe, my dear Amsdorf, that life is beginning to disgust you because of the infinite wickedness of men. The Zwinglians got along with the foreign Swiss, 2) but under the most ignominious conditions, except for the disgrace and defeat they suffered so unhappily after losing the leader of their doctrine. But this is the end of the glory they sought by blaspheming against the Lord's Supper. And yet they do not repent, even though they have recanted almost everything in the [peace] conditions and have justified the papists completely. Yes, they have been forced to break off all alliances with foreign princes, as with the landgrave 2c. "It is said" [Phil. 3, 19.], "Whose honor is put to shame."

Besides, I have nothing of news, only that one again hopes for a peace treaty between the Emperor and our people. God do what is good, amen. I recommend you this our Thomas, whom you know. I am overwhelmed with work in writing and speaking, so that there is hardly enough time for the third part. Christ be with you. On the day of the innocent children [Dec. 28] Anno 1532. 3) Wittenberg.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1860.

Without date 1531.

To Justus Jonas.

About a marriage affair. (According to Spalatin's inscription on the original. Burkhardt, p. 201.)

The original is in Dessau. Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 234 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 323. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1239.

2) The peace was concluded on November 16 (De Wette).

3) Luther reckons here, as often, the new year from Christmas.

My dear Jonas! How? if you wrote to Spalatin that he himself should also write to the prince and hand over these sad things that he has written to us on a piece of paper or at least add them to my letter so that they come into the hands of the prince. D. M. Luther.

No. 1861.

Without date 1531.

To an unnamed prince.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1722.

No. 1862.

Without date 1531.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

Request for a poor student.

From the original in the Weimarisches Gesamtarchiv in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 326 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 263.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen 2c, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have entrusted the honorable, highly respected Doctor Brück, Chancellor, and the Marshal Hans Dolzig with this Supplication of the good journeyman Johann Memminger to present to E. C. F. G. E. C. F. G. now graciously wished to help and advise the poor journeyman, who, almost skilled to the studio, can henceforth be useful to many, so that he may abstain for the rest of his life, as E. C. F. G. will further hear in his Supplication. E. C. F. G. will undoubtedly be merciful to him. God, the Father of all grace and comfort, will mercifully look upon E. C. F. G. and protect him from all evil through Jesus Christ, His Son, amen.

E. C. F. G.

subservient

Martinus Luther.

No. 1863.

(Wittenberg.) January

3. January 1532.

To Martin Görlitz in Braunschweig.

Luther appoints Goerlitz to a pastorate in Saxony.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 244, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 255 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 329, which *Cod. Jen. Bos.* 24n, fol. 181.

To the highly esteemed brother in the Lord, Mr. Martin Görlitz, the extremely faithful and sincere superintendent of the churches at Brunswick.

Grace and peace! I wrote to you before, my dear Martin, that we would be anxious to call you. Therefore, I call you in the name of the Lord to get away from there as soon as you can. For the parish at Kahla near Jena (which you know) awaits you, which is now without a pastor, which, if it should not please you, and it suits you, will be exchanged with the one at Belgern or another. This briefly, but true. For I am [very] busy. Perhaps Brunswick, which is not worthy of the pure word, will want to emulate Mulhouse and Zurich, which God forbid, amen. D. Carlstadt has become the successor of Zwingli in Zurich, whom they are now proclaiming a martyr of Christ, so that they may fulfill their blasphemies to the utmost, "that [it] must overflow". Fare well in Christ. January 3, 1532.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1864.

(Wittenberg.) January

3. January (1532). ¹⁾

To Caspar (Huberinus) in Augsburg.

Luther warns against taking the sacrament or having other official acts performed by the enthusiasts, that is, the Zwinglians in Augsburg.

From the *Biblioth. Brem.*, Class. IV, 915, in Walch, Vol. XXI, 1017 (with wrong address and wrong year); in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 330 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54, p. 266.

Grace and peace in Christ! Beware, beware, 2) my dear Kaspar, of the

1) The year of writing results from the comparison with the following letter. The addressee is to be sought in Augsburg, as can be seen from this letter. Therefore, Walch's year 1527 as well as the recipient of the letter, Caspar Schwenkfeld, is wrong.

2) At De Wette both times: "hüte".

I am afraid that Augsburg will also have its share.¹⁾ that you are idle in your office, as you yourselves indicate, so that you will not share in their plagues. God has already punished twice: first under Muenzer, now under Zwingli. 2) I am worried that Augsburg will also have its share. If you cannot help it, then do as the Jews did, captured at Babel, who also had to live without a temple, without worship, without the rites of their Mosiah, only being satisfied with the Word for 70 years. For it is not yet to be expected that you should begin your own in corners. 3) Endure such temptation, and in the meantime comfort yourselves with reading and teaching of the Holy Word and desiring and praying; as Daniel prayed at Babylon against Hierusalem, so also you, desiring the Sacrament with sighing until God sees it. There is not such a great lack of baptism; after all, under the papacy, one baptizes in houses, therefore you can still baptize and pray there, as in the church. In the same way, you can bless marriages in houses, as they are otherwise trusted; and if it cannot be otherwise, and a council forbids such baptizing, then I would take it from papists beforehand, with the condition that we keep their baptism right, but not their faith and doctrine in other matters. The enthusiasts have neither baptism nor sacrament. So much now in haste, for I am overburdened. Hereby commanded by God, Auren. 3 Jan. D. Mart. Luther.

No. 1 865.

(Wittenberg.) January

3. January 1532.

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg.

In response to the rumor that there was secret discord among the Nuremberg preachers, Luther exhorted vigilance, pointing to the warning example of Zwingli's death. Last from Carlstadt.

Grace and peace in the Lord Jesus Christ! I have not written to you for a long time, my dear Wenceslaus, nor do you need me to write to you, since I am very busy. But it is up to you, who have more leisure to write to me more often. I hope that my thoughts will be wrong, which some slight rumor has aroused in me, as if among you servants of the word at the church in Nuremberg a secret discord is harbored: I could hardly be told anything else that would be more distressing for me than this evil. Therefore I also ask you, as I know and have tested your sincere and straight mind, that you, as you do, help us to fight and watch against these evil spirits [Eph. 6:12], who are not content to rage in earthly things, but strive to hurl their fiery darts into heavenly things as well and to disturb the kingdom of God, which we are. If Osiander does not yet approve of our opinion of conditional baptism: nevertheless; we want to carry him and not push him harder, just as he will carry us and not make us bitter until Christ has untied this knot. We see the judgment of God now for the second time; once on Münzer, now on Zwingli. I have been a prophet in that I have said: God will not suffer these raging and furious blasphemies, of which those were full, in that they ridiculed our God, called us flesh-eaters and blood-drinkers and bloody people (*cruentos*), and gave other frightening names. "This is what they wanted; look before Augsburg!"

About Carlstadt you write nothing certain, and I am surprised that such a story has remained hidden from us so long, then that it has come to us so doubtfully that even today we cannot admit that we know something certain. Philip says: If God will not seize Carlstadt with unlimited (*absoluta*) power and wisdom, with ordinary (*ordinata*) He will not seize him. So great is the skill in this monster to slip away, to escape, to avoid the dangers, which, however, he himself brings about. But he will be true who said [Sir.3, 27. Vulg.], "He who loves danger will perish in it."

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 145, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 256 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 331.

1) Here we have deleted "their", which is missing in an old copy in Swabian dialect, which is probably made by Huberinus himself. It has been communicated to Prof. Veessenmeyer De Wette.

2) With this Luther points to Zwingli's death, who had fallen in the battle of Cappel on October 11, 1531.

3) Still in 1533 the same conditions were in Augsburg, as we can see from Luther's letter to Hans Honold of July 21, 1533.

Respectfully greet Lazarus Spengler and all of us. Be well in Christ with your own, amen. January 3, 1532, your Martin Luther.

No. 1866.

(Wittenberg.)

January 12, 1532.

To the City Council of Torgau.

Request for a scholarship for a student of theology.

From the original in Lingke's *Luthers Geschäfte in Torgau*, p. 88; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 332 with the wrong date: "January 8," and likewise in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 267.

To the honorable and wise mayor and council of Torgau, my favorable dear gentlemen and friends.

Honorable, wise, dear gentlemen! I have now asked several times for Erasmus Krautheim that E. W. would let him have one of the scholarships, but he has put himself off here and said that it should be granted to him when he indicates to me that he has received a promise from an honorable council on my intercession. Accordingly, my diligent request, as before, is that E. W., as a good, fine person (who can still create much benefit), grant him such a scholarship. For he has so far held on to such hope, otherwise he might have gone to work as a craftsman; and I must hold out hard that they do not all become craftsmen who are sent to the preaching ministry. For I can see and experience how great the shortage of preachers and pastors will be before three years pass. Therefore E. W. also wanted to help in this as the pious Christians promote, care for and do; for there is need, that knows God my Lord, to whom I hereby command E. W., Amen. Friday after Epiphany. [Jan. 12, 1532. D. Martinus Luther.

No. 1867.

January 17. 1532.¹⁾

To the Abbot Friedrich Pistorius in Nuremberg. Luther wishes him luck on his marriage and praises the value of marriage.

From *Ericius*, p. 86 b at *Buddeus*, p. 44; at De Wette, vol. II, p. 614. German at Walch, vol. XXI, 947.

To the venerable man, distinguished by scholarship, Mr. Friedrich, Abbot of St. Aegidien in the famous Nuremberg, his dear brother in Christ. 2)

Grace and peace in Christ! I have postponed it. 3) My esteemed husband, to wish you happiness in your marriage by letter, and that this was done by me from reasonable causes, I believe you will easily accept, given your sincere attitude, since I have to deal in so many ways with my state of health, with the publication of books, with writing letters, with trading things, with services to friends and many, countless such things, yes, with clouds and storms of business. Among these, although they are the closest, the domestic and ecclesiastical affairs are admittedly the fewest and rarest, to say nothing of the drudgeries of Satan and the enemies. Nevertheless, I have wished you happiness with pleasure and kindly through prayers and applause, and now, finally, I wish you happiness also through this letter and implore for you, not only that this community, created by God and sanctified with blessings in all things, may be easy for you, but also a constant mind and faith of heart, namely that you always remain in the firm conviction that this way of life is the first one that has pleased God above all, then that it has continued to exist because He has preserved it, and finally that it will be the highest one that He will glorify the most. For what were kingdoms and dominions when Adam and the patriarchs lived only as husband and wife? Then, how many and how great kingdoms have been subjugated?

In the first volume it is said: "This letter belongs to the year 1532, because Abbot Friedrich married himself according to Nopitsch the 28th of June 1532 with Anna, G. Schwarzens daughter. The date we set is according to Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 497, and also Burkhardt, p. 78, does not object to it. But to us, if the wedding really took place only in June, the month of January is very doubtful. .

2) This superscription has De Wette after *J. Conrad Zeltner, Theatr. vir. erudit. etc.. (Norimb. 1720)*, p. 431, while *Buddeus* offers: *Venerabili Viro D. Fr. Johanni, ad S. Aegidium Abbati, Majori suo, Norinbergensi*. Likewise Walch.

3) According to this, this letter should be placed around July.

1) In the editions, this letter is dated 1525, but in the addenda of De Wette in the third edition, it is dated 1525.

while the marriage state has always remained unharmed throughout the world! Finally, how great monstrosities, wars and shameful deeds of the kingdoms will God punish in that day, while He will glorify with eternal crowns the exceedingly lowly works of the marriage state, which, however, are the most useful and serve only for peace! And to which perennial is the dominion over all things due, if not to the spouses? although afterwards, since the wickedness of men urged it, the authorities were necessarily forced to arrogate it to themselves to a great extent, and now this dominion already serves more the wars, but marriage is the simplest of all and a dominion of peace. Rejoice, therefore, and give thanks to God, who has given you this way of life and has transferred you, as it were, from the sea to the harbor, from the world to paradise. It may be what Paul says [1 Cor. 7:28], that in this state there is tribulation of the flesh, but there is at the same time the comfort of the spirit, since Solomon says [Proverbs 18:22]: "He will receive 1) joy from the Lord." Further, what is the celibate life, which all seek and admire more than marriage, but - not only tribulation, but - a sea and a storm, yea, a hell of tribulations? So let the world, caught in error, rage, and because it does not want to bear a tribulation, let it love instead seas and storms of tribulations, and what it loves, it will find. Christ keep 2) and keep us in a better mind, that we may overcome the one tribulation, and not even feel one or the other evil among so many goods that we possess in this arrangement of life. These people are so drunk that they do not feel innumerable evils of their state because of the one good of a little honor, like a soldier who gives his life away, preferring a gold florin to the salvation of body and soul. We, on the other hand, should be so drunk on our goods that, when an evil occurs, we think it is something good.

- 1) Instead of *hauriat* we read *hauriet* according to the Vulgate.
- 2) Instead of *tenet* we read *toning*,
- 3) Here we have added *malum*.

See where I am going! Do I seem drunk or sober to you? I delight in praising God's works, and where I can, in many words. May the Lord Jesus Christ bless you in spirit and in body, and may you remember me in your prayers. I want your Friederichin to be dutifully greeted by you in my name, but beware, not other than with Latin words, the rest she will then already understand through her own perspicacity. Given on January 17, during the meal and in a hurry. Therefore, you will forgive the wordy one, or perhaps the one who enjoys a meal (*coenato* that I say so), but who is neither consumed nor drunk.

Venerable Lord, your

Martin Luther.

No. 1868.

Lübeck.

January 24, 1532.

Johann Bugenhagen to Luther.

(Regest.)

He communicates his concerns about Luther's rumored indisposition and his joy at the news of his well-being, as well as the reception of the psalm, reports Zwingli's and Oecolampad's death, asks for immediate news, and reports the sending of a Lübsche message to Sweden,

In the Fortgesetzten Sammlung 1745, p. 468, A regest in Burkhardt's Briefwechsel, p. 201, which we have reproduced here.

No. 1869.

(Wittenberg.)

January 31, 1532.

To the City Council of Herford.

Luther asks that the sisters and those in the Bruderhaus in Herford not be forced to give up their status and clothing.

The original is now said to be in the royal library in Berlin. Handwritten in the Provincial Archives at Münster. Printed in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 69, No. 116; in Walch, vol. XXI, 338; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 333 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 267.

To the honorable and wise mayor and council of the city of Hervord in Westphalia, my favorable gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear sirs! It has come to me how the sisters and those in the Bruderhaus nöchi

The people who want to leave their status and clothes and go according to the opinion of the priest and preacher. Now you know without a doubt that unnecessary renewals, especially in divine matters, are very dangerous, because the lords and great ones are moved by them without cause, for which peace and tranquility everything should and must serve. Because the brothers and sisters (who first began the Gospel with you) lead an honest life, and have an honest, disciplined congregation, besides faithfully teaching and keeping the pure Word, my friendly request is that Your Worship would not allow unrest and bitterness to befall them for the sake of this matter, that they still wear spiritual garments, and keep old praiseworthy customs, which are not against the Gospel. For such monasteries and houses of the brethren please me exceedingly. And if God wanted all monasteries to be like this, all parish lords, cities and countries would be well helped and advised. Please forgive me, E. W. will know how to keep this in a Christian and respectable way, considering that they are neither harmful to the parish priest, nor to the parish, but almost useful and better. Hereby commanded by God. Date Wittenberg, *ultima Januarii anno MDXXXII*.

D. Martinus Luther.

Mpp. aeger [ill]. ¹⁾

No. 1870.

Wittenberg.

31 Janar 1532.

To Jakob Montanus and Gerh. Wilskamp at Herford.

Luther tells them that he has written to the council of Herford in their matter.

Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 257 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 334.

Doctor Martin Luther, suffering from the head, wishes to the highly esteemed brothers Jakob Montanus of Speier and Gerhard of Xanten, the faithful and fair servants of the word at Herford, his brothers in the Lord

Grace and peace! I have received your and Gerhard's letters, and about these

1) Seckendorf, *Hist. Luth. lib.* III, sect. 6, § 15, p. 38, reports that Luther had a violent attack of vertigo on January 22.

I have written to the council of your city about this matter and have asked them to protect and defend your monastery against the disturbance in which these screamers are putting you. For your way of life pleases me extraordinarily, since you teach and live purely according to the Gospel of Christ, and yet God would have wished that such monasteries had existed or that there were still some of them today. I do not dare to wish for much, but if all were like that, the Church would be all too blissful in this life. Your clothes and other things, which have so far been maintained in a praiseworthy manner, do not harm the Gospel; indeed, they help the Gospel a great deal against the raging and wanton and unbridled spirits, who today do nothing but destroy and have learned to build nothing. Therefore, hold fast to your ways, and in this way of life spread the gospel diligently (as you are doing). Be well and pray for me. Given at Wittenberg, on the last day of January, Anno 1532, Martin Luther.

Postscript. My wife and children greet you and all the sisters and thank you for the gift sent. I would send the printed books, but there are no carriers. In the meantime, I assume that everything has reached you.

No. 1871.

(Wittenberg.)

Early 1532.

To Eberhard von der Tannen, Amtmann zu Wartburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1664.

No. 1872.

Torgau.

February 4, 1532.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

The Elector gives Luthern and his family the monastery in which he lives as free property, free of taxes, but under the condition that if Luther or his heirs sell it, the Elector has the right of first refusal.

From the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv according to Concept Aa, p.255, No.50, printed by Burkhardt, p.202.

By the Grace of God, we Johans, Duke of Saxony and Elector, confess for ourselves and our heirs, and declare against all men: After the venerable and reverend, our dear devotee, Mr. Martin Luther, Doctor, from son

By the grace and providence of God Almighty, almost from the beginning of our University in Wittenberg, in the time and government of the Highborn Prince, our dear brother Duke Frederick, Elector, in felig memory, and subsequently us, as the prospective 1) reigning Elector, at the same our University with reading in the Holy Scriptures, preaching, and preaching of the holy Gospel and the divine Word, as well as with the arrangement of the Christian ceremonies in the churches through the visitation in our lands and principalities, God the Almighty has now for a long time sufficiently endeavored to praise and honor, also comfort and salvation of the people, as he still does daily and without ceasing, so that we are not unreasonably inclined to him with special graces: In consideration of all this, and from our own motive, we have unsolicitedly granted to the above-mentioned Doctor Martin Luther, Katharina, his married wife, and their heirs, sons and daughters, the new dwelling in our city of Wittenberg, which was previously called the Black Monastery, in which Doctor Martinus has been accustomed for some time and still, with his understanding and extent, together with the garden and courtyard in front of it, has not excluded anything from it, but to all intents and purposes he now owns, uses and holds the same house, to a right free inheritance, and has gifted and graced them with it. 2) To him, his wife and their heirs, sons and daughters, to bequeath the above-mentioned dwelling, and to be gifted and pardoned with it, in and by virtue of this letter, so that they now own, possess and use the same dwelling as their own property and estate, and may act and act as with their own free inheritance and property of their own liking and will without our, our heirs' and male entry and prevention, but Doctor Martinus, his wife nor their heirs or devisees, sell or give the dwelling in question to no one, they have then such, and if they would be willing to sell it, have previously indicated to us or our heirs, whether we or our heirs would like to bring such dwelling to us ourselves for such payment or other reimbursement, if another would do it for them, or grant it to the council of Wittenberg, as the occasion may arise, so that it would be of use and convenience to the city, give also to the many-named Doctor and his married housewives out of special

1) Burkhardt: "prospective".

2) This "have" is too much. The concipient has lost the construction.

We hereby grant them these liberties, that they shall be free of all civic burdens and burdens in the said dwelling touched by our city of Wittenberg during both their lifetimes, so that they may not do or maintain any projectile or other duty, as the names may have, thereof, and shall nevertheless be free and hereby permitted by us that they may brew, malt, donate, keep cattle and engage in other civic activities like other of our citizens and inhabitants of Wittenberg. Likewise, their heirs and descendants shall also be permitted, completely without hindrance, but in such a way that these heirs and descendants shall annually and hereditarily pay 20 of our interest groschen 3) from the indicated dwelling to the town hall of Wittenberg, and these heirs and descendants shall 4) otherwise take care of all civic duties with guards and other burdens, except that the dwelling in question shall not be drawn into any land or princely taxes and annexes from but gracious and movable causes, but that Doctor Martinus Luther, Katharina, his married wife, and both their heirs of the same shall herewith be entirely free and privileged, all faithfully and harmlessly. In witness whereof, with our seal hereunto annexed, it is knowingly sealed and given at Torgau, on the Sunday after our Lady's *Purification* Day [February 4], after the birth of Christ our dear Lord 1532.

No. 1873.

(Wittenberg.)

February 1532.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1810, no. 1199.

No. 1874.

(Wittenberg.)

February 12, 1532.

To the Elector Prince Johann Friedrich to Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1807, no. 1198.

No. 1875.

Wittenberg.

February 19, 1532.

To Valentin Hausmann in Freiberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1752 - The words inserted there in the second line of the text: "(pastor in Zwickau)" are to be deleted, because Nicolaus Hausmann was already removed from his office there by the Elector in August 1531. See Luther's letter to the clergy of Zwickau of August 18, 1531.

3) That is, about one guildler.

4) Burkhardt: "all".

No. 1876.

February 1532.

To Veit Dietrich in Wittenberg.

From the Electoral Court, Luther calls for intercession for the sick Elector, on whom an operation had been performed. He complains of indisposition, but is busy thinking about the preface to the prophets.

From Luther's handwritten original in the royal library at Munich, De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 340. The letter is written extremely illegibly on a half sheet used in haste, the inner page of which was ruled with the pen for a completely different purpose.

To the highly respectable gentleman and man, that is, to Veit Dietrich, who can become decan at any hour (*decanabilis*) in the Faculty of Liberal Arts of the University of Wittenberg, my extremely dear friend

My greetings! Your prayers seem to be slackening with the Prince's illness, my dear Veit, 1) for Christ's sake continue to pray. There are many who wish for his death, and D. Caspar 2) says that although he brings this infernal fire to a halt by cutting off the big toe, that it [does not] turn to the width of the upper foot,³⁾ nevertheless it must still be cut in depth, and it was cut today with great agony, so that the prince cried out: "It truly presses me hard. It must certainly be an evil thing, as you say." He does not know that the big toe and part of the bone have been cut off, but he thinks that skin or flesh has been cut away. If the fire were to penetrate further into the foot, it would be over this head, and in a short time. "It is certainly the infernal fire" and the breath of Satan himself. For D. Caspar assures that

through this disease, the limbs become ashes while alive.

I am going around with a preface to the prophets. But before breakfast, I die daily from dizziness and plague of Satan, so that I almost despair of living and returning to you. After breakfast I comfort either the prince or others. "The head doesn't want to do it anymore. Therefore think, if I die, that you need your art and eloquence in the preface." Here I cannot accomplish anything, at home I would perhaps be happier; therefore I am thinking of returning with D. Brück if I can, although the journey is suspicious to me. But [tell both the] astr[ologist] and the prophesying mathematician],⁴⁾ whom I have so often convicted of error: I will convict him of error even more often. Farewell and greet all friends.

D. Martin Luther, in a hurry, because the messenger was in a great hurry.

No. 1877.

February 27, 1532.

To his housewife.

Luther writes from the Electoral Court about his intended return, about the illness of the Elector, about the reward of his departing servant, and so on.

In Walch, vol. XXIII, p. 35b; in Schütze, vol. I, p. 389 (the beginning and the end); in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 141 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 275.

My beloved housewife, Katharin Lutherin, in her own hand.

Greetings to God in Christ. My dearest Käthe! I hope that Doctor Brück will get leave, as he has put me off, so I will come with him tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Pray God that he brings us home fresh and healthy. I sleep very well, about 6 or 7 hours after each other, and then two or three hours after that. It is the beer's fault, I think. But I am sober, just like in Wittenberg. Doctor. Caspar says that our gracious lord's foot does not eat any more. But no Dobitzsch suffers such torture, nor any prisoner on the ladder in the tower of Hans

1) De Wette brings as the reading of the original: *M. Phil.* and has the note: "L. addresses the letter in thought to Melanchthon (?)." We have assumed *mi Vite*.

2) Lindemann.

3) We recognize ourselves that this translation is not quite exact. For those who are able to reproduce it better, we put the Latin text here: *D. Gaspar dicit sistere se (?) quidem ignem istum infernalem praeciso pollice majoris pedis in latitudinem vergendo, sed etc.* We believe to have hit the meaning.

4) We have tried to fill in the gaps like this: *Sed [dicas tam] astr[ologo] quam ominoso Mathem[atico].*

Stockmeister, as his churfürstl. Grace must suffer from the wound physicians. His Princely Grace is as healthy as a fish. His Grace is as healthy in the whole body as a little fish, but the devil has bitten and stung his foot. Pray, keep praying! I hope God will hear us as we have begun. For D. Caspar also believes that God must help here.

Because John 1) departed, necessity and honor demand that I let him come from me honestly. For you know that he served faithfully and diligently, and truly kept himself humble according to the gospel, and did and suffered all things. Therefore, think how often we have given to bad boys and ungrateful disciples, when all has been lost: so now attack yourself here, and do not lack such a pious fellow, knowing that it is well done and pleasing to God. I know well that there is little; but I would gladly give him 10 florins, if I had them. But you shall not give him less than 5 florins, because he is not clothed. What you can give above that, I ask for. The common caste would like to give me something in honor of such a servant, since I must keep my servants on my fare for the service and benefit of their church, but as they wish. Do not miss it, because there is a cup. Think where you can get it. God will give differently; I know that. Hiemit GOOD commanded, Amen.

And tell the priest of Zwickau that he wants to let him like the hostel and take care of it. When I come, I will tell you how Mühlfurt and I were guests at the Rietesel, and Mühlfurt showed me much wisdom. But I was not drunk after such a drink. Pußt mir den jungen Hansen von meinen wegen, und heiet Häuschen, Lehnchen und Muhme Lehen für den lieben Fürsten und für mich beten. Although there is a fair in this town, I cannot find anything to buy for the children. If I don't have anything special, get me some supplies. Tuesday after *Reminisc.* [27 Feb.] 1532.

D. Martinus Luther.

1) Rischinann, from Braunschweig, inscribed May 7, 1527 (*Alb.* p. 129). In 1533, on Luther's recommendation, he became Conrector and Diaconus in Husum. (Burkhardt, p. 204.)

No. 1878.

February 27, 1532.

Letter of recommendation for his former

Servant.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 479; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 484b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 960; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 580; in Walch, vol. XXI, 342; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 343; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 276.

I D. Martin Luther, preacher at Wittenberg, ask, for Christ's sake, that all those who love God's word, would favorably command this 2) witness of the letter, Johannes Rischmann, who has now served me faithfully, diligently and humbly for several years, and faithfully promote him to the best, esteemed the Lord, for whose sake he has served me. This will undoubtedly, as true as our gospel and Christ Himself is true, be a pleasing, pleasant service to God. And if I know how to owe it to anyone, I am always willing and ready. Hereby commanded to God. Tuesday after Reminiscere [27 Feb.] Anno 1532. my own hand.

No. 1879.

(Wittenberg.)

March 7, 1532.

To Mrs. Dorothea Jörger at Tolleth.

Luther responds to Mrs. Jörger's offer to invest 500 florins for poor students of theology.

From Raupach, Evang. Oesterreich, I. Forts., p. 62 ff., according to the original, which was in the possession of I. Ch. Lerche, Superint. zu Neustadt an der Aisch; in Moseder in the appendix to his Creed, p. 74 ff.; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 344 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 277.

To the noble, virtuous woman Dorothea Jörgerin, widow at Tollet, my favorable wives and good friend in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ. Noble, virtuous woman! I have received your letter to me together with the Kütten-Latweg, as well as my dear Kätthe's 4 Hungarian guilders in her letter, and we both thank you most kindly. So I have also sent Ern Michel Stiefel his own, of which

2) De Wette and the Erlanger: "this one".

I am expecting your return at any time. That your writing also reports and desires, as I think best, the five hundred florins, which you intend to invest in poor fellows who study the Holy Scriptures: I, together with *Magistro Philippo* and all my good lords and friends, have considered it best, because it is to be invested in such a needfully useful work that it will be spent on interest, so that it may be useful forever and to many. For one can help two people annually with such interest, as long as it is noticed, 1) which we want to order the University of Wittenberg to look after. Accordingly, I have diligently written to Lasaro Spengler, Syndico at Nuremberg, that he wants to have such florins inquired through loyal merchants (as he well knows how to do) at Linz and taken to himself according to your handwriting, which I have sent to him with my writing (to be sent again), and I have also asked that he be helpful in this, so that it may be taken up and prescribed by your council at Nuremberg, which would be the most important thing; If not, that he sends it to me, and that it be placed elsewhere. If you like this opinion, the matter would be bad. I will do the best I can for myself, and I am glad that God has moved your hearts to consider such a good work in Christ. Unfortunately, even in our country, where God's word is preached abundantly to the point of overflow, such grace seems little or nothing, but rather the contradiction that they let their poor pastors starve: both those of nobility, peasants and citizens, everyone is inclined to rob more than to help. But perhaps the saying [must come true]: The nearer Rome, the worse Christians, and that Matth. 12, 2) 42. Christ says: "The queen from Saba will appear on the last day and accuse this people, because she is from the end of the world" 2c. To the same our dear Lord Jesus Christ I commend you and all yours into his abundant mercy, Amen. Thursday after Oculi [March 7] 1532. D. Martin Luther.

No. 1 880.

Wittenberg.

March 18, 1532.

To Hans von Taubenheim at Torgau.

Luther recommends a young man to him as a preacher.

In Lingke's *Luthers Gesch. u. And. in Torgau*, p. 89; in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 346 and in the *Erlanger Ausgabe*, vol. 54, p. 278.

To the noble, strict, Mr. Hansen von Taubenheim, our most gracious Rentmeister at Torgau.

Grace and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord, amen. Noble, austere, favorable dear Lord! E. E. are my willing services before. You know that for the preservation of Christian doctrine, persons are needed who present it to the people and faithfully instruct them in it. You also know that such people and honest Christian men have been at the university for several years to learn what they want to teach others; they must not only have studied commendably and lived honestly if they have the hope of serving the church and school. Such is this Matthäus Schrey, an honest fellow, a native of Niemeck, who spent several years here in the studio at Wittenberg, and behaved well and commendably in teaching and manners. Since now your noble gestrengen talked the other day with D. Hieronymus (as he had been at Torgau) to ask me to propose to her a quiet, pious, God-fearing man, to appoint him as a pastor and to give him a salary: so do hereby to know that D. Jerome is doing 'what he has been commanded to do, and I now pronounce what has been asked of me through him. Hereby I command you into the hands of God Almighty. Let me and the people be commanded to you. Date Wittenberg, Monday after Judica [March 18] 1532.

Martin Luther, D.

No. 1881.

March 23, 1532.

Elector John of Saxony to Luther.

Excerpt from a letter. Luther's reply is the next letter.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1802.

1) That is, as long as care is taken that it is well invested.

2) In the issues . "Matth. 11."

No 1882.

(Wittenberg.)

March 28, 1532.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1802.

No. 188 3

(Wittenberg.)

March 28, 1532.

To the Chancellor Georg Vogler.

Luther asks him to help put into action the margrave's favorable sentiments against the Protestant preachers, and recommends to him in particular M. Bernhard Ziegler.

In *Beyschlag, Sylloge variorum Opusc., Tom.I, fasc. IV, p.806*; in Hausdorf, *Leben Spenglers*, p.188; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 348 and in the *Erlanger Ausgabe*, vol. 54, p. 280.

To the honorable and prudent Georgen Vogler, Margraviai Chancellor of Brandenburg, my favorable dear Lord and friend.

Grace and peace. Honorable, prudent, dear lord and friend! I have now often received admonition from you, especially through Lasarum Spengler, my good friend and lord, that I should write to my lord Margrave Georgen for the poor pastors and preachers; and it has done me good that in it I have felt your great diligence and favor toward the poor priests. Accordingly, I have written to S. F. G. humbly and diligently. S. F. G. answered me quite graciously and consolingly: that there should be no lack of S. F. G. at all, where it can only be indicated, and the words were put in such a way that I cannot doubt that S. F. G. is serious. So now I ask you very kindly to comfort such poor servants of Christ, as you have done so far, and especially to support M. Bernhardum Ziegler as much as you can, since he is worth it, as you yourselves have experienced and feel. For such people are not to be found like pebbles in the street; and when they are gone, their like is sought in vain. Hereby commanded by God. Date Wittenberg, on Green Thursday [March 28] 1532.

E. E. willing

D. Martinus Luther, now
sick at head.

No. 1884.

(Wittenberg.)

Perhaps in April 1532.

To Albrecht, Duke of Prussia.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1678.

No. 1885.

(Wittenberg.)

2. April 1532.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

About the filling of the position of Melchior Mirisch, about the illness of the Elector and about a marriage case.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 150, in Schütze, vol. II, p.259 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 355 f.

Grace, and peace! I have been silent for a long time, my dear Amsdorf, but the illness of my head was the cause of it, which prevented me from any occupation with writing, reading and teaching for more than a whole month. As you recently wrote about getting a pastor to take the place of Melchior Mirisch, and thinking of our Hausmann, I think of it this way: that M. Georg, the deacon of our church, could not easily be moved to change his position; what M. Hausmann's opinion is, I will find out. M. Leonhard Beier 1) is also here, who has been dismissed from Guben, or rather has left. One of these two seems to me to be most suitable for you. I also believe that you know M. Leonhard. But because he is wanted as a preacher at Zwickau, and here at Wittenberg, if Pommer does not return, he will be appointed for a time as a deputy in his place, then because Schneeberg wants to have M. Hausmann, after the contract is concluded (for it has been agreed that Schneeberg will become ours, and all articles are agreed between the princes, except that of the so-called mixed fiefs, all of which is being worked on. When that is established, everything is even, even with the approval of Duke George. This I have heard from the Prince's own mouth, from D. Brück and Riedtel with these my ears and diligently investigated): so I ask you,

1) For De Wette: *Betzer*.

to forgive a little, as much as it concerns, whether God accept the call to the preaching ministry in Zwickau 1) 2c. wants to order either the househusband or the Leonhard This is my answer, which I have to give to all others in the there. But don't you hear me begging like this? Show us same matter, namely, I have nothing to do with those of what M. Mirisch lived on. Zwickau, and neither their parish nor preaching seat

Our prince, thanks be to God, is recovering nicely. concerns me. If you want to accept it differently, do it for Twice I visited him and, being present in front of his bed, yourselves, I will not prevent it. But that I should advise or I interpreted what the Lord had said and comforted him encourage it, no man shall be able to do that, whether with interspersed speeches and stories. There was a fear God wills it. For those at Zwickau shall not make a that his illness would become a cold burn (ssE iZnw) in disgraceful cover of me, and our gospel shall not be a the big toe of the right foot, but it was met and prevented, juggler's game with my willing, as they have tried and thank God! and he is getting better and better. hoped to do so far.

I believe that you have settled your marriage case What you do in this, do on your own level. Be it unto with the closed woman. For it is difficult to separate them, you, as unto others, that ye complain not unto me. I will since one of the midwives testifies that nothing is wrong leave the people and things idle; they know the causes with her, only the opening of the pubic region is a little too best of all. They have now cooled their little troubles; but deep, if everything else is in order. Perhaps both of them what matter if Christ will not cool his little troubles in them? do not know the manner of attendance. They may I will gladly be at your beck and call.

therefore consult women who are experienced in this Hereby commanded by God. And if you become matter. If it were now found to be closed, the verdict would preachers in Zwickau, God help you, so that you do not be clear. Fare well in Christ. On Tuesday in Easter [April have to be against me, and are not burdened with other people's sins, amen. Date Friday in Easter [April 5] Anno 2] 1532.

Martin Luther.

1532.

D. Martinus Luther.

No. 1886.

(Wittenberg.)

April 5 and 13, 1532.

To Georg Mohr, preacher at Borna.

Two letters.

About Mohr's appointment to the pastorate in Zwickau.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 478; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 485; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 960; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 559; in Walch, vol. XXI, 342 f.; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 357 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 290.

A. To the worthy and well-learned Mr. Magister

Georgio Mohr, preacher at Born, my favorable good friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Magister Georgi! I have received your writing, in which you ask me whether you should

B.

Grace and peace. My dear Magister Georgi! I do not have the time to write much to you now, and your messenger is also in a hurry; otherwise I would have written for you to the council at Born. But I will do it another time, as uninvited, and more conveniently.

Concerning the preaching office in Zwickau, I cannot advise you otherwise than before. But if our most gracious Lord, the Elector, would command you to accept the same, you may indicate the aforementioned reasons, because S. C. F. G. will not force you; so I do not consider it necessary that you join Torgau to N. 2c. Our Lord God will not forget you. Hiemit GOtt befohlen 2c. Date Saturday after Quasimodogeniti [April 13] Anno 1532.

D. Martinus Luther.

1) An old copy, which is bound into a memorial book of the town hall archive at Zwickau, offers here: "Zwickau". Therefore, wherever the editions offer "N.", we have put Zwickau in its place.

No. 1887.

Königsberg.

April 6, 1532.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

Answer to Luther's letter of August 24, 1531, thanking him for his advice and for his efforts so far to find a learned preacher for Riga, which he asks to continue. About his relationship to the Deutschmeister. He asks Luther to interpret the Gospel of John 2c.

Detailed excerpt by I. Voigt. Mittheilung aus der Correspondenz des Herzogs Albrecht mit Luther 2c. Königsberg 1841, p. 3, and a regest in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 175.

No. 1888.

Königsberg.

April 12, 1532.

Duke Albrecht of Prussia to Luther.

(Regest.)

The duke asks Luthern to accept the son of his captain in Labiau, G. von Bendorf, named Quirin, who is to study in Wittenberg, into his house in return for remuneration.

Detailed excerpt in J. Voigt, op. cit., p. 4 and a regest in Kolde, p. 175.

No. 1889.

(Wittenberg.)

April 1532.

**To the "nine men"¹⁾ at Herford, ge
with Melancthon.**

Luther warns them not to force the brothers to leave their community and go to that of the city. They should also be left in their home, property and administration, and not be deprived of their parish rights, which would make them guilty of interfering with a foreign authority.

From the original in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 69, No. 117; in Walch, vol. XXI, 340; in the Innocent News 1726, p. 893; in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 580; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 358; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 291.

1) Walch has as superscription: "To the nine men or monastery lords of Herford", and gives to *Ad Novemviros*, which is found with him above the inscription, the note: *Hi qui pauperum diaconi etiam salutabantur, vulgo quoque Kloster-Herren vocabantur, occasione inde arrepta, quoniam ipsis potestas erat facta, inquirendi in bona coenobiorum eademque conscribendi*. [These, who also had the title "Armenpfleger," were commonly called "Klosterherren," in that mail had taken the occasion (to call them so) from the fact that they had been granted (by the council?) the power of

To the honorable, wise nine men at the forefront.

Honorable, wise, favorable friends! We have received your writings and have diligently read and considered them; we have also heard your envoys, who have indicated at length the reasons for which you have considered that they should not hold their own communion; they have also indicated that it is not in the minds of the preachers and the city to act so that they should leave their dwelling and *habitus*. Now, if you could arrange the matter in a friendly manner, without coercion, harassment or force, so that they would also want to go to your and the entire city's *communion*, it would be fine and well done, and would set an example for many others. As we have written to them, so far, however, that you also encumber them in their dwelling, goods and *administration*, and you have no right to err them; but where the *friars* want to keep their own *communion*, and by friendly action do not go to your *communion*, our concern is that you should not force or compel them in any way to leave their *communion*, because they do not keep it contrary to the Gospel. For it is public that they have parish rights, as there are often many parishes in a city; nor does it follow that every citizen should therefore set up a parish in his house, for no one is permitted to do so; besides, there is a great difference between a common and a public assembly, and between a household; for what a citizen does in his house is called acting secretly. Further, know ye, as the understanding

to inspect the goods of the monasteries and to write them down]. De Wette has as a caption: "To the monastery lords of Herford" and notes: "They had the administration of the monastery estates. Bretschneider has as a superscription: *Hervordensibus* and to the "nine men" the note: *Praefectis Monasterii* [the officials of the monastery]. These headings and explanations are more or less inaccurate; the monastery or abbey of Herford, although located in the city itself, was an imperial dominion under the government of the abess, who had a seat and a vote in the imperial diets. The monastery of the Brothers of the Common Life was also subject to her jurisdiction, and the city of Herford had no authority over them, as can be seen from this and other letters.

2) The envoys were M. Rudolf Möller, Rector of the school in Herford, and Heinrich Potgeter (Burkhardt).

We urge you not to reach into other people's heads, but since they are not your subjects, you are not to force or coerce them. This is our advice and request that you understand it most kindly from us; we also ask that you consider that time itself will find advice. They are honest old people, who should be spared, and as the wise, do not allow anyone to do wrong to them, for God also has people among them, whom he takes care of. We are willing to serve you kindly. Martin Luther.

Philip.

No. 185 0.

(Wittenberg.)

April 22, 1532.

To Gerhard Wilskamp and his confreres at Herford.

Luther sends a copy of the previous letter, and essentially repeats what was written there.

The original is in the royal library in Berlin, whose variants Burkhardt, p. 204, communicates. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 185. 4. printed in *Innocent News* 1726, p. 891; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 201; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 262; in *De Wette*, vol. I V, p. 359 f. and in *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 581.

To the highly admired men, Mr. Gerhard von Lauten, the father of the House of Brothers, and his comrades at Herford, his friends

Hail! Men of high esteem! We send you a copy of the letter we wrote to the nine men (*Novembiros*), in which we absolutely admonish them from violent attacks; we do not concede them any right over your goods or bodies or order. We have also clearly indicated that you can maintain a parish of your own, having both the doctrine of the Gospel and customs consistent with the Gospel. Therefore, according to our advice or opinion, no one will force you to change anything in your order; but still we have added that we would write [to you] because of the community. For example, it would be useful for you to use the fellowship of the rest of the church, and if you did so, the whole church would seem to be in harmony.

The matter seems to be settled. Perhaps you would also attract many citizens, who are still averse to the gospel, to the gospel by your example. Nor do we want you to change your clothes or leave your present way of life. Therefore, you will have to judge whether you want to follow the citizens in this matter. For we by no means think that you should be forced, and we have clearly approved of your customs, as far as we are able to judge from your booklet 1). Therefore, if you prefer to keep your parish, we do not disapprove. About the clothing and the possessions of the monastery, about your entire administration, we make this statement: These things are entirely in your hands. For the city has no dominion over you, and we will never be the instigators for anyone to take possession of foreign things. But if, moreover, your citizens should do anything in this matter, we ask that you answer in a gentle manner. Be well. On the day after Jubilate Sunday [April 22] 1532.

Two gold florins, which you gave to the messenger as a gift for us, we have returned to the messenger, so that he may deliver them to you again. For we were not at liberty to accept them because of the talk of ungodly people, but we did not despise your goodwill toward us. But we did not want to give slanderers an opportunity to revile. Again, farewell.

No. 1891 .

Wittenberg.

April 22, 1532.

To the abbess at Herford.

Luther indicates to the abbess that he has written to the brothers that the city should not interfere with foreign authority or use force.

The original is at the royal library in Berlin. Printed in the *Altburg* edition, vol. V, p. 1280; in the *Leipzig*, vol. XXII, p. 562; in *Walch*, vol. XXI, 345 f.; in *De Wette*, vol. I V, p. 361; in the *Corp. Ref.*, vol. II, 582 and in the *Erlangen* edition, vol. 54, p. 292 f. The original is written by Melancthon, but signed by Luther.

1) This is the apologia that the brothers wrote and sent to Wittenberg for censorship (*De Wette*).

To the reverend, noble and well-born Domina, Anna von Lymborch, Abbatesse of the noble Abbey of Hervörden, our gracious Domina.

Grace and peace through our Lord Jesus Christ. Reverend, gracious Domina! We have sent our concern to the worthy lords, the *Fratribus* of Hervörden, in which we have written and advised with the utmost diligence that the city should not encroach upon foreign sovereignty or exercise violence. In addition, we have written that the *Frates* may have and keep their own parish; as you will hear from our writings everywhere. However, we hereby ask that Your Lordship, as the authority that is inclined to promote God's praise and honor, help to bring peace on both sides. We are always willing to serve God. Datum Wittenberg *postridie Dominicae Jubilate* [April 22] Anno 1532.

E. G. williger
Martinus Luther.

No. 1892 .

(Wittenberg.) April 22, 1532.

To N. Zink at Nuremberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2046. - The date there should read: "April 22, 1532".

No. 1893 .

(Wittenberg.) April 30, 1532.

To Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg.

In response to Prince Joachim's inquiry about partaking of the Lord's Supper, Luther answers that if one is convinced that both forms are instituted by God, they must also be partaken of.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 1280; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 562; in Walch, vol. XXI, 344; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 363 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 295.

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, of Pomerania, of the Cassuben and Wenden Dukes, Burgrave of Nuremberg, and Prince of Rügen, my gracious lord.

Peace and mercy in Christ. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I have received E. F. G.'s credence through the carionem; thereupon I have again indicated to him.

E. F. G. my discretion to report. But for the sake of the Sacrament in one form 2c. I told him that if Father G. is conscience-minded about it and certain that it is God's commandment and order, it is not appropriate nor will he suffer that one would use one form of the Sacrament to knowingly do so against God's commandment.

For it is just as much against God to knowingly take a form contrary to his order as it is against him to knowingly rob, murder, or commit other sins, as the author himself may well consider. So it is better to abstain from the Sacrament altogether, and (where it cannot be otherwise) to pretend to be clumsy, ill or otherwise infirm, than to do contrary to conscience. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. Tuesday after Georgii [April 30] Anno 1532.

E. F. G. williger
Martinus Luther, D.

No. 189 4.

Wittenberg. April 30, 1532.

To the City Council of Soest.

Luther suggests to the council some men suitable for the position of superintendent.

The original, not written by Luther but signed by him, is in the Soest City Archives. Printed in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 364 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 296.

Grace of God and peace through our Lord Jesus Christ. Honorable, respectable, wise, favorable friends! Since my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, has sent your writing to me, and has ordered that a learned and pious man be appointed to you as superintendent, it is my advice that you request one of the prelates at Bremen, Jacobum Prepositum, or Johannen Zelst, who, as I have heard, desire to leave Bremen; they are certainly moral and learned men, and have had to suffer much in their administration. I have also spoken to one here who wants to come to you, named Johannes de Brune of Ghent, whom I also consider capable of this office. But since he does not want to accept this difficult office for a number of reasons, my concern is that you first ask the prelate for his permission.

dicants one from Bremen. But if none of them will come to you, and you seek me out again, I will deal with the said Johanne de Brune, so that he will come to you. I also ask and admonish you, as those who desire and honor the holy gospel, to be careful that impure and seditious teachings (Lahr) against the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, against baptism 2c. do not creep in among you. I have also written to the aforementioned preachers in Bremen, if perhaps you would like to request one,¹⁾ that they will let themselves be heard with a good answer. Dat. Wittenberg, on the evening of Philippi and Jacobi [April 30] anno 1532.

*Doctor Martin Luther
manu propria.*

No. 1895 .

(Wittenberg.)

Perhaps in April 1532.

Concerns of spiritual goods.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1829, no. 1204.

No. 1 896.

(Wittenberg.)

Early May 1532.

Concerns about the Act of Peace at Schweinfurt.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVI, 1826, No. 1203. - There, instead of: "Nuremberg", which we have placed after Walch, "Schweinfurt" is to be read in the heading, because the next following concern refers to this.

No. 1 897.

(Wittenberg.)

May 1532.

Concerns about the peace treaty at Schweinfurt, together with Bugenhagen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1819, no. 1201.

No. 189 8.

Wittenberg.

May 20, 1532.

To Spalatin.

Luther wished him luck for the blessing he had bestowed through his sermons during the convention at Schweinfurt. Bugenhagen, who wrote the letter, reports about Lübeck.

Printed by *Buddeus*, p. 234 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p.374. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1240. The original, written by Bugenhagen and signed by Luther, is found in *Cod. Seidel. at the Dresden library.*

To the man and gentleman to be highly honored in Christ, Magister Georg Spalatin, the very worthy bishop of the church at Altenburg, his lord and beloved brother.

Grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ forever and ever! I wish you happiness, dearest Spalatin, on your happy return in Christ, and wish with the brothers that you may often go out like this to invest the money of the Lord in usury. For we have heard that you have not sown the word of Christ there without fruit; thanks be to Christ, who gives everything abundantly, and more than we dare hope or ask. In the meantime, I am taking a vacation, since God so wills it. But if it again pleases His goodness, He will restore me to health, and cause me to accomplish what He has given for the salvation of His Church; this you may also ask. My (*dominus mea*) Lord [Käthe] greets you, and Philip, and I as the third, that is Pomeranus, who wrote this letter. With my Lübeckers, Christ has directed through my ministry all that you like to hear about our gospel. May the Lord be with you and with your wife and with your long desired offspring and with your household for eternity. From Wittenberg, 1532, on Pentecost Monday [May 20].

Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 1899.

(Wittenberg.)

May 1532.

Concerns about a future religious peace, jointly with Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and Melanchthon.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, Reg. H, fol. 65, No. 17. Handwritten in *Cod. Goth.* 452, p. 209. Printed in *Corp. Ref.* vol. II, 592 and in De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 132 f. It is written by Melanchthon for the Elector, as can be seen from Luther's marginal gloss.

1) De Wette: "want".

2) Instead of *per te* at De Wette we read with *Buddeus*: *te*.

In the case that one would deal with a decency or external and secular peace in the German nation, it is to be considered well that one will look for much *condition* and entanglements to hem in this part, depending on the Confession, and to prevent the doctrine. Now we cannot cover all their intrigues. However, it can be assumed from the above actions that they will seek these three things, namely, that we will not send preachers to other dominions or promote the doctrine in such places in any way. This article is against God, for, as Paul says, the gospel shall not be bound. This is one of the most noble services, to spread and promote Christian doctrine and right services where one can, especially with such measures, with preaching and sending preachers, without forcibly taking precedence. And this does not require any disputation at all, this article cannot be accepted.

On the other hand, they may seek to prevent anyone from accepting mail into the covenant. Although making covenants for such Christian help is divine and right (for every ruler, even without a covenant, owes and is obligated to help the other faithfully in such a case, as is easily explained and proven, and 1 John 3:16.¹⁾ is written: "By this love is known: as Christ gave his life for us, so we also ought to give our lives for the brethren"). But we see that so much unfaithfulness is involved in covenants that we cannot expect much help or comfort from them. Therefore, each one sees what he owes for himself. A pious Christian gentleman cannot undertake to help another in such a matter. This is spoken of his own and private help. This does not concern the covenants, for he cannot comfort anything from foreign, unfaithful covenant partners. Therefore, if the others want to take the covenant and thus forget love and do not help others, a pious and faithful covenanter cannot force them to do so, and is therefore excused, if he also tolerates *invitations*, that others are not accepted, for how can he force the others to provide help?

Therefore, we know nothing else about this article, except that in this case the relatives are diligently reminded that they owe help. But if they will not help in earnest, what is the point of promising much comfort, and no protection follows after that. Christ knew well the unfaithfulness of the world, therefore he said of preaching, and wants us to command the danger to God. He does not let his church perish, says nothing about covenants and the loyalty of great kings and princes. 2) So we may also command our danger to God, but we should nevertheless admonish the rulers, remind them and point out to them that they are obliged to protect pious Christians, as the Psalm says: "Blessed is he who takes care of the wretched. 3) If people from foreign dominions go to cities or countries where the holy gospel is preached, the authorities there are obliged to protect them against unjust violence.

Thirdly, the Chamber Court is not to agree in any way that they should have the power to process against the present or others, who would accept the Christian doctrine in the future, because of the doctrine or other 4) matters concerning the church order with doctrine or goods. For this is public, that the Court of Appeal is a completely secular court, and has nothing to judge about doctrine and church appointment. Moreover, it is public that they are most vehemently opposed to us.

Wherever they want to seek restitution, our concern is that the lords are obliged to bring the church goods into proper use, to provide their parishes, schools and hospital properly. They should do this and keep to it. However, if they want to give it to the pope or otherwise kill it without benefit, we cannot prevent that. Nevertheless, we want to

2) In this regard, Luther himself noted in the margin (in Latin): "That is, he does not promise that they will be faithful as He is, but he promises that he will stand by them when they have kept the covenants they have entered into, as he has done in the whole law."

3) Luther's marginal note (again in Latin): It is something else to say, "Let the kings do it."

The first part is uncertain, of which Philip speaks; the other part is certain, of which Philip does not speak.

4) In the editions: "other".

1) In the editions: "John 3."

God's grace says what is right. That is all we can do.

The Church must experience great unfaithfulness especially the last time, as Daniel says: "Many will be treacherous to them." God help us!

It is also mentioned that it could happen that one would speak of the form of a concilii. Although we do not doubt that Pope and King cannot or will not suffer a free concilium, and therefore will never be able to compare themselves to any form, it would nevertheless be good for us to consider this, and we want to think about this matter further and have it reported to Your Lordship.

First of all, Popes, kings and princes must agree that the judges are sworn to judge freely according to God's Word and their own Christian conscience, and not according to human statutes and school opinions, nor to look at official authority or presumed power or custom. It will be necessary to consider whether to include in God's Word the custom of the first Christian churches in the time of the apostles, or how to consider this.

Item, one would like to put the articles to speak of it, as namely of the confession. This would eliminate the need to include the four old confessions in the oath.

Item, of choice of the persons by both part approval.

Martinus Luther D.

Justus Jonas D.

Johannes Pomeranus D.

Caspar Creutziger D.

Philip Melanchthon.

No. 1900 .

(Königsberg.)

May 31, 1532.

Johann Apel, Prussian chancellor, to Luther.

(Regest.)

Apel reports about the good condition of the ecclesiastical conditions in Prussia, which are only harmed by the Sacramentarians. He praises the prince, who is perhaps only too good.

From the original at the Hamburg City Library in the Wolff Collection, I, 53, in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 175.

No. 1901 .

Soest.
1532.

Beginning of June

The Council of Soest to Luther.

(Regest.)

Since the two clergymen in Bremen have turned down the job, the council asks for Joh. Bruene

The original concept is in the city archives of Soest. A regest of the same in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 178.

No. 1902.

To Franz Koler.

(Fragment.)

Complaint about Duke George. Perhaps only an oral statement

From the *Cod. Goth.* 402, fol. 374 in Kolde, p. 178.

-----It is said that a mad dog does not live for more than 9 days, so our Lord God lets Duke George be mad for 9 years and longer. He is nothing other than a mad dog. Well, I would like to see this in him before my end, that he would be up against us, and his citizens would not go with him against us, so that he would have to see that they care more about our Lord God than about him. ¹⁾ -

No. 1903 .

(Wittenberg.)

June 13, 1532.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

Of Luther's and Amsdorf's state of health; of the religious peace to be established at Nuremberg; and of Carlstadt's journey to Friesland.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 148, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 263 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 375.

Grace and peace in Christ! That I have not written to you, my dear Amsdorf,

1) In *Cod. Goth.* it is noted: This he said to Franz Koler in 1532, June 8, who, together with other exiles, was ordered by Duke George either to sell their goods or to stand before the bishop on 3 Sundays, dressed in white cloths, in church and to recant; and after that they were to be absolved. They wrote, however, that they would rather let their goods go than Christ, and would rather plunge the body into a short lack than the soul into eternal torment.

My head's condition was to blame for this, which is gradually improving through your prayers; for I despaired of the natural powers. I hear that you too are ill, and I do not like to hear it. May Christ also restore you and keep you for a long time.

I do not know what I can hope from the peace that is to be established between the Emperor and us at Nuremberg. Our people have written on their journey that the Turk, who has been completely dead up to now, is advancing against Germany with a terrifying and innumerable army in order to attack Ferdinand and Carl at the same time and devour both brothers. The pope is in France, and he, together with the king of France, denounces the emperor, and they refuse help against the Turk. Behold the monstrosities of this time! This is the money that the popes have collected for so many years against the Turks through indulgences. It is said that the emperor is pressuring the princes for the promised troops against the Turks. For this reason, the Diet may soon be dissolved and the peace negotiations broken off. It is said that Carlstadt has traveled again to Friesland and is looking for a hiding place, since he can have no other position in Switzerland than to engage in agricultural work; he soon became tired of this agricultural work in our country. This is what we have in the way of news. May the Lord do what is good in His eyes; I commend you to His grace, Amen. June 13

Anno 1532.

Martin Luther.

No. 190 4.

Wittenberg.

June 17, 1532.

To the City Council of Soest.

After the two preachers in Bremen recommended by Luther to the council of Soest had refused the appointment, the council wrote again to Luther in the beginning of January (regist in Kolde's *Analecta*, p. 178) and asked for Johann de Brun, to whom Luther had drawn their attention in your letter of April 30. Now Luther reports that he had managed to get him to agree, and recommends him warmly. He warns against the false teacher Johann Campensis.

From the original in the city archives at Soest in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 376 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 307.

To the honorable and wise, mayors and councillors of the city of Sofft, my kind stigen friends.

Grace and peace through our Lord Jesus Christ. Honorable, wise, favorable lords and friends! After you have shown such diligence to order your churches well and Christianly, I have also gladly served you in this, to the praise of God, and have had a special joy in the fact that you take up this Christian cause so seriously; may our Lord Christ grant grace to this. And at your request, I have acted with Mr. Johanne de Brun, so that he will come to you and let himself be used, where you want to command him the office of preacher or superintendent 1). For I have considered this John to be especially capable for such an office, because of his honest life and conduct, as well as his doctrine; for he is well taught and practiced in Christian matters before others, has also preached and governed churches before, and has fought hard against unrighteous doctrine and seditious sects, such as Anabaptists and the like, who blaspheme the Sacrament, revile authority and government; And from this I hope that your church will be well appointed and provided for by him with God's grace; I also hope that he will help to bring peace and unity with the utmost diligence, and prevent 2) unchristian doctrine from breaking in among you, as he himself knows that a preacher is obligated to do all this; so I have also earnestly admonished him to do so. But I also asked you to keep him friendly and to care for and protect him faithfully. For I see that our poor preachers are treated badly and unkindly in many places; for this reason many more skilled people flee from the ministry. I want you to know that preachers have a high and difficult office, which we, to the praise of God and to our own blessedness, owe to honor, to maintain and to handle. Therefore, let this pious man, Johannem de Brun, who has offered to come to you, be faithfully commanded to you.

I also hear that there is one among you, called Campensis, who is causing a lot of trouble. Now, I am told that the same one has

1) "Snperattendentur" put by us instead of: "Superattendent".

2) "not" put by us instead of: "never". In the original probably "nit" will be found.

Campensis at Brunswig has been evil in doctrine and life: therefore be warned, and prevent that the said (Wittenberg.) Campensis does not cause sectarianism or sedition in your city. May God graciously preserve you and grant you His grace and peace. Dat. Witeberg, Monday after *Viti* [June 17] anno 1532.

Doctor Martinus Luther.

No. 190 5.

(Wittenberg.)

June 24, 1532.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

Luther recommends a preacher appointed to Magdeburg. From the Turkish War; from the Nuremberg negotiations; from Eck's expulsion from Bavaria.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 151, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 264 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 377.

Grace and peace! I commend to you, best Amsdorf, Mr. Lucas, appointed pastor of your Knights of St. John. I have instructed him that in any matter, if counsel should be needed, he will rely on your guidance and reputation. Christ be with you, amen.

We seem to have finally become too certain about the arrival of the Turk. God take care of us! although I fear a strong scourge for our ingratitude. Apart from that, I know nothing of news, except that ours are expected back from Nuremberg, completely undone, and after having spent effort, work, time and money in vain. Fate oppresses the pope and his kingdom by the angry and unforgiving wrath of God. "Well, well!" their blood be upon their heads, "we have done enough." I believe that you have heard that D. Eck was expelled from Ingolstadt and its territory by the princes of Bavaria, and he lost the parish and everything very suddenly. So they write from Nuremberg. They are in doubt and assume (*ariolantur*) as the cause that he was favorable to the Bishop of Passau, the third Duke of Bavaria, Ernst, who desires a part of the paternal inheritance. Fare well in Christ. Finally, through the prayers, I am freed from the dizziness and the sickness of the headache, thanks be to God! Amen. On the day of St. John the Baptist [June 24] 1532.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1906 .

June 24, 1532.

To Valentin Hausmann.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1753.

No. 190 7.

Torgau.

June 28, 1532.

Churfürst Johann to Luther, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon."

The Elector sends the news of Duke Jo . hann Friedrich from Nuremberg about the negotiations with Mainz and Palatinate, and asks for their opinion.

The original concept is in the Weimarsche Gesammtarchiv, *Reg. H*, fol. 65, No. 17. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 205.

Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotees and faithful! The Reverend Prince, our friendly dear son, Duke John Frederick, has now written to us from Nuremberg, among other things, about the action there in matters of faith, as you will find enclosed. We send you herewith what has been done during the time that our son was in Nuremberg by the two Electors of Mainz and Palatinate with his beloved and other of our kinsmen, and it is therefore our gracious request that you immediately review and consider all of this with diligence and report your concerns to us, along with the resending of the same lists of many actions, to this messenger of ours, in which you show us favor. Date Torgau, Friday after Johannis Baptistä [June 28] Anno 1532.

No. 190 8.

(Wittenberg.)

(June 29, 1532.) 2)

Concerns for Elector John of Saxony, jointly with Jonas.

Ueber die Artikel des Nürnberger Religionsfriedens.

The original is in the Weimarisches Gesammtarchiv, H 64.16. The same has the inscription on the back:

1) Burkhardt has this superscription. But Luther and Jonas dismissed the concern, as can be seen from the following number.

2) De Wette, who did not know the previous letter, dates it: "In Junius"; the Erlangen edition: "in Julius". This concern reached the hands of the Elector on June 30 (Burkhardt. p. 205, note 2). Therefore, the date we set according to Burkhardt cannot be doubtful, since this expert opinion was sent at the same time as the letters following Heiden.

"Bedenken von den entlichen Mitteln." According to the original, reported by De Wette, vol. I V, p. 380 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 310; in both, no further locations are given. However, this writing is also found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 311; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 1025; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 375; in Walch, vol. XXI, 175- and in the Erlangen edition (as a duplicate, where, according to Walch, the locations are printed), vol. 65, p. 222.

We have diligently read and considered all the writings sent to us against one another, and especially the final remedies and the counter writings. As much as we can understand from it, after we have also previously examined the Schweinfurt Act, we know of no article to dispute except the third, which states: "that Saxony and its fellow citizens and the other states of the empire shall not be a party to the other subjects" 2c. For if this article is to be understood in such a way that an ecclesiastical person or other person who goes to a place of this part without the permission of their sovereignty is not to be accepted and protected, it would be especially burdensome for the poor people who come to us from foreign dominions; in addition, it would be very dangerous for the sovereignty of this part. However, if the Emperor is serious about making peace, we take care that the measure in this article is easily maintained, as it is set by our part of Schweinfurt.

From the first article, from these words: "and others, as will happen in the future" 2c. - we have previously indicated our intention, 1) that these words are not to be disputed, or that peace is to be rejected for this reason, if this annex is not granted; we also do not yet know how to change our opinion. For how can we force the emperor to secure his people to our liking? We cannot force him to secure us, but it is a mercy from the sovereign.

Item, it is certain that we will not obtain this attachment. For how could it be hoped that Duke George would suffer, if Leipzig accepted our teaching, that he would have to secure it?

Knowing then that [it] is a vain thing, and hinders peace and much good, and that we are not guilty of contending: we know not how to advise otherwise, but that peace may be kept on account of this article.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1826.

do not want to reject. And whether some may have written or advised differently, as we have heard, we let them answer for their opinion. It may also be that some people do not have the breath for peace.

The other pieces, as of the word Zwinglish, of the Concilio 2c. - are *pugnae verborum*, as any understanding person can well accept.

Item, which is to be held against the Zwinglian outside of the article of the sacrament, we mean, that has its measure: they are secured, if they hold and accept our confession in this.

Item, from the *Jurisdiction* we see completely for a Cavillation, that against it is indicated, so the *Jurisdiction* should stand as now and. Because we are now and for this reason challenged, it follows that we would henceforth also be challenged for this reason 2c.: this is a sophistry. For in the means it is clearly expressed that the litigation at the covenant and Rotweil 2c. should have been resolved on that account.

Preaching in the camp is not as difficult as it seems. If the text of the Gospel is preached, then it will not go off exactly; one will be allowed to say a saying of Paul and an explanation from Scripture, which is not inappropriate to the text of the Gospel according to Christian understanding.

In sum, as much as we understand, the finite means are well to suffer and accept, where the point of acceptance of strangers 2c. would be somewhat declared; as we then hold that the same point has not great *disputatio*. We may nevertheless also consider what kind of driving is involved, if peace is offered to us, and we do not want to accept it. We just see to it that we do not tempt God, also it is easy to assume that something else is behind it. For the *Cavillationes* are so sought after that one can easily notice that other things are meant.

Martinus Luther, D. Justus Jonas.

No. 1909 .

Wittenberg.

June 29, 1532.

To the Elector John of Saxony.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1812, no. 1199d.

No. 19 10.

Wittenberg.

June 29, 1532.

To the Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony.

On the Nuremberg Peace Negotiations.

The original is in the Weimar Archives, *Reg. H*, p. 66. Printed in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 384 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 315.

To the most illustrious prince and lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Mr.

G. and F. in Christo, and my poor prayer. Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! I have seen all the trades, gn. I have seen them all, and I am led to believe (as the cavillations in several places indicate) that there are those who are not in earnest for peace. Although I now know, as I have also heard verbally from E. F. G., that E. F. G. have all the seriousness and diligence for peace without this, I still ask, for the sake of abundance and loyal concern, that E. F. G. will not be moved by such pointed punctilians 1) but will continue as they have begun; for God greets us and it is time for us to thank Him, as the Scripture of St. Paul [2 Cor. 6, 2] says: "Do not accept the time of grace and the day of salvation in vain. I fear that if we let such an occasion go to establish peace, it will never again seem so good to us. For this is what the saying says: the *occasio* is full of hair in the front of the head, but bald in the back, and stands on a ball 2c.; as the papists have well experienced, since they did not want to give way at Augsburg. Christ, our Lord and Savior, strengthen E. F. G. with His Spirit and grace, Amen. At Wittenberg, on St. Peter's and Paul's Day [June 29] 1532.

E. F. G.
subservient

M. L.

1) *Cavillatores*. In the original: "Punklein setzer". De Wette, because he did not understand it, changed "setzer" to "sogar", which the Erlanger reprinted.

No. 1911.

(Wittenberg.)

1. July 1532.

To the preachers at Erfurt, Aegidius, Andreas and Petrus.

Luther warns against Georg Wicel. (Compare the letter of 18 October 1531 to Justus Menius.)

Handwritten in Aurifaber, Vol. III, p. 157. Printed in Schütze, Vol. II, p. 266 and in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 385.

To the highly venerable men and gentlemen, Aegidius, Andrew and Peter, 2) the faithful servants of the Word of God at Erfurt, his brothers in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! A certain rumor has come to us, worthy men, that Georg Wicel (*Wiselium*) is applying for a position there in Erfurt, 3) or at least is looking for a place to pour out his poison, which he had to consume in himself while he was with us. It is an old, quite satanic hatred against us, by whose service he himself received life, and in our bosom this serpent was nourished, until, having deceived the prince with his lies, he went away to spread the slobber of his hatred, which had long been gathered, elsewhere against us. Perhaps also our Lang, to whom I wrote before about him, has indicated something to you; certainly Jonas,⁴⁾ as I believe, has painted this monster for you. Believe these and me. I write this to you as faithful servants of Christ, whether you might be able to persuade your authorities and all good people not to allow this pernicious poisonous snake (*viperæ*). Believe me, if you have ever believed that Luther taught something true about Christ, that he is an apostle of Satan, who, as an obstetrician, lets us see that Campanus, 5) and more un-

2) Aegidius is Mechler; Peter is Bamberger.

3) He sought the Hebrew professorship, which he hoped to obtain so surely that he already wrote the inaugural address, which he later published in Leipzig in 1534. (De Wette.)

4) Aurifaber reads: *Jovem*; De Wette offers: *Jenam*. According to Seidemann, we have assumed *Jonam* in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 494, note 3, and Burkhardt, p. 206.

5) De Wette has here as text: *qui nobis cras Campanum Mauro obstetricante ostendet*. In contrast, *Wideburg*, p. XIV, no. XII reads: *qui nobis Campanum illum obstetricans ostendit*. We have adopted the latter reading. (Cf. De Wette: Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 494, note 3.) See also no. 1525.

He is glowing with the desire to give birth to the devil and is ready to do so. For he is inflamed with the desire for vengeance, because we have not approved of his devils and devilesses. Receive this as from one who faithfully warns, and know that henceforth it will be your fault if this beast ignites a kind of conflagration in you while you are tardy or negligent. Let Christ kindle and guide your spirit to his glory and to the shame of Satan, as he has done and is doing to you. To Him alone be the glory, amen. On the first day of July, Anno 1532 . Martin Luther.

No. 1912.

Nuremberg.

16.0 July 1532.

The Nuremberg Council and the Councils of Margrave George to Luther, Jonas, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen.

(Regest.)

They send the agreed draft of a church order together with the proposed amendments by Brenz with the request for review.

From the letterbook of the Nuremberg council in the district archive at Nuremberg printed by Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 179.

No. 1913 .

(Wittenberg.)

July 27, 1532.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

About a dispute of the preacher Simon Hafritz with the Magdeburgers. About a complaint about Amsdorf and Fritzhaus.

Ans Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 152, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 267 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 386.

Mercy and peace! I have seen the letter of Hafritz, my dear Amsdorf, and what shall I say? he breathes vengeance against you Magdeburgers. I have given the man the advice, since he would be called as a preacher, and danger there would be whose the administration of the sacrament, he should for the time being refrain from it and let the pastor after his own fashion.

1) This day of the month, which is missing in the original concept, results from a letter of Spengler to Veit Dietrich of this date, in which he asks him to help that the visitation order sent here "be completed as soon as possible".

He let him administer the same, but he himself was content with all the teaching. This advice, which was necessary for his person (*privato*) in the papist community, he turns into a right and a public law. Of course, I have also taught that parishes should not be mixed together, and people should not move from one parish to another, if everything is the same. For what can be more righteous? But I did not approve of it, if in one parish the sacrament is denied, not to desire it in a foreign one or not to pass it. I will write to this fury at another time, for now be satisfied with this little. I am too overwhelmed just by writing full of letters.

Behold, there is another complaint about you and Fritzhaus, that you have put a certain Bartscherer under the spell. I don't want to agree with either 2) part. I beg you, answer what the matter is. He purifies himself extraordinarily and complains that he, who asks for forgiveness and promises everything, is denied mercy. If it is possible, overcome evil with good through your patience, so that peace may be preserved, lest a conflagration arise from a spark in this Babylon. Fare well in Christ. I think the best of you, that is certain. I have written to M. Lucas that he may be the mediator. May the grace of God be with you. On the Saturday after Magdalene [July 27] 1532.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 1914.

Wittenberg.

August 1, 1532.

To the margraval governors and councillors, mayor and council of Nuremberg, together with the theologians from outside.

Concerns about the church order to be established in Ansbach and Nuremberg.

From the Ansbach Archives in Reinhard's Beiträgen, vol. I, p. 150; in De Wette, vol. IV. p. 387 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 316.

2) Instead of *utri* we have assumed *neutri* and deleted the question mark at the end of the sentence.

To the noble, honorable and strict, honorable and wise margraval governors and councilors, mayors and council of the city of Nuremberg, our favorable lords and friends.

Grace and peace of God in Christ. Noble, honorable, strict, honorable and wise, especially favorable lords and friends! We have sent over the church order and the order of the visitation, which is to be unanimously and uniformly adopted and established in the lands and principality of the noble, highborn prince and lord, Mr. George, Margrave of Brandenburg, and also in your lordship and territories of Nuremberg, In order to avoid inequality in doctrine and also in some external ceremonies, we have diligently read them everywhere and, as far as possible at present, have found that they do not, in sum, contradict the divine word and agree with our order of visitation; we are therefore pleased with them. However, in some articles, which you have also partly mentioned, such as the ban, how it is to be used and carried out, and some other things, you will hear our reservations in the enclosed writings. You will know how to consider and consider these things in a Christian way, according to opportunity and necessity, so that the pure doctrine and sermon are preserved and Christian ceremonies can still be performed without abuse, for the sake of unity and good order. For although the course of time is so swift everywhere now, that the church ordinances cannot be drawn up and ordered so quickly everywhere according to necessity, nevertheless, in order to preserve pure doctrine, Christian outward discipline and conduct, and to prevent a great deal of incorrectness, one must improve on them daily, until the Almighty grants more peace and unity in both church and world regimes. And with what we can serve you in such Christian works and the like, we want to do this to the best of our ability. Date Witteberg, *prima Augusti anno* 1532.

D. Martinus Luther. Justus Jonas.
Joannes Bugenhagius Pomeranus.
Philippus Melanchthon.

Vöm Bann.

(1) We have erected no other ban at this time, except that those who practice public vices and do not abstain from them shall not be admitted to the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; and this can be maintained by the fact that no one shall pass the holy sacrament among us unless he has first been interrogated by a priest or deacon. Nor can we see how another ban should be erected at this time, for there are many things that require *cognizance* beforehand. Now we cannot see how the *cognitio* is to be ordered and arranged at this time; so the secular authorities do not want to have anything to do with this *cognitio*. Therefore, let it remain that those who lie and remain in public vices are not given the holy sacrament. And although the world is now so raw and wild that it does not hurry to the sacraments and churches, so that this may not be considered a punishment, if someone excommunicates himself, let it go, if the worldly authorities allow public vices. But nevertheless, the preachers should punish such pagan behavior and life in all seriousness in their sermons by telling of divine urging,¹⁾ and thereby admonish the *potostates* to ward off such pagan behavior. .

If the discipline were to be established again with the preceding interrogation before the *cognitio*, as would be very useful and good, then one could easily come to establish a discipline and punishment, to keep the parents to drive their child and household to the sacrament and churches, to prevent the young people from falling into such pagan contempt of the sacraments and all divine things.

If a public ban should be imposed, the secular authorities must nevertheless keep an order with the avoidance of the banished person; otherwise, the public ban should be a serious example: this would give birth to much injustice at this time, especially in large cities and regencies. But this ban of ours, in which the sacrament is privately forbidden, misleads the

1) In the editions: "Wedding ceremony".

A Christian may nevertheless deal with such an exile as a pagan, and have other civil fellowship, but that he show himself against him and others, that he does not approve, nor let him like the ungodly and criminal doctrine or life of the exile.

De sicca missa.

(2) Concerning the Mass, which is to be celebrated without the Sacrament, we very well accept Brentii's objection, and also hold that this spectacle should not be performed with the *sicca missa*. For what else would this be but a public strong confirmation of the papal private masses, by which the people would be stimulated to keep much more of the papal private mass and to run to it, than before that time. For if people were accustomed to keep something of this *sicca missa*, they would hold the private papal mass much higher and more sacred, since it is publicly known that the private papal mass is an abomination and unrighteous worship.

3 We mean that the Sacrament is to be kept in the *Ciborio*, and that while it is still the way 1) to keep and lock it, it is to be abolished; for *sacramentum et verum* should be with each other. Thus it is known that this sacrament is instituted for the use, and not for the purpose of arranging a special service with the piece of the sacrament outside of the use and the word.

In the 57th leaf, about secular authorities who abuse their office, it says: whoever keeps himself in power with his authority, so that he must be feared if he does right, is not a ruler in the sight of God 2c. This *paragraph* we mean that it would be better to omit it, to avoid trouble and burdensome *disputatio*. For even though the Holy Scriptures and secular law teach how one should behave against unjust potestat, mala *potestas* nevertheless remains *potestas*, as every reasonable person knows; for if *mala potestas* should not be *potestas* before God, then subjects would be exempt from all duty 2c. And even if one wants to draw these words with a clasp and interpretation to a reasonable meaning, then it is still

1) "Weife" set by us instead of: "Weih" in De Wette and "Weih" in the Erlanger.

It is better to avoid such *disputation by* omitting this *paragraph*, which is not necessary here.

On the 60th leaf the saying *Actorum* 13 [v. 38] is interpreted: Christ has given up the law in the parts that do not justify. These words thus read, as if a piece of the law, which piece makes just, as also our opponent teaches that we are just *propter moralia opera*. Since we now teach, and the truth is, that we certainly please God, and it is by mercy alone, not by reason of our works or virtues, that they are called what they will, if we trust in such mercy as promised in Christ, we consider that the same *paragraphus* is also to be omitted.

Paul also speaks *universally* in Hebrew, that everything in the Law could not make us righteous; there are also *moralia* included; why would one want to make a *particularem* out of it?

This order of visitation also seems as if it were not set by one, not even at one time, and is often corrected, and some pieces are often repeated, as of the confession. If it were left to someone other than Mr. Osiander, he might bring it into a different order 2c.

Doctor Martinus Luther.

Justus Jonas, D.

Joannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus.
Philippus Melancthon.

No. 1915.

(Wittenberg.)

3. August 1532.

To Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg.

Luther wishes the prince luck in his campaign against the Turks and, at his request, gives him good lessons.

Printed in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 1280; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 562; in Walch, vol. XXI, 348 f; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 391 (after a simultaneous copy with the handwritten corrections of the Ansbach chancellor, Georg Vogler) and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 320.

Grace and peace in Christ, our Lord and Savior, Amen! We have received E. F. G.'s writing, and heard, most noble, highborn prince, most gracious lord, how E. F. G. personally, as a centurion

of the Saxon district against the troublesome tyrant, the Turk, and wish to write E. F. G. our prayer and Christian report. F. G. to write our prayer and Christian report.

We have heartily listened to E. F. G.'s Christian heart are innocent against him; yet we must not defy him with and nobility in such a matter; we also do not want to let E. our innocence and presumption of right, but fight against F. G. keep company with our *Pater noster* as best we him with all fear and humility, by God's help alone. So did can. For we owe it to ourselves to confess that, since we David also, against Goliath, who was not proud of his right, cannot nor should not do so in body, we should do so in but fought by the help of God, saying: "You have spirit, with our earnest prayer, to go into the field with our blasphemed the God in whom I trust. So we must pray that dear Emperor Carola and his followers, and to help fight God will not avenge us, after innocence, but will avenge under his ensign against Satan and his members. May and sanctify His name on the Turk, the great blasphemer, God the Lord grant that now is the time for Michael, the and in the meantime graciously forget our sin.

prince of God's people, to arise, as Daniel prophesies on Thirdly, I wish and ask that in such a dispute our people the 12th, Amen. I also wish above all things, and beseech do not seek honor, glory, land, goods, etc., but only the God through Jesus Christ Almighty, that He first grant to honor of God and His name, and the protection and peace the pious Emperor and to all princes, and to all who are of the poor Christians and subjects. For God alone wants now to fight against the Turk, a joyful heart that relies and should have the honor: we, as the unworthy and comfortingly on His help, and graciously guard them that sinners, are worthy of shame and dishonor, even death, as they may not, like the Turk, rely on their power and F. F. G. knows all this better than I can write. But because strength, for such reliance would be harmful; but that they E. F. G. so earnestly desires a spiritual report, I have given may sing with David: "I will not rely on my sword"; and this brief opinion to E. F. G. for his service, and have no again, "Lord, you are the one who gives victory to kings"; doubt that E. F. G. will also give others such a report. I do and again, "They rely on horses and chariots, but we not doubt that others will also imagine such a thing, so that remember the name of the Lord our God," and many other the dispute may be conducted in such a pure opinion, that sayings in the Psalter. Thus David, when he smote the devil should be too weak for ours with all his angels, Goliath, said, "Thou comest to me in defiance of thy sword and that the Turk should feel another man, neither of which and spear, but I come against thee in the name of the has happened so far, since defiance has been opposed to LORD," 1 Sam. 17:45. Thus it is said that the Turkish defiance, and both parts have fought without God, which emperor in the exodus swore upon his sword. So it is said has always been more harmful to God's people than to the that the Turkish emperor in the Auszuge swore on his enemies. So now let E. F. G. go in the name of God, and sword, which is his god. Now help Christ that such an idol let the same God send his angel Michael to guide E. F. G., may become a mockery for the sake of such outrageous and help you all to conquer happily, and to come home again with God's praise and glory, amen. Our *Pater* hope and presumption, amen.

Secondly, I ask that our people not rely on the fact that *no*ster shall follow and go along, and (if God wills) wait the Turk is so completely unjust and God's enemy, and there in the field for E. F. G., and let himself be found. This that we are innocent and righteous against the Turk, for E. F. G. wants to accept as a gracious favor, given in such presumption is also pernicious; but that we fight with haste. Hereby commanded by God, Amen. August 3, fear against God and with faithfulness to His mere 1532.

goodness. For we also are unjust before God, have shed much innocent blood, and have persecuted, despised and disobeyed God's word: but that we

E. F. G.

willing

Doctor Martinus Luther.

No. 1 916

August 7, 1532.

To the City Council of Reval.

(Regest.)

Recommendation of H. Grynau, who was appointed as schoolmaster.

According to the original in the Rätshsarchiv at Reval, communicated by O. Waltz in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, II, 135. The above regest in Kolde, p. 181.

No. 1917 .

Torgau.

Beginning of August 1532.

1)

Prince Joham to Luther, Jonas, Melanchthon and Pauli at Wittenberg.

The Elector orders them, because of the cloudy conditions of the clergy, to give their concerns in writing, at what time and by which persons the visitation is to be carried out, but to take D. Brück's concerns into account

The concept with corrections is found in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv, *Reg. Ji*, fol. 64 A. 7, 1529. 62. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 206.

By the Grace of God John. Our greeting before. Venerable, reverend, dear devotees, councilors and faithful! We graciously inform you that for some time we have received complaints from the pastors who are in our lands and principalities, and that they still daily request us to inform them of the hardships they face and the other hardships and shortages they must endure, namely, that they are despised, injured, beaten and imprisoned in part, and in part they are not able to cope with what is prescribed for their entertainment; In some cases they have no provision at all, in others their parish and other goods are stolen and taken away, and they are furloughed for no particular reason and without any prior knowledge, and so on. Thus, against this, it has been indicated that the priests are criminal in their doctrine and life, as some have been publicly accused and thus found, to the extent that they often apply for an allowance and more of their income. And whether we are always

1) This letter cannot be placed in the year 1529, to which the older registry of the Weimar Archives transfers it, because the visitation was still in progress at that time in August and at that time its completion was desired by the Elector. It is found in the archive

Reg. Ji, fol. 93 a. B 6.4. a letter to D. Brück, dated Aug. 12, which has quite the same train of thought, so we have assumed the above time determination according to Burkhardt.

have commanded and still do, to take into due punishment those who have rebelled against the priests in such a manner with vexations (sic) and abuses, or have beaten them to injustice and burdened them with imprisonment or otherwise, likewise, so that they, the priests, may have their necessary care, and not to take or steal anything from them or from their parish goods, or, if such happens, to grant and give it to them again, not to dismiss them without constant causes and prior knowledge, and to apply other due dispositions as occasion arises: so we nevertheless find that it wants to be little regarded, nor lived to the same. Since this causes us no little consternation and also weighs on our consciences, and we have graciously granted, upon the petition (offer) made by the appointed committee of the commonwealth, that the visitation be ordered again, as we are inclined to do without it; so that our permission may be complied with, so that the pastor may avoid such and such further complaints as we do not doubt, and otherwise these things may be passed by God's help through proper ways and order, so that as much as possible, arousal may be prevented 2) and the holy Gospel may not be reviled by the opponents: Accordingly, it is our gracious request that you inform us of your concerns, including when, at what time, and by whom, at your discretion, the visitation is to be ordered and carried out in each district of our lands, and that you overlook our previous instruction, which you will undoubtedly still have with you, whether it is to be changed, reduced or increased in one or more articles and in what form, and in particular also consider whether, how and in what form the *uniones* and amalgamation of some parishes, where this might occur, are to be carried out and should be done, and also give us this information separately; We then want to show ourselves to be aware of it, and in all of this do our pleasing opinion. Date at Torgau.

Note. We also graciously request that in all of this, and on the basis of the current state of your mind, 3) you also listen to the concerns of our esteemed councilor and dear faithful, Gregorian Bridges, Doctor, and further conclude with him. Date uts.

Nota: D. Bridges to write.

2) In Burkhardt with wrong interpunction: "ordnung uf das ergernus, souil möglich verhütet" 2c.

3) Burkhardt: "bedenkenus", probably a misprint instead of: "bedenkenus".

No. 191 8.

Wittenberg.

August 19, 1532.

To an unnamed person.

Luther tries to strengthen him in his conviction of the Gospel and recommends Christoph Strobel to him.

Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 479; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 506 b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 985; in the Leimiger, vol. XXII, p. 559; in Walch, vol. XXI, 347; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 394 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 323.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear good friend! He Christoffel Strobel 1) has shown me how God has blessed you with His spiritual blessing and graciously called you to the knowledge of His Son JEsu Christ, and has asked me for this writing to you, so that your heart may be admonished and strengthened to remain firm in the grace of Christ that has begun.

Since I have allowed myself to be persuaded that such a writing of mine should please you, I have gladly done so, and I pray to God, the Father of all gifts and strength, that He may graciously confirm and strengthen you in the work He has begun through His Holy Spirit, so that Satan may not weaken you by any trickery or force, nor make you weary in leaving God's Word and Kingdom.

So you see for yourselves that now is a dangerous time. Many are deceived by the spirits of the wicked; many also fall away, and become weary and cold of the grace of God, so that, deceived by Satan with cunning, they let themselves think that they are full, can now do everything, and have no need, and thus become lazy and ungrateful, soon after becoming worse than before.

Therefore it is necessary for us to watch and to be diligent that we remain in the fervor of faith and increase daily. May you and all of us be helped by the right and only Helper, our dear Lord Christ, amen. Command also into your love the good poor Christoffel Strobel, where he is in dire need. For this is done to Christ himself, Matth. 25. in Wittenberg, Monday after *Assumpt. Marie* [Aug. 19] Anno 1532. D. Martin Luther.

No. 1919.

Wittenberg.

August 19, 1532.

To an unnamed person. 2)

Quite the same content with the previous letter.

In the same locations as the previous letter.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, good friend! He Christoffel Strobel, along with Mr. Ricolao Hausmann, has shown me how God has not only blessed you temporally, but, which is much better, has also gifted you spiritually with love and air for truth and knowledge; which I have heard with joy, and I pray to God that He will strengthen you in such grace and keep you until His future. For now, unfortunately, it has become a perilous time because of the evil spirits and false teachers, who creep about everywhere, seeking to deceive someone. So Satan himself does not celebrate with evil poisonous thoughts, by which he wants to weaken or overthrow our faith; and our reason is blind to itself, and always resists faith, because it does not respect God's word and kingdom, but rather hates it, so that our cause must exist solely and exclusively in God's power and strength.

Now I must write briefly, because we are distressed about the pious prince's departure from this pitiful valley, as is only right. I hereby command you grace in Christ, our Lord and Savior, and kindly ask you to let poor Christoffel Strobel be in your command, where you can be helpful to him; that Christ, as done to Himself, will certainly receive this, and I will also thank Him for it, as shown to me. At Wittenberg, Monday after *Assumpt. Marie* [Aug. 19] Anno 1532. D. Martin Luther.

No. 1920 .

Wittenberg.

August 27, 1532.

To Martin Lodinger at Gastein.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2220.

2) De Wette notes: According to the editions, the same one to whom the previous letter is written; but it is indisputably another one, because one does not understand how Luther should write the same thing to the same one on one day; only he was also in contact with Chr. Strobel, and lived in the same place.

3) The Elector Johann died on Aug. 16 at Schweinitz; Luther preached the funeral sermon on Aug. 18,

1) Christoph Strobel was first at Mutzschen (between Oschatz and Grimma) in the teaching post, came from there to Freiberg as Duke Heinrich's court preacher and became in 1539 Archidiaconus in Oschatz, where he died at the beginning of the following year. (De Wette-Seidemann, vol. VI, p. 630, note 4.)

No. 1921.

Wittenberg. August 31, 1532.

Bett Dietrich to Justus Menius.

Dietrich sends a letter from Luther, requesting Menius to continue working on the writing he has begun against Wieel. News about Luther's work and his state of health.

The original is in *Cod. Seidel Berol.* No. 17. Printed by Kolde, p. 181.

To Justus Menius, servant of the word in Eisenach, his master and brother, to be highly esteemed in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! So that you may realize, my dear Menius, how gladly I am at your beck and call in every kind of favor, if you only indicate in what I can do this, I am now sending you the letter of our father Luther, which you asked me for on the evening on which I led you together with M. Georg 1) to the inn. Just as I have kept all that I promised at that time firmly in my memory, so I again wish that you also continue with the book that was begun against the man Wicel, 2) because you also promised this at that time. I do not know why Jonas postpones the publication of his work 3). He seems to me to be thinking a bit too carefully about the errors of this enthusiastic man. But that does not prevent your work from being added, so that both the church may see a richer testimony about his opinion and the harsh mouths of his opponents may be shut. Wittenberg now brings forth nothing new except the Summaries, which I hope will go out by next Michaelmas, together with the sermon of Christ on the mountain, which Cruciger recorded, 4) and the funeral sermons, which the Doctor delivered here at the Prince's funeral. 5) I have recorded the former, and the

1) Rörer.
2) This book has not been published (Kolde).
3) *Contra tres pagellas Agrie. Phagi. . . Viteb. George Rhaw* 1532.
4) From this passage, a more precise time determination results for the publication of the Sermon on the Mount (St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 346 ff.), namely: "Um Michaelis 1532", and a correction of Aurifaber's statement in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 145, that these sermons were copied by Veit Dietrich, Georg Rörer, Anton Lauterbach and Philipp Fabricius. Veit Dietrich says here: *quem [sermonem in monte] Crucigerus ex cepit.*
5) Two sermons on 1 Thess. 4, 13-18. St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 186.

others, I hope, Cruciger will add. Herewith I bid you farewell, dear man, and forgive my temerity that I, as the first, have wanted to be burdensome to your love by my letter. Luther is well together with his whole family, but he has instructed me to greet your love 6) reverently. Wittenberg, 1532, August 31.

Most devoted to your love (*T. h. dd.*) Veit Diethrich of Nuremberg.

No. 1922.

(Wittenberg.) September 7, 1532.

To Johann Riedtesel, Electoral Chamberlain.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1724. - The superscription in the editions reads: "An einen von Adel" ("To one of nobility"), but is to be replaced by the above according to the Innocent News 1706, p. 766. (Burkhardt, p. 208.)

No. 1923.

(Wittenberg.) September 10, 1682.

To the City Council of Kamenz.

About the filling of a parish position in Kamenz.

Handwritten in *Cod. Jen.* B 24, b, fol. 247. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 478b; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 508; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 984; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 560; in Walch, vol. XXI, 352; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 398 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 326.

Grace and peace. Respectable, careful, dear lords and friends! I have received your letter, in which you indicate how, for lack of a preacher, you have named him Simon Haferitz, who complains about coming to you without my permission. Now I know well, said Simon H. also knows well, that I do not intend to be a new priest, to appoint all parishes and preachers' chairs, 2c., although I consider it my duty to prove counsel and help to those who need me. Therefore, this time I do not know how to advise Simon H. to leave his service in Salza, where the good people need him; and I do not want to burden my conscience that he should leave the people in Salza under my name. But if he will do it on his conscience and dare to do so, I will let it happen.

6) *h. t. == humanitatem tuam.*

And because you nevertheless need a pre
If Simon H. will not or cannot come, let me know; I hope
to find one who is also pious and learned. Although it is
true that there is a great lack of people who should be
something special. That is to blame: one holds oneself
everywhere in such a way that [it] probably would be
better to lie. Also, no one sends young people to school,
so that our Lord God may see to it and send workers into
His harvest where we are worthy. Hiemit GOtt befehlt,
Amen. Tuesday after *Nativitatis Mariae* [Sept. 10] Anno
1532.
D. Martin Luther.

No. 19 S4.

tMittenbera iMaybe
(LUinverng.)

some time before
the 14 Sept. 1532.

To Johann, Georg and Joachick, Princes of Anhalt.

Luther testifies to them his joy at the Reformation introduced
in their lands.

The original is at Dessau. Printed in *Litterarischen
Wochenblatt*, II, 305; in *Schütze*, Vol. II, p. 275; in *Strobel-Ranner*,
p. 305; in *De Wette*, Vol. I V, p. 399 and (after the original) in
Lindner, Mittheilungen, II, No. 1, p. 1.

To the most illustrious and esteemed princes, Messrs.

Johann, Georg and Joachim von Anhalt, Counts of
Ascanien, Lords of Bernburg, brothers who are
extremely close in body and spirit, his most
gracious lords.

"Grace and peace in Christ! I have heard, most
illustrious and worthy princes, that at last, since the spirit
of Christ has so cooperated, in your lands the ungodly
abuses in religion have been abandoned, and the use of
Christian communion has begun happily, although this
has not happened without great danger, as we know,
since great princes have advised the antagonism, even
threatening it above. I, at least, who am nothing, but wish
to be Christ's, and in general to be partaker of those who
fear him, I joyfully give thanks to God and to the Lord, who
has given such great strength of spirit, and what is more,
unanimous strength to three brethren, namely to such
brethren who, placed in a high place, have had many
prayers.

I am not afraid of others, private people, whose faith and
constancy, as it may be with me, have not so many and
so great dangers and causes to fear. But Christ is the well-
known weak King, and yet truly and eternally the almighty
King, whose works these are; so he does, lives, speaks,
both in himself and in his members. And when he seems
to be ruined, he rises 1) like the morning star, as he says
to Paul: "My power is mighty in the weak"; therefore, when
he is weakened, he is all the stronger. This is his way of
living, acting, ruling. "Nothing will be different there."
Although our princes seemed to have been completely
devoured and ruined by the last Diet of Augsburg, they
have been made more alive and liberated by this very fact,
so much so that they have learned that the Emperor's
mind has also been changed, and they can see and
rejoice that the hopes and efforts of the Roman Pontiff
have become a mockery. Most of all, therefore, most
illustrious princes, he who has begun his work in his
hearts 2) will accomplish it; for thus the beginnings of all
things that are God's are weak, as the fruits are
insurmountable. The roots of all trees are in the beginning
thin threads, or rather milk, or something coagulated, and
yet they bring forth these beams and trunks, from which
the so great, heavy masses of houses, ships and works
are built. Of our own origin it is said in the Book of Job
[Cap. 10, 10.] that it is a curdling of milk, and yet from this
curdled milk at last become the mightiest kings on earth,
who (as Paul says) will also be the judges of the angels in
that day for which we wait. Thus the whole created nature
begins in a weak way and reaches the completion in
power. In contrast, that which men begin begins in power.
Moab certainly had greater hope than power, as the
prophet says; but Christ has greater power than hope. "Be
of good cheer," he says, "I have overcome the world." And

1) Instead of *oriatur* will be read *orietur* or *oritur*.

2) in *cordibus suis* == in the hearts that are attached to Him.

again, "I live, and you also shall live." This same Lord keep, preserve, and strengthen your hearts, not only according to your blood, but also according to the Spirit most closely united, for His glory and the salvation of many people, amen. 1532.

E. F. G. most devoted

Martin Luther.

No. 1925.

Wittenberg.

September 14, 1532.

To Johann and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt.

Luther recommends Nicolaus Hausmann to them as a preacher.

From *Sculpteti Annal. evang. Decad.* II, p. 373, at Walch, vol. XXI, 1241; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 400 f. and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 327 and ibid. Vol. 56, p. 187, according to the original in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv.

To the noble, well-born princes and lords, Mr.

Johanns and Joachim, brothers, princes of Anhalt, counts of Ascanien and lords of Bernburg, my gracious lords.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, benevolent princes, gracious lords! Here comes the pious man, Magister Nicolaus Hausmann, to try the preaching ministry with E. F. G.: I humbly command him to E. F. G.. He is a faithful man of good heart and morals, who teaches and loves God's word in a fine, quiet and disciplined way. May Christ our Lord bestow his rich blessing on him, so that he may bear much fruit, amen. And I have no doubt that E. F. G. will know how to deal with him graciously. Hiemit GOtt commanded. And what my poor prayer is able to do, may E. F. G. always be grateful beforehand. Date Wittenberg, *Exaltationis Crusis* [Sept. 14] 1532.

E. F. G. williger

Martinus Luther, D.

No. 1926.

(Wittenberg.)

September 19, 1532.

To Andreas Osiander.

Luther exhorts Osiander, who is weary of Nuremberg, to patience and perseverance.

From the von Imhoff collection in Nuremberg in Schütze, vol. II, p. 268; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 292 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 401.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear Andrew: *Te ne cede malis, sed contra auden*

tior ito 1) [Do not give way to evils, stand against them boldly]. Thus I reply, though ill, to your letter, in which you indicate that you are tired of this Nineveh, which I too (if God would not have Christ do the same) look upon with disgust. But the day has twelve hours, and our eyes cannot see the future. God tempts us in this way. But, even if everything turns out badly, this condition of people cannot last for three years. Everything is coming to a head so much that it forces a change in this state of affairs, either for the worse or for the better. If for the worse, then we would accomplish nothing by fleeing; if for the better, we would accomplish everything by staying. I see indeed, when peace will be, how also learned men will be dear, and, as Isaiah says Cap. 13, 12: "dearer than gold". Preachers are wanted daily, and they are not available. Even you, if your ninivites do not want to, will be forced and called to where they do not think, and they will seek the utmost of your finger in your place and not find it.

O socii,-----

[O] passi graviora: dabit Deus his quoque finem.

Durate, et vosmet rebus serveat secundis 2) [O you comrades, - - you have suffered more severely, God will soon put an end to this as well. Just wait and save yourselves for happy times]. "So it cannot remain." The evil customs will give birth to good laws. "It is a transition, said the fox; the bird must molt once, and then it will get beautiful feathers again.

Take this as written by me in a sincere and faithful spirit, because I am also very often tormented by your thoughts, and in turn comfort myself as I comfort you. Greetings to all of us. I did not want to write more, nor could I, so bad is my head. Christ be with you

1) *Virg. Aen. lib. VI*, v. 95.

2) *Virg. Aen. lib. I*, v. 199 and v. 207.

and all yours, my brother in Christ, and pray for me. May I now be alive or dead, let our preaching ministry be besought thee. Thursday after Lamberti [Sept. 19] 1532.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 192 7.

(Wittenberg.)

September 25, 1532.

To Johann, Prince of Anhalt.

Intercession for the provost's widow at Wörlitz, that the prince may preserve her inheritance.

From the original at the Brieger Gymnasia-Bibliothek in the theol. Annalen, July and Aug. 1823, p. 260. In De Wette, vol. IV, p. 402 and in the Erlanger Ausgabe, vol. 54, p. 328.

To the illustrious, well-born Prince and Lord, Lord Johann, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, Lord of Bernburg, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene Prince, gracious Lord! 1) I am asked to write for the widow of the provost of Wörlitz, blessed, against E. F. G. and ask that E. F. G. will graciously help her and preserve what he has agreed upon and given her before his end, as she has and presents a letter sealed by the Schoppen of Wörlitz, but is now challenged by his friends, who intend to drive her away. Because such property, which 2) at the time of the ecclesiastical law could not have died out to the friends without special testament, but would have fallen to the Officiis 2c., and 3) he wanted to cover his poor children with it, so my poor request, E. F. G. wanted to keep the said widow and children with such left property, also considered that he has finally married them, as he himself confessed to me, when I was with E. F. G. at Wörlitz, and I gave him the advice, he should invite a table full of neighbors to the⁴⁾ children and reveal such marriage. If he has now done so, good; if not, then according to his confession, such a secret marriage is not to be condemned, because he has confessed it before me and my companions.

1) "This word is missing, whether in the original?" (De Wette.)
2) So conjicit by us instead of the contradictory: "drive, because it is good for them that" 2c.

3) There is a punctum before "And" in the editions.

4) "the" put by us instead of: "the".

E. F. G. will know how to graciously stand firm against the poor orphans. Hiemit GOtt befehlt, Amen. Mid-March after St. Matthew's ftö. Sept.] 1532.

E. F. G. williger
Martinus Luther, v.

No. 192 8.

Wittenberg.

September 28, 1532.

To Frederick, King of Denmark.

Luther uses himself for the imprisoned king Christiern.

From the original, which is in the Royal Danish Archives, in Leipz. Suppl., No. 119, p. 70; in Walch, vol. XXI, 353; in the Danish Library, 4th St., p. 154; in Schumachers Gelehrter Männer Briefe alt die Könige in Dänemark, 2nd Th., p. 257; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 403 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 329.

To the most magnanimous, most noble Prince and Lord, Frederick, King of Denmark, Sweden, and Duke of Holstein 2c., my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord, who died for our sins and rose from the dead for our lives. Most shining, most powerful King, most gracious Lord! Let us take hold of and see how God is the right and gracious judge, because Our Lady would have liked to have peace with her cousin, King Christ 2c., have always liked to be at peace with their cousin, King Christian, and have always given them a glorious victory; and although I know that King Christian will recognize this in the best possible way, and know how to thank God, and will also use this (given) victory against the cousins of King Christian in a Christian and humble manner in the fear of God, I am nevertheless moved by the misery, or rather the mourning of my good Lord King Christian, and also by the concern that King Christian might be attacked by some people against the imprisoned King Christian. might be incited by some people against the captured man and be prevented from God's fear: for which reason, with this humble and (I hope) useless writing, I have taken upon myself to humbly ask and admonish HM the King to have mercy on their captured cousin, according to the example of Christ, who also died for us, his enemies, but we must not die for enemies, but only be merciful to them. For where E. K. M. Cousin is not to be trusted, but to be treated as an enemy, we are to be merciful to them.

E. K. M. would be imprisoned, there is no doubt that K. M. would still be cousinly towards him: how much more will K. M. do this now, because he has left everything and (as I hear) has surrendered as a prodigal son to K. M., as his father. Since this is a great humility, and we still need mercy before God, K.K.M. will undoubtedly do a noble sacrifice and glorious service, where she will also show fatherly mercy and fatherly faithfulness to the poor captive man, and finally, at the deathbed, such work will be a great comfort to K.K.M., and a special joy in heaven, as well as a great glory and honor on earth. For it is a great work, done in great things and great people, great person, that it must shine gloriously both here on earth as an excellent example to all the world, and there in heaven for the joy of all saints and angels, also for the pleasure and delight of the divine majesty. So, my most gracious Lord, let E. Let this work be a fruit of faith, a glorious sacrifice of thanksgiving to God, a comfort and refreshment to the prisoner, and a joy and delight to us all: then, at long last, Christ Himself and all those who have advised him to do so, will happily give thanks and confess how deeply sorry Christ Himself would be if they had done otherwise. May Christ, our Lord and Helper, give His rich Spirit to E. K. M. in this and in everything to do His divine good pleasure, Amen. Please accept my presumptuous writing, for this is what God Himself calls us to do, and to care for one another. At Wittenberg, *Vigilia Michaelis* [Sept. 28] 1532.

Your Royal Majesty willing D.

Martinus Luther.

No. 1929 .

(Wittenberg.)

4. October 1532.

To the people of Leipzig who are oppressed for the sake of the Gospel.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1932, where the following improvements should be made: Col. 1932, line 4 has a new paragraph to begin with the words "grace and peace"; line 10 instead of: "your gracious lord" read: "Duke George"; line 3 v. u. read: "because" instead of: "like"; line 2 v. u. delete: "because". Col. 1933, line 8 delete: "euch"; line 4 v. u. delete: "und".

No. 1930 .

Wittenberg.

October 9, 1532.

To the Counts of Schlick in Jáchymov.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1686.

No. 1931.

(Wittenberg.)
1832.

October 17,

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

See St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 8 16.

No. 1932 .

(Wittenberg.)

October 18, 1532.

To the Elector Johann Friedrich.

Luther asks for a scholarship for the sons of Hans von Kanitz to continue their studies.

The original is in the Weimarsche Gesamtarchiv, *Reg. Mm*, fol. 45. 4. Printed by Burkhardt, p. 209.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The first Supplication, which I have humbly made to E. C. F. G., is the one I made for the Paceaum 1) orally at Wittenberg. Now I come with the other one (because I want to count them, so that I don't make too much). I am now talking about the Christian Supplication, and is to E. C. F. G. my humble request, after the two boys, Hans von Kanitz' sons, 2) blessed, have studied almost well at school in Torgau, and have turned out well, 3) and their mother can no longer keep them there because of poverty, and it would always be a pity that such fine boys should come from the studio, because one is allowed people; so I still know well that my most gracious lord, blessed 2c., has, at my request, had a gracious promise made to these boys that they will be graced with an expectation of a prebend. Accordingly, I ask once again, E. C. F. G. wanted both of you to praise God.

1) On this Supplication M. Pacäus received the Diaconate at Leisnig, but was so badly provided for by this position with his wife and six small children that Luther again asked the Elector for him on March 9, 1533.

2) The sons of Hans von Kanitz, Wolf and Ulrich, received by deed, datirt Weimar, Monday in the Easter holidays 1533, for three years annually 20 Fl. from a prebend at Altenburg.

3) We would like to assume: "and are most excellently well-done".

and for the good of the country, graciously provide such would be cheerful news if it were true. I am now fine boys with an expectancy on which it pleases E. C. F. completely at work on the translation of the Sirach. I hope G.. For their father is also well to blame for and deserves to be freed from this arduous work (*pistrino*, treadmill) E. C. F. G., and yet all are pious people, father, mother within three weeks. My Kätke is ill with fever and insomnia, and children. E. C. F. G. will, as my faith holds, be and at the same time close to childbirth. I commend her to graciously found in this. Christ, our Lord, help and your prayers, also me and all mine. Our Christ be with you, strengthen us to lead to the blessed regiment and then to Auren. November 2, 1532.

eternal life, amen. On the day of St. Luke (Oct. 18) 1532.

Your Martin Luther.

E. C. F. G.
subservient
Martinus Luther,
D.

No 1935.

(Wittenberg.)

3. November 1532.

To Laurentius Zoch, Chancellor of Magdeburg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2036.

No. 1933.

(Wittenberg.)

Perhaps in October 1532.

Concerns from sequestration.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVI, 1833, no. 1205.

No. 1936 .

(Wittenberg.)

November 6, 1532.

To Nicolaus Hausmann, preacher in Dessau.

Luther sends him a letter, wishes him luck for his employment in Dessau, thanks him for a piece of game sent to him, and reports about the renewed visitation and sequestration.

No. 1934 .

(Wittenberg.)

2. November 1532.

To Nicolaus von Amsdorf.

Luther asks him to warn Otto von Pack not to enter Duke George's territory. The first part of the book is about Luther's work and his wife's state of health.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten in Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 154. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 270 (from the Hanische Sammlung at Kiel); by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 204 and by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 413. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1400.

To the worthy man in the Lord, M. Nicolaus Hausmann,
the faithful servant of the Word in Dessau, his
superior in Christ.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have had this letter before my eyes for a long time, dear man, so that it could be sent to you always and at any hour, since Aurelius always answered that neither he nor M. George had a certain messenger, until it was so defiled by spilled ink in my absence. You will forgive me innocent, because I did not remove it from my sight out of care and in the hope of transmitting it to you....

By the way, I thank our Lord Christ, who keeps you there unharmed and with the princes in grace; to whom you have given your life in my name.

From Aurifaber's unprinted collection, p. 154, in Schütze, vol. II, p. 269 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 411.

Grace and peace in Christ! Mrs. Pack, my dear Amsdorf, is worried for her husband Doctor Otto Pack, because there is a rumor in Leipzig that he has been seen in the duchy of Duke 1) Georg, and she fears that he might be captured. I comforted the very good woman as much as I could, suspecting other things 2c. Therefore, she asked me to ask you that, if you perhaps find him in Magdeburg, you may diligently exhort him to refrain from traveling, especially in the duchy of Duke George, since extraordinary reenactments are being prepared against him: this you will do according to your love.

There is no news. For what is said of captured ships of the Turks,

1) In the text: *Domini*, probably wrong resolution of "D.", instead of: *Ducis*.

You want to give thanks, not so much because of the boar given, but because of the grace and favor towards the word of God and, what is strange, also towards my humble self, 1) which shines among such great heroes. You will therefore command me first of all to God, then also to your very good princes through your petitions.

Justus Jonas, Philippus and Pomeranus and Cruciger will also dine with me, as you have requested, who are invited to this wild pig to celebrate the birthday of St. Martin, Martin the son 2) and Martin the father. Oh, that you were there too!

There is no news, except that the visitation will be renewed by order of the prince; Justus Jonas is one of the visitators. Furthermore, the sequestration is proceeding very strictly, and I fear that it may be too strict. "Our dear Lord God make it all good, amen. On the 6th day of November 1532.

Your Martin Luther, D.

No. 193 7.

Wörlitz.

November 24, 1532.

To Nicolaus Hausmann in Dessau.

Short letter, written during a visit to Wörlitz.

The original is in Dessau. Handwritten by Aurifaber, vol. III; p. 155. Printed by Schütze, vol. II, p. 272; by *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 206 and *ber De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 414. German by Walch, vol. XXI, 1402.

To his in Christ exceedingly dear Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, his brother and God's faithful servant.

Hail in Christ our Lord! We have found your letter, but not you, which we had hoped for,³⁾ my dear householder, therefore we answer by letter, but briefly, because only, prevented by the conversations, we are leaving now, so that we cannot write in more detail. The worthy princes will tell you everything. For they have welcomed us in the most friendly and delicious way. Other

1) Walch reads: *utilitatem* instead of: *vililitatem* and translates: "against my advantage".

2) He was born on November 9, 1531.

3) Walch: "but not as desolate as I had hoped".

at another time. Now we hurriedly board the carriage. Farewell, my dearest brother in Christ. From Wörlitz, on the Sunday after Elizabeth [Nov. 24] 1532.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 193 8.

Wittenberg.

November 27, 1532.

To Jonas von Stockhausen, Captain at Nordhausen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1748.

No. 1939 .

Wittenberg.

November 27, 1532.

To the wife of Stockhausen.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1752.

No. 19 40.

Soest.
1532.

Towards the end of November

The Council of Soest to Luther.

(Regest.)

They thank Joh. Brune for his appointment as superintendent and wish to be instructed in the matter of Joh. von Campen, against whose activities Luther had warned.

Mitgetheilt von Legerlotz in the *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte Rheinlands und Westphalens*, II, p. 386. A regest in Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 182.

No. 19 41.

(Wittenberg.)

December 6, 1532.

To Johann von Riedtesel.

About a matter at court that was annoying for Riedtesel.

Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 315; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 1030; in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 561; in the *Innocent News* 1706, p. 671; in Walch, vol. XXI, 357; in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 418 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 341 f.

To the strict and honorable Johann Riedtesel, Elector of Saxony Chamberlain and to the new market, my gracious and dear godfather.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Lord and Godfather! I have,

4) The letter has the date: "*Dat. ut s.*". According to Legerlotz, the preceding letter in the Copialbuch was dated after Catharinen [Nov. 25]. Kolde puts it "beginning Dec."

I did not learn anything about your condition after my writing to you, and you have become so secret to me that I cannot inquire how you are doing, and yet would like to know. For I always worry that Junker Neidhard will be dangerous to you, as your last writing indicates, and that such disloyalty to the world might hurt you. However, I am very confident that my most gracious Lord will graciously keep Himself against you and will not do what your false friends might grant or instigate. Christ our Lord will be with you, and because you now learn what the world is, you will henceforth be all the more faithful, and also learn with us Christians that it is better to serve Christ than the world.

My Käthe and your godfather send you friendly greetings and wish you all the best. We are all, praise God, quite fresh and healthy. Your godfather wants to become an active man, he is reaching out and wants to have his little mind. Give my regards to your dear Ribbe and all yours. Hiemit GOtt befiehlt, Amen. 1532 *the 6th of Lucii* [6th Dec.]. ¹⁾

E. G. willing to serve

D. Mart. Luther.

No. 19 42.

Wittenberg.

December 7, 1532.

To Laurentius Zoch.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2036.

No. 19 43.

(Wittenberg.)

December 12, 1532.

To Eberhard Brisger, pastor in Altenburg.

Luther consoles him because of his father's death and his mother's unkindness.

Grace and peace in the Lord! That I write to you less often, my dear Eberhard, is forced upon me not only by the amount of other things to be written and their frequency, but also because you are at peace and do not need my writing. But since you now show me the sorrow of your soul because of the death of your father and the unkindness of your mother and the deprivation of your inheritance, you must again compare with Job the good you have received with the misfortunes that have befallen you. Nor are you in such a position, nor is it your will, that without Christ you would rather have the favor of the father and the mother than in and with Christ the hatred of the mother. You will command those people to the judgment of God and sing with the Psalm and with Joseph [Gen. 41, 51. f.]: The Lord has made me forget my father and my father's house in a foreign land. Then, what 2) do you know with what end your father has departed, or what God has done to him? Furthermore, your mother still has twelve hours, and who knows where the gospel will come in a short time, since the papists are crying out that even the emperor has become a Lutheran, because he does not want to rage to increase their godlessness. Even if everything turns out differently, you can still wish yourself luck that you are snatched like a stick from the fire and like an earlobe from the jaws of the wolf. Lot had to leave his own wife in Sodom, and David lost his beloved Absalom; also Christ the synagogue, and Paul the children of Israel, his brothers 2c. Therefore, you are not the only one to suffer great evil; others have suffered and are suffering even worse. It must also come true in some [Matth. 10, 35.]: "I have come to raise up the Son against the Father." And you have many such things to comfort you. For us the One Christ is enough when we have lost everything. May the Lord be with you and with all yours. December 12, Anno 1532.

Your Martin Luther, D.

Handwritten in Cod. Goth. 185. 4. and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 255. Printed in Schütze, vol. II, p. 271 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 421.

1) In this time determination we have followed De Wette, who takes the given date as: "Friday after Lucius." Others take the 8th *Lucii*, which is the 3rd Dec. Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 575, note 1, conjecture: *the 6th Luciae*, Friday *Lucia*, the 13th of December. Burkhardt remarks that the date is quite uncertain, "despite VI, 575".

2) Instead of *quod*, we read *quid* and took the sentence as an interrogative sentence.

No. 19 44.

(Wittenberg.)

December 15, 1532.

To Gerhard Wilskamp at Herford.

Luther expresses his joy that peace has been restored in Herford. News.

From *Cod. chart.* 185.4. at Gotha in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 422.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am glad, my dear Gerhard, that the unrest that Satan began to stir up has been quelled among you. Thanks be to Christ, who may preserve and increase the peace 1). I have gratefully received your small gift, although it would not have been necessary to spread your little bit of poverty (*vestram tenuitatem*) over me as well. I will see to it that the letter is given to your relative Andreas as soon as possible.

There is no news except what I believe you already know, namely that the Turk has retreated after losing several thousands and that Austria has been plagued with fire and plunder. With us a comet is seen in the east in the early morning. But we do not have to be afraid of the signs of heaven, of which only the heathen have to be afraid. Let us pray for one another that we may be saved. Christ be with you. Greet all of us in love. On the Saturday after St. Lucy's [15 Dec.] 1532.

No. 19 45.

(Wittenberg.)

December 21, 1532.

To Caspar Cruciger.

Luther sends a return gift for a gift received.

From the very damaged original in the Wolfenbüttel library at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 422.

His Caspar Creuciger, the philosopher and theologian.
2)

Grace and peace! Yesterday, your Elisabeth brought my mistress a golden gift for the Mass present, my dear Caspar, what

1) "the rest" set by us, for *eam*, which Luther wrote, probably in great haste.

2) This superscription seems to be by a later hand. (De Wette.)

and as a token of gratitude 3) I again send your mistress this gift of the Mass, which, although unlike yours, is sent out of a not dissimilar will and desire, and I beg and command that you will not despise it. *Sed*

poterit e collo pensili - - expendere. 4)

Be well with all your own. On Saturday, the day of St. Thomas the Apostle [Dec. 21], 1532. Martin Luther.

No. 19 46.

(Wittenberg.)

December 21, 1532.

To the City Council of Soest.

Luther warns again about Joh. Campensis.

From the original in the city archives at Soest in De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 423 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54, p. 344, according to an erroneous copy communicated by the preacher Rollmann. Also in Grote's Jahrbuch I, p. 170 and in the Soester Wochenblatt 1826, No. 41. A facsimile is in the Geh. Haus-Archiv in Berlin. We have used the good variants of Grote's given by Burkhardt p. 210.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of the city of Soist, my favorable lords and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ! Honorable, wise, dear lords and friends! Next I wrote to you 5) (although by M. Philipp's hand, because I could not write with my own handwriting due to the dizziness of my head and the weakness of my spirit) and faithfully commanded you your advisor, Johann Brun, 2c., and also diligently warned you against the harmful man Johannes Campensis 2c. Now I hear that the same devil-apostle should still be with you now and cause misfortune: is therefore my heartfelt and Christianly faithful advice, want to be diligent that you get rid of the man. There must be no complaint nor referral, for his actions are public, as he joined in the raving with Melchior Kürschner 6) (called Hofmann) in Flensburg.

3) Here, De Wette has incorrectly placed a punctum.

4) We were not able to translate this incomplete sentence.

5) The letter of June 17.

6) De Wette offers: "Knesner"; Grote reads: "Kersner", but the original will probably read "Kursner".

and to sow his seed in Lübeck and Brunswik. I ask you to warn all of yours against him in time, so that the spark does not become a fire; for there is nothing good in it, and the devil is certainly a guest of your city in it. We do our part, and hereby warn you and your city. Christ our Lord, who hath put into your hearts the air and love of his pure word, strengthen and keep you therein, until ye be perfected, Amen. To *Sanct Thomas Apostoli* 1) Day 1532.

D. Martin Luther,

with a borrowed hand.

No. 19 47.

(Wittenberg.)

December 21, 1532.

To the City Council of Münster.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XVII, 2047.

No. 19 48.

Wittenberg.

December 23, 1532.

To Bernhard Rothmann, preacher in Münster.

Luther warns him to beware of the doctrine of the Zwinglians, who have invaded Westphalia, and exhorts him to remain firm and constant in the pure doctrine of the Gospel and also to fortify the people in it.

In *Seelen, Philocalia epist.*, p. 1; in *Strobel-Ranner*, p. 206 and in *De Wette*, vol. IV, p. 426.

To the highly esteemed brother in Christ, Bernhard Röthmann, the faithful and wise servant of the Lord 2) at Münster in Westphalia.

Grace and peace in Christ! To me, who am exceedingly busy, my dear Bernard, my concern has forced this letter, which I have received through a certain rumor, namely, that in Westphalia there are some sacramentaries running around, who are trying to creep into the cities that have only recently been won for the Gospel. Therefore I have exhorted you and asked that you not only guard against them, but also fortify the church or the people against them. For such confidence we have

1) This was read out by Grote in

2) Instead of *Domino* we have assumed *Domini*.

to you in the Lord, that as you began to rejoice the angels in heaven and on earth by converting the city of Munster, so you will continue to perform this same sacrifice for God, and will not be blamed, as much as can be done through you, that this joy, which has been granted to us through you, may be turned into sadness, but rather that it may be increased and endure forever.

For you see that Zwingli and his many comrades were punished for his teachings with a terrible example, if they could be moved by it. So also Münzer perished, Hetzer and others, in that God has shown by these tremendous manifestations (*monstris*) of His wrath how much He hates these godless spirits, even though they, like the Jews and the Philistines, despise such things and praise those people as I do not know what kind of martyrs. Christ, then, who began the great work in you and through you, will also complete it and build you up in the pure and unadulterated opinion of the Word, safe and unharmed from all defilement of the spirit of those people, amen. This I have written sincerely and in good faith; you will also receive it sincerely and kindly. For I do not want you to doubt that you are loved and honored by us. Given at Wittenberg, on the second day before the birth of Christ, 1532,

yours, Martin Luther.

No. 19 49.

(Wittenberg.)

No date 1632.

To Johann Bugenhagen, pastor in Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XI V, 324.

No. 1950 .

(Wittenberg.)

No date 1532.

Concerns, jointly with Jonas and Melanchthon, how Protestant noblemen should behave toward Catholic feudal lords.

See St. Louis edition. The caption there: "von der Gegenwehr" is to be corrected according to the one given here.